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HOLBEIN. HINCHLIFF.

CHARLES V.

THE

HISTORY OF GERMANY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

WOLFGANG MENZEL.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION,

BY

MRS. GEORGE HORROCKS.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

HISTORY OF GERMANY.

SECOND PERIOD.—CONTINUED.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

CLX. *Conrad the Fourth and Conradin.*

THE news of the emperor's death was received with exultation by the pontiff: "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." With insolent triumph he wrote to the city of Naples, declaring that he took her forthwith into his possession, and that she should never again be under the control of a temporal sovereign. He also declared the Hohenstaufen to have forfeited their right upon Apulia and Sicily, and even upon Swabia. The Alemannic princes made a lavish use of the freedom from all restraint granted to them by the pope. The Alpine nobles became equally lawless. Baso, bishop of Sion, a papal partisan, whom William of Holland had empowered to confiscate the lands of the Ghibellines, countenancing the tyranny exercised by Mangipan, lord of Mörill, over the Valais peasantry, they applied for aid to Peter, earl of Savoy, by whom he was humbled [A. D. 1251]. In 1255, the Ghibelline bishop, Henry of Chur, took the field against the Rhætian dynasts, who discovered equal insolence, and defeated them and their allies, the Lombard Guelphs, at Enns. The imperial cause was sustained in Upper Italy by Ezzelino, in Lower Italy by Manfred. This prince, Enzio's rival in talent, valour, and beauty, was a son of the emperor by his mistress Blanca Lancia, whom he afterwards married. Born and educated in Italy, he was the idol of his countrymen, and as prince of Tarento, was by no means a despicable antagonist to the pope.

Conrad IV., Frederick's eldest son and successor, every where driven from the field in Germany, took refuge in Italy, and, trusting that his father's death had conciliated the pope, offered in his necessity to submit to any conditions he might impose, if he were recognised emperor by him. His advances were treated with silent contempt. Manfred, with a truly noble and fraternal spirit, ceded the sovereignty of Italy to his brother, whom he aided by both word and deed. In 1253, the royal brothers captured Capua and Naples, where Conrad placed a bridle in the mouth of an antique colossal horse's head, the emblem of the city. The terrible fate that pursued the imperial family was not to be averted by success. Their younger brother, Henry, the son of Isabella of England, to whom the throne of Sicily had been destined by his father, suddenly expired, and, in 1254, his fate was shared by Conrad in his 26th year. Their deaths were ascribed to poison, said, by the Guelphs, to have been administered by Conrad to Henry, and by Manfred to Conrad. The crime was, nevertheless, indubitably committed by the papal faction, the pope and the Guelphs being solely interested in the destruction of the Hohenstaufen. Manfred's rule in Italy was certainly secured to him by the death of his legitimate brothers, but on the other hand it deprived him of all hope of aid from Germany, and his total inability unaided to oppose the pope, was evident immediately after Conrad's death, when he made terms with the pontiff, to whom he ceded the whole of Lower Italy, Tarento alone excepted. He was, nevertheless, speedily necessitated again to take up arms against the lieutenant of the pope, and was driven by suspicion of a design against his life to make a last and desperate defence. The German mercenaries at Nocera under the command of the Margrave von Hochberg, and the Moors who had served under the emperor Frederick, flocked beneath his banner, and on the death of the pontiff, [A. D. 1154,] who expired on the anniversary of the death of Frederick II., affairs suddenly changed. The cardinals elected Alexander IV., who was powerless against Manfred's party; and the son of Conrad IV., the young Duke Conradin of Swabia, whose minority was passed in obscurity at the court of his uncle of Bavaria, being unable to assert his claim to the crown of Apulia, the hopes of the Ghibellines of Lower Italy naturally centred in Manfred, who was unani-

mously proclaimed king by his faithful vassals, and crowned at Palermo, A. D. 1258.

In Upper Italy the affairs of the Ghibellines wore a contrary aspect. Ezzelino, after making a desperate defence at Cassano, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. He died of his wounds, [A. D. 1259,] scornfully rejecting to the last all spiritual aid. His more gentle brother, Alberich, after seeing his wife and children cruelly butchered, was dragged to death at a horse's tail. The rest of the Ghibelline chiefs met with an equally wretched fate. These horrible scenes of bloodshed worked so forcibly upon the feelings of even the hardened Italians, that numbers arrayed themselves in sackcloth, and did penance at the grave of Alberich: this circumstance gave rise to the sect of the Flagellants, who ran lamenting, praying, preaching repentance, and wounding themselves and others with bloody stripes, through the streets, in order to atone for the sins of the world.

It was in the course of this year that Manfred solemnized his second nuptials with Helena, the daughter of Michael of Ætolia and Cyprus, who was then in her seventeenth year, and famed for her extraordinary loveliness. The uncommon beauty of the bridal pair, and the charms of their court, which, as in Frederick's time, was composed of the most distinguished bards and the most beautiful women, were such as to justify the expression used by a poet of the times, "Paradise had once more appeared upon earth." Manfred, like his father and his brother Enzio, was himself a Minnesinger. His marriage with Helena had gained for him the alliance of Greece, and the union of Constance, his daughter by a former marriage, with Peter of Arragon, confirmed his amity with Spain. He was now enabled to send aid to the distressed Ghibellines in Lombardy; A. D. 1260. They were again victorious at Montaperto, and the gallant Pallavicini became his lieutenant in Upper Italy. The pope was compelled to flee from Rome to Viterbo. The city of Manfredonia, so named after its founder, Manfred, was built at this period.

The Guelphs, alarmed at Manfred's increasing power, now sought for foreign aid, and raised a Frenchman, Urban IV., to the pontifical throne. This pope induced Charles of Anjou, the brother of the French monarch, who had already "fished in troubled waters" in Flanders, to grasp at the crown of

Apulia. On the death of Urban, [A. D. 1265,] another Frenchman, Clement V., succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and greatly contributed to hasten the projected invasion. Charles was gloomy and priest-ridden; extremely unprepossessing in his person, and of an olive complexion; invariably cold, silent, and reserved in manner, impatient of gaiety or cheerfulness, and so cold-blooded and cruel as to be viewed with horror even by his bigoted brother, St. Louis. This ill-omened prince at first fixed his residence in the Arelat, where the emperor's rights were without a champion, and then sailed with a powerful fleet to Naples, A. D. 1266. France, until now a listless spectator, for the first time opposed her influence to that of Germany in Italy, and henceforward pursued the policy of taking advantage of the disunited state of the German empire in order to seize one province after another.

Manfred collected his whole strength to oppose the French invader, but the clergy tampered with his soldiery and sowed treason in his camp. Charles no sooner landed than Riccardo di Caseta abandoned the mountain pass intrusted to his defence, and allowed the French to advance unmolested as far as Benevento, where, on the 26th of February, 1266, a decisive battle was fought, in which Manfred, notwithstanding his gallant efforts, being worsted, threw himself in despair in the thickest of the fight, where he fell, covered with wounds. Charles, on the score of heresy, refused him honourable burial, but the French soldiery, touched by his beauty and gallantry, cast each of them a stone upon his body, which was by this means buried beneath a hillock still known by the natives as the rock of roses.*

Helena, accompanied by her daughter Beatrice and her three infant sons, Henry, Frederick, and Anselino, sought safety in flight, but was betrayed to Charles, who threw her and her children into a dungeon, where she shortly languished and died. Beatrice was saved from a similar fate by Peter of Arragon, to whom she was delivered in exchange for a son of Charles d'Anjou, who had fallen into his hands. The three boys were consigned to a narrow dungeon, where, loaded with

* L'ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co del ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.
Dante, Canto III. *del Purgatorio.*

chains, half-naked, ill-fed, and untaught, they remained in perfect seclusion for the space of thirty-one years: in 1297, they were released from their chains, and allowed to be visited by a priest and a physician. The eldest, Henry, died in 1309. With fanatical rage, Charles destroyed every vestige of the reign of the Hohenstaufen in Lower Italy.

Italy was for ever torn from the empire, from which Burgundy, too long neglected for the sake of her classic sister, was also severed. Her southern provinces, Provence, Vienne, and Toulouse were annexed to France, whilst her more northern ones, the earldoms of Burgundy and Savoy, became an almost independent state.

Whilst the name and power of the Hohenstaufen family was being thus annihilated in Italy, Germany seemed to have forgotten her ancient fame. The princes and vassals who mainly owed their influence to the Staufen, had ungratefully deprived the orphaned Conradin of his inheritance. Swabia was his merely in name, and he would in all probability have shared the fate of his Italian relatives had he not found an asylum in the court of Louis of Bavaria.

William of Holland, with a view of increasing his popularity by an alliance with the Welfs, espoused Elisabeth, the daughter of Otto of Brunswick. The faction of the Welfs had, however, been too long broken ever to regain strength, and the circumstance of the destruction of his false crown (the genuine one being still in Italy) during a conflagration which burst out on the night of the nuptials, and almost proved fatal to him and his bride, rendered him an object of fresh ridicule. He disgraced the dignity he had assumed by his lavish sale or gift of the imperial prerogatives and lands to his adherents, whom he by these means bribed to uphold his cause, and by his complete subserviency to the pope. His despicable conduct received its fitting reward: no city, none of the temporal nor even of the spiritual lords throughout the empire, tolerated his residence within their demesnes. Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, ordered the roof of the house in which he resided at Nuys, to be set on fire, in order to enforce his departure. At Utrecht, a stone was cast at him in the church. His wife was seduced by a Count von Waldeck. This wretched emperor was at length compelled to retire into Holland, where he employed himself in attempting to reduce a petty

nation, the West Friscians, beneath his yoke. This expedition terminated fatally to himself alone; when crossing a frozen morass on horseback, armed cap-a-pie, the ice gave way beneath the weight, and whilst in this helpless situation, unable either to extricate or defend himself, he was attacked and slain by some Friscian boors, to whom he was personally unknown. On discovering his rank, they were filled with terror at their own daring, and buried him with the utmost secrecy. The regency of Holland was committed to Adelheid, the wife of John d'Avesnes, during the minority of her nephew, Florens V., the son of William. She was expelled by the Dutch, who disdained a woman's control. Florens succeeded to the government on attaining his majority. On the death of the emperor, John d'Avesnes was induced by a political motive to conciliate his mother and step-brothers, who were supported by France. The departure of Charles d'Anjou was purchased with large sums of money. Guy de Dampierre obtained Flanders: John d'Avesnes, merely the Hennegau. Namur passed from the hands of Philip, the brother of Baldwin of Constantinople, by intermarriage, into those of the French monarch, but was sold by Louis to Guy de Dampierre, who bestowed it on one of his sons. Artois remained annexed to France.

The northern Friscians greatly distinguished themselves at this period by their spirited contest with the Danes. Waldemar had left several sons, Erich, Abel, Christoph, etc. Erich, on mounting the throne, [A. D. 1241,] attempted to reconquer Holstein and Lübeck, in which he signally failed, and his metropolis, Copenhagen, was burnt to the ground [A. D. 1248] by a Lübeck fleet. Erich was basely slain by his brother Abel, who cast his corpse, laden with chains, into the water, and seized the sovereignty, A. D. 1250: and this monster of infamy was offered the imperial throne by Innocent IV., when that pontiff was seeking for a fitting tool to set up in opposition to the Hohenstaufen. Abel was a tyrant. The heavy taxes imposed by him on the northern Friscians, in the west of Schleswig, inducing a rebellion, he invaded their country, but was defeated by the brave peasantry, and slain on the Myllerdamm by a wheelwright, named Henner. His corpse was interred in the cathedral at Schleswig, *but his ghost becoming restless and troublesome*, it was disinterred,

pierced with a stake, and sunk in a swamp at Gottorp, A. D. 1251. He was succeeded by his more moderate brother, Christoph, who was poisoned in 1259, by the canon Arnefast. The pope was implicated in the commission of this crime, Christoph having refused to submit to the authority assumed by the clergy; his son was consequently rejected by the Danish bishops, who raised Erich, the son of Abel, to the throne. The pope, the former friend of the lawless Abel, raised Christoph's assassin to the bishopric of Aarhus. Margaretha, Christoph's widow, and her infant son, Erich Glipping, the blinkard, maintained their station for a while, but the opposing faction being succoured by the Earls Gerhard and John of Holstein, they were defeated and taken prisoners on the Lohaide near Schleswig, A. D. 1291. Albrecht of Brunswick, their most active supporter, governed Denmark in Margaretha's name. Margaretha also succeeded in obtaining pardon from the pope, by a pilgrimage undertaken by her for that purpose to Rome. Her son Erich became king of Denmark, and Erich, the son of Abel, duke of Schleswig. Erich Glipping was despotic, dissolute, and lawless; he was murdered in his sleep, [A. D. 1286,] in revenge for having violated the wife of Stigo, the marshal of his empire. By the notorious Birka Rett, a new code of laws compiled by this monarch, he had completely deprived the Danes of their ancestral rights and liberties, and reduced the peasantry to servitude; a measure that gained for him the favour of the clergy and nobility. He was succeeded by his son, Erich Menved.

On the death of Conrad IV. and of William of Holland, fresh competitors for the crown appeared, although undemanded by the German princes, each of whom strove to protract the confusion that reigned throughout the empire, and utterly to annihilate the imperial power, in order to increase their own. The crown was, in consequence, only claimed by two foreign princes, who rivalled each other in wealth, and the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of the sale of the shadow crown of Germany to the highest bidder. The electoral princes were even base enough to work upon the vanity of the wealthy Count Hermann von Henneberg, who coveted the imperial title, in order to extract from him large sums of money, without having the slightest intention to perform their promises. Alfonso of Castille sent twenty thousand silver marks from

Spain, and was in return elected emperor by Treves, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Richard, duke of Cornwall, however, sent thirty-two tons of gold from England, which purchased for him the votes of Cologne, Mayence, and Bavaria; and, to the scandal of all true Germans, both competitors, neither of whom were present, were simultaneously elected emperor, Alfonso in Frankfurt on the Maine, and Richard outside the walls of the same city, A. D. 1257. Alfonso, buried in the study of astronomy, never visited Germany. Richard claimed the throne, without regarding the superior rights of Conradin,* in right of his wife, the sister of Frederick II., as the heir of the Hohenstaufen, a claim which drew upon him the suspicions of the pontiff, who, notwithstanding Richard's apparent humility, delayed his recognition of him as emperor. In Germany, where he made his first appearance on the defeat of the citizens of Treves at Boppart by his rival Conrad of Cologne, he was merely held in consideration as long as his treasury was full. Necessity ere long compelled him to return to England. In 1286 he revisited Germany, where, during his short stay, he attempted to abolish the customs levied on the Rhine.† It was during this visit that he became enamoured of Göde von Falkenstein, the most beautiful woman of the day, whom he persuaded to accompany him to England.

Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, resided sometimes in the court of Louis of Bavaria, at other times under his protection at the castle of Ravensburg on the Bodensee, an ancient allod of the Welfs, which had formerly been bequeathed by Welf the elder to Barbarossa. In this retreat he associated with a young man of his own age, Frederick, the son of Hermann, Margrave of Baden. Frederick assumed the surname " of Austria," on account of his mother, who was a descendant of the house of Babenberg; he cherished, moreover,

* He released Zürich from her allegiance to Conradin, and bribed Count Ulrich (with the thumb) of Wurtemberg, who had just inherited the rich county of Urach, with one thousand silver marks.

† The Englishman, Thomas Wikes, even at that period termed the Rhenish customs " furiosam Teutonicorum insaniam." The name of the city of Antwerp is allied with the idea of customs. A giant named Duion is said to have formerly levied a toll upon passengers on the spot where the city now stands, and to have cut off one of the smugglers' hands, which he threw into the water;—hence, *Hand Werf* (throw hand)—Antwerp.

a hope of gaining possession of that duchy, on the restoration of the Hohenstaufen. Conradin and Frederick became inseparable companions; equally enthusiastic and imaginative, their ambitious aspirations found vent in song, and sportive fancy embellished the stern features of reality. One of Conrad's ballads is still extant. His mother, Elisabeth, who, on the death of Conrad IV., had carried him for protection to the court of her brother, Louis of Bavaria, had wedded Meinhard, Count von Görtz, the possessor of the Tyrol. In 1255, Munich became the ducal residence, and the metropolis of Bavaria. (In 1248, the dukes of Meran-Andechs becoming extinct on the death of Otto, their possessions fell to his cousin, Albrecht, Count of Tyrol, whose daughter, Adelheid, brought them in dower to her husband, Meinhard I., Count von Görtz. Meinhard left two sons, Meinhard II., who wedded Elisabeth, and obtained the Tyrol, and Albrecht, who succeeded to Görtz.) Bavaria was now the sole supporter of the fallen imperial dynasty. Gratitude towards the Hohenstaufen, however, was far from being the guiding motive of this selfish prince, who solely aimed at turning his guardianship to advantage, by laying Conrad under an obligation which he was bound to repay if restored to his dignity, or in case of his destruction, by seizing all that remained of the Hohenstaufen inheritance. Cruel and choleric, he was one day seized with jealousy on perusing a letter innocently penned by his consort, Maria of Brabant, and in a fit of sudden fury stabbed the bearer of the letter, the castellain, and a waiting-woman, threw the chief lady in attendance out of the window, and ordered his unoffending wife to execution, A. D. 1256. When too late, he became convinced of her innocence, and was seized with such terrible despair, that his hair turned white in one night; in order to propitiate Heaven, he founded the wealthy abbey of Fürstenfeld.

The seclusion of Conrad's life and the neglect with which he was treated became daily more harassing to him as he grew up, and he gladly accepted a proposal on the part of the Italian Ghibellines, inviting him to place himself at their head. He was, moreover, confirmed in his resolution by Louis of Bavaria and Meinhard von Görtz, who even accompanied him into Italy, but merely for the purpose of watching over their own interests, by persuading the unsuspecting youth, in return

for their pretended support, either to sell or mortgage to them the possessions and rights of his family. Conrad was still duke of Swabia,* and held the ancient Franconian possessions of the Salic emperors. The private possessions of the Hohenstaufen having been declared crown property by Frederick II., the majority of the petty lords in Franconia,† unawed either by the power of the emperor or by that of the duke, had asserted their independence as immediate subjects of the empire. In Swabia, Conrad's dignity was merely upheld for the purpose of legitimating robbery and fraud, and his last official act as duke was the signature of a document which deprived him of his lawful rights.‡ His conviction of their eventual loss inclined him to cede them voluntarily, particularly as the sale furnished him with funds for raising troops. In the autumn of 1267, he crossed the Alps at the head of ten thousand men, and was welcomed at Verona by the Scala, the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction. The meanness of his German relatives and friends was here undisguisedly displayed. Louis, after persuading him to part with his remaining possessions at a low price, quitted him, and was followed by Meinhard, and by the greater number of the Germans. This desertion reduced his army to three thousand men.

The Italian Ghibellines remained true to their word. Verona raised an army in Lombardy, Pisa equipped a large fleet, the Moors of Luceria took up arms, and Rome welcomed the youthful heir of the Hohenstaufen by forcing the pope once more to retreat to Viterbo. He was also joined by two brothers of Alfonso, the phantom monarch, Henry and Frederick, and marched unopposed to Rome, at whose gates he was met, and conducted to the capitol by a procession of beautiful girls

* According to a curious document in the Allegranza opuscoli eruditi latini et italiani, at Cremona in 1781, the emperor, Frederick II., confirmed the annexation of Chiavenna to the duchy of Swabia, to which the whole of Switzerland and Alsace belonged. On the fall of the Hohenstaufen this duchy was divided into innumerable petty counties, bishoprics, townships, independent societies of knights, and free cantons of peasantry.

† It was in this manner and at this time that the great forest of Dreieich, which belonged to the crown, came into the hands of the lords of Falkenstein, Hanau, and Isenburg.

‡ Ulrich, count of Würtemberg, received the office of Marshal of Swabia and that of imperial governor in Ulm and in the Pyrss (the free peasantry of the Leutkirche heath). He nevertheless remained inactive in Conradin's cause.

bearing musical instruments and flowers. The Pisanese, meanwhile, gained a signal victory off Messina over the French fleet, and burnt a great number of the enemy's ships. Conradin entered Lower Italy and encountered the French army under Charles, at Scurcola, where his Germans, after beating the enemy back, deeming the victory their own, carelessly dispersed to seek for booty, some among them even refreshed themselves by bathing: in this condition they were suddenly attacked by the French, who had watched their movements, and were completely put to the rout, August 23rd, 1268. Conradin and Frederick owed their escape to the fleetness of their steeds, but were basely betrayed into Charles's hands at Astura, when crossing the sea to Pisa, by John Frangipani, whose family had been laden with benefits by the Hohenstaufen. Conradin, whilst playing at chess with his friend in prison, calmly listened to the sentence of death pronounced upon him. On the 22nd October, A. D. 1268, he was conducted, with Frederick and his other companions, to the scaffold erected in the market-place at Naples. The French were even roused to indignation at this spectacle, and Charles's son-in-law, Robert, earl of Flanders, drawing his sword, cut down the officer commissioned to read the sentence of death in public, saying, as he dealt the blow, "Wretch! how darest thou condemn such a great and excellent knight?" Conradin, in his address to the people, said, "I cite my judge before the highest tribunal. My blood, shed on this spot, shall cry to Heaven for vengeance. Nor do I esteem my Swabians and Bavarians, my Germans, so low, as not to trust that this stain on the honour of the German nation will be washed out by them in French blood." He then threw his glove on the ground, charging him who raised it to bear it to Peter, king of Arragon, to whom, as his nearest relative, he bequeathed all his claims. The glove was raised by Henry, Truchsess von Waldburg, who found within it the seal ring of the unfortunate prince, and henceforth bare in his arms the three black lions of the Staufen. His last bequests thus made, Conradin knelt fearlessly before the block, and the head of the last of the Hohenstaufen rolled on the scaffold.* A cry of agony

* Malaspina, although a Guelph and a papal writer, sublimely describes Conrad's wretched fate, his courage, and his beauty. "Non voce querula, sed ad cœlum jungebat palmas. Suum Domino spiritum com-

burst from the heart of his friend, whose head also fell; nor was Charles's revenge satiated until almost every Ghibelline had fallen by the hand of the executioner.* Conradin's unhappy mother, who had vainly offered a large ransom for his life, devoted the money to the erection of the monastery of Stams, in a wild valley of the Tyrol. Charles's next work was the destruction of Luceria, where every Moor was put to the sword. Conrad, a son of Frederick of Antioch,† a natural descendant of Frederick II., alone escaped death. A contrary fate awaited Henry, the youthful son of the emperor Richard, the kinsman and heir of the Hohenstaufen, who, when tarrying by chance at Viterbo on his way to the Holy Land, was, by Charles's command, assassinated, A. D. 1274.‡ The unfortunate king Enzio was also implicated in Conradin's fate. On learning his nephew's arrival in Italy, he was seized with the greatest anxiety to escape from Bologna, where he was imprisoned, and concealing himself in a cask, was carried by his friends out of his prison, but being discovered by one of his

mendabat, nec divertebat caput sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cæsoris truces ictus in patientia exspectabat. Madet terra pulchro cruore diffuso, tabetque juvenili sanguine cruentata. Jacet veluti flos purpureus improvida falce succisus."

* The Germans, nevertheless, looked on with indifference, and shortly afterwards elected an emperor, Rudolf von Habsburg, who married his daughter to the son of Charles d'Anjou, and who was the tool of the pope and of the French monarch. The German muse alone mourned the fall of the great Swabian dynasty. Conradin and Frederick were buried side by side to the right of the altar, beneath the marble pavement of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the market-place of Naples, where the execution took place. About a century and a half ago the pavement of the church was renewed, and Conradin was found with his head resting on his folded hands. The remains were left in their original state. The (modern) inscription on the tomb runs thus; Qui giacciono Corradino di Stooffen, ultimo de' duchi dell' imperiale casa di Suevia, e *Federico d'Asburgh, ultimo de' Duchi d'Austria*, Anno 1269. The raiser of this monument must have possessed more piety than knowledge when he made the luckless Frederick *the last of the Habsburgs.*

† A daughter of this prince, Isolda, married Berthold von Hohenburg, probably the Minnesinger, who comes directly after the princes in Maness's collection.

‡ His sorrowing father exposed his heart to public view on the Thames bridge in London.—Dante mentions this circumstance in the twelfth canto of the Inferno:—

Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola,
Dicendo: Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cuor che'n su Tamigi ancor si cola.

long fair locks which fell out of the mouth of the cask, he was strictly confined, some say, in an iron cage, until his death, which happened A. D. 1272. During the earlier part of his imprisonment, when less strictly treated, his seclusion, embellished by poetry and art, had been cheered by the society of his beautiful mistress, Lucia Viadagola. From these lovers descended the family of the Bentivoglio, who derived their name from Lucia's tender expression; "Enzio, che ben ti voglio."

Thus terminated the royal race of the Hohenstaufen, in which the highest earthly dignity and power, the most brilliant achievements in arms, extraordinary personal beauty, and rich poetical genius, were combined, and beneath whose rule, the middle age and its creations, the church, the empire, the states, religion, and art, attained a height, whence they necessarily sank as the Hohenstaufen fell, like flowers that fade at parting day.

Charles d'Anjou retained Apulia, but was deprived of Sicily. In the night of the 30th of March, 1282, a general conspiracy among the Ghibellines in this island broke out, and in this night, known as the Sicilian Vespers, all the French were assassinated, and Manfred's daughter, Constance, and her husband, Peter of Arragon, were proclaimed the sovereigns of Sicily. Charles, the son of Charles d'Anjou, was taken prisoner, and afterwards exchanged for Beatrice, the sister of Constance. Constance behaved with great generosity to the captive prince, who, saying that he was happy to die on a Friday, the day on which Christ suffered, she replied, "For love of him who suffered on this day will I grant thee thy life."

It is remarkable that about this time the crusades ended, and all the European conquests in the East were lost. Constantinople was delivered in 1621, by the Greeks, from the bad government of the French Pullanes, and, in 1262, Antioch was retaken by the Turks. The last crusade was undertaken in 1269, by Louis of France, Charles d'Anjou, and Edward, Prince of Wales, who were joined by a Friscian fleet, which ought to have been equipped instead in Conrad's aid. After besieging Tunis and enforcing a tribute, the French returned home. The English reached the Holy Land, [A. D. 1272,] but met with such ill success, that Tripolis was lost in 1288, and Accon in 1291. On the reduction of these cities, the last

strongholds of the Christians, Tyre voluntarily surrendered and Palestine was entirely deserted by the Franks.*

CLXI. *The Interregnum.*

THE triumph of the pope over the emperor was complete: but the temporal power of which the emperor had been deprived, instead of falling wholly into the hands of his antagonist, was scattered among the princes and cities of the empire, and, although the loss of the emperor had deprived the empire of her head, vitality still remained in her different members.

The power of the Welfs had ceased a century before the fall of the Hohenstaufen. The princes that remained possessed but mediocre authority, no ambition beyond the concentration of their petty states and the attainment of individual independence. The limited nature of this policy attracted little attention and insured its success. Equally indifferent to the downfal of the Hohenstaufen, and to the creation of the mock sovereigns placed over them by the pope, they merely sought the advancement of their petty interests by the usurpation of every prerogative hitherto enjoyed by the crown within their states, and thus transformed the empire, which had, up to this period, been an elective monarchy, into a ducal aristocracy. Unsatisfied with releasing themselves from their allegiance to their sovereign, they also strove, aided by their feudal vassals and by the clergy, to crush civil liberty by carrying on, as will hereafter be seen, a disastrous warfare against the cities, in which they were warmly supported by the pope, whom they had assisted in exterminating the imperial house. The power they individually possessed was, moreover, too insignificant to rouse the jealousy of the pontiff, whom they basely courted and implicitly obeyed. The people, meanwhile, (at least those among the citizens and knights who still ventured freely to express their opinions,) bitterly lamented the dissolution of the empire, its internal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the princes, their utter disregard of order, public security, and national right, and loudly demanded the election of a successor to the imperial throne.†

* The common denomination in the East for all the Western nations.

† The spirit of these times is preserved in Rudiger Maness's collection of the Minnesingers.

Ottocar of Bohemia, who took advantage of the universal anarchy to extend the limits of his Slavonian state, was the only one among the princes who strove to raise himself above the rest of the aristocracy. The Austrian nobility, sending Ulrich von Lichtenstein to Henry von Meissen, in order to offer him the country, he was bribed when passing through Prague by Ottocar, who found means to induce the Austrians to elect him instead, and in order to exclude all other competitors, espoused Margaretha, the eldest and now aged sister of Frederick the Warlike, who left her convent in Treves to perform this sacrifice for her country. Ottocar then marched in aid of the Poles and of the German Hospitallers against the Prussians and Lithuanians. On his return in 1254, on arriving at Breslau he threw the flower of the Austrian nobility, whose allegiance he mistrusted, Ulrich von Lichtenstein not excepted, into chains, carried them prisoners into Bohemia, and confiscated all their lands. Louis and Henry of Bavaria, whose father, Otto, had been formerly nominated to the government of Austria by the emperor Frederick II., influenced by hatred of their dangerous and despotic neighbour, and being, moreover, aided by the archbishop Ulrich of Salzburg, raised a faction against and fortunately defeated him at Muhldorf, where a bridge gave way beneath the rush of the Bohemians, three thousand of whom were drowned, A. D. 1255. Ottocar, in order to protect his rear, had ceded Styria to Bela, king of Hungary. Gertrude, Margaretha's younger sister and the widow of Hermann of Baden, had fled for protection to the Hungarian monarch, to whom she had, in her infant son's name, transferred her claim upon Austria, in return for which Bela had procured her a second husband, Roman, a Russian duke, by whom she was speedily abandoned. The Styrians vainly opposed the monarch thus forced upon them; they were overpowered; fifteen hundred men, who had taken refuge within the church at Mödling, were burnt to death. The cruelty subsequently practised by the Hungarian governor, Stephen von Agram, occasioned a fresh insurrection in 1254; so close was the pursuit of the enraged natives that the obnoxious governor merely escaped by swimming across the Drave; the attempt of the gallant Styrians to regain their freedom proved vain; all aid was refused by Ottocar, and they again fell beneath the Hungarian yoke and the iron rod

of their ferocious governor. Four years later, Ottocar commenced a brilliant career. In 1258, the Styrians again rebelled, and in eleven days drove every Hungarian out of the country,* upon which Ottocar despatched to their aid Conrad von Hardegg, an old Austrian noble, who fell valiantly opposing the superior forces of the foe on the river March, and, in 1259, took the field in person at the head of his whole forces, and entirely routed the Hungarians in a pitched battle at Croisenbrunn. Styria was replaced beneath his rule, [A. D. 1260,] and in the ensuing year peace was further confirmed by his marriage with Cunigunda, Bela's wayward niece, for whom he divorced the hapless Margaretha. This divorce was no sooner effected than the Austrians, deeming his right of inheritance annulled, attempted to free themselves from his tyranny; resistance was, however, vain; the malcontents were thrown into prison, and, as an example to all future offenders, Otto von Meissen, the judge of the country, was burnt alive in a dungeon filled with straw. Ottocar's power was still further increased by the possession of Carinthia, which was bequeathed to him by Ulrich von Ortenburg, who expired, A. D. 1263, leaving no issue. The opposition of Ulrich's brother, Philip, the patriarch of Aglar, and of Ulrich of Salzburg, was unavailing. They were defeated, and the whole of the mountain country was annexed to Bohemia.

Silesia had been partitioned between the sons of the patriotic duke, Henry, who fell on the field of Wahlstatt. A quarrel subsequently arose between them, and Boleslaw, on attempting to make himself sole master of the country, was reduced to submission by his brother, Henry of Breslau, the celebrated Minnesinger. Boleslaw was also so passionately fond of singing and of music, that he was always accompanied by Surrian, his fiddler, who, during his master's wanderings, sat behind him on horseback. Silesia, notwithstanding the numerous German colonists settled by Henry in the country devastated by the Tartar war, was ruined by the repeated partitions between the sons and grandsons of her dukes, and by their consequent feuds. One instance will suffice to give an idea of the disas-

* The arms of Steyer or Styria are a Steer:

"Es gebieret, wie der Stier Hörner treibt, ihm selber Waffen,
Steyr kann steuern seinem Feind und den Zorn mit Zorne strafen."
Fugger.

trous and disturbed state of this wretched country. Henry the Thick, the son of Boleslaw, was imprisoned by his cousin Conrad von Glogau for six months in a narrow cage, in which he could neither sit upright nor lay at full length. Wladislaw von Leignitz, the son of Henry the Thick, was a wild and lawless wretch, who led a robber's life in his castle of Hornsberg, near Waldenburg, and was finally taken captive by the outraged peasantry. The germanization of Brandenburg advanced. Since the partition of the bishopric of Lebus, [A. D. 1252,] between Brandenburg and Magdeburg, the city of Frankfurt on the Oder had been made by the former the centre of German civilization, and peopled with German settlers. Whenever the German nobility took possession of a village, the Slavonian peasantry obstinately resisted every innovation. Several villages were, in consequence, sold to German citizens and peasants, under condition of their being peopled with Germans, in which case, the purchaser became the hereditary mayor of the free community.* In 1269, the Margrave, Otto, erected on the Polish frontier the wooden castle of Zielenzig, exactly opposite to which Boleslaw of Poland instantly built the fortress of Meseritz. Magdeburg ceded her part of the bishopric of Lebus to Brandenburg, but merely as a fief dependent on the archbishopric.

Upon the death of Henry Raspe in Thuringia, Sophia, the daughter of St. Elisabeth, and widow of Henry duke of Brabant, brought her infant son, Henry, to Marburg, where fealty was sworn to the "child of Brabant," the descendant of the great and beloved national saint. The Wartburg and the protection of the country were intrusted by Sophia to her neighbour the Margrave Henry, surnamed the Illustrious, von Meissen, who proved faithless to his trust, and attempted to make himself master of the country, which he also induced the mean-spirited emperor, William, to claim as a lapsed fief. Sophia hastened into the country on receiving information of his treason. The gates of the city of Eisenach, which had already paid homage to Henry of Meissen, being closed against her, she seized an axe, and with her own hand dealt a vigorous blow upon the gate, which was instantly opened by the astonished citizens. Negotiations were opened between the contending parties; Henry von Meissen deceitfully proposed that the

* Wohlbrück's History of Lebus.

matter should be left to the decision of twenty Thuringian nobles of high standing, and that Sophia should promise to cede Thuringia to him, if they swore that his claim was more just than hers. Sophia fell into the snare, and the perjured nobles took the oath. On hearing their decision the injured duchess threw her glove into the air, exclaiming, "O thou enemy of all justice, thou devil, take the glove with the false counsellors!" According to Imhof's chronicle, the glove vanished in the air. Sophia now implored the aid of the warlike duke of Brunswick, Albrecht the Fat, who invaded Thuringia, [A. D. 1256,] and defeated Henry von Meissen; but Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, creating a diversion in Henry's favour by invading Brunswick during his absence, he was compelled to retrace his steps, upon which Henry von Meissen re-entered the country and captured Eisenach, where he condemned the gallant counsellor, Henry von Velsbach, who had watched over Sophia's interests in that city, to be cast by an enormous catapult from the top of the Wartburg into the town below.* The feud was meanwhile vigorously carried on. Albrecht returned, and conquered the whole of Thuringia; his horrid cruelty occasioned an insurrection, which was headed by the aged Rudolf von Vargula, and Albrecht was surprised when intoxicated on the Saal near Halle, and taken captive, A. D. 1263. Peace ensued; Henry of Meissen retained Thuringia, and Henry of Brabant, the founder of the still reigning house of Hesse, was forced to content himself with Hesse, Brabant falling to his nephew John.

Before the commencement of this war, a contest had arisen between Albrecht and his nobles, who were at that period as rebellious against their dukes as the dukes were against the emperor. Busso von der Asseburg, who bore in his escutcheon a wolf with the Welfic lion in his claws, formed a conspiracy among the nobles against the Welfs, in which Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, joined. Albrecht was, however, victorious, Gerhard was taken captive, and Conrad von Everstein, one of the conspirators, hanged by the feet, A. D. 1258. In the bishopric of Würzburg, the noble family of Stein zum Altenstein attained great power, and excited the jealousy of the bishop,

* He is said to have been cast down three times; twice he escaped with his life—but the third time was killed, exclaiming with his last breath, "Thuringia belongs to the child of Brabant!"

Henning, who invited them to a banquet, where they were all except one, who, drawing his sword, cut off the bishop's nose and escaped, deprived of their heads. The ferocity of the nobles manifested itself also in 1257, during a great tournament held at Neuss, where the mock fight became earnest, and Count Adolf von Berg, thirty-six knights, and three hundred men at arms, were slain. In 1277, the robber knights took the frontier count, Engelbert, captive, and he pined to death in prison. Berold, abbot of Fulda, was also murdered in 1271, by his vassals, whilst reading mass; thirty of the conspirators were, however, executed. The citizens of Erfurt endured several severe conflicts with Sigmund, (surnamed the Thuringian devil,) Count von Gleichen, the son of the crusader of that name celebrated for his two wives.

The power of the princes in Germany was counterpoised by that of the cities, which, sensible of their inability individually to assert their liberty, endangered by the absence and subsequent ruin of the emperor, had mutually entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. The cities on the Northern Ocean and the Baltic vied with those of Lombardy in denseness of population, and in the assertion of their independence. Their fleet returned from the East covered with glory. They conquered Lisbon, besieged Accon and Damietta, founded the order of German Hospitallers, and gained great part of Livonia and Prussia. A strict union existed among their numerous merchants. Every city possessed a corporation, or guild, consisting, according to the custom of the times, of masters, partners, and apprentices. These guilds were armed, and formed the chief strength of the city. Ghent and Bruges were the first cities in Flanders which became noted for their civil privileges, their manufactories, commerce, and industry. In the twelfth century, they had already formed a Hansa,* or great commercial association, in which seventeen cities took part. In the thirteenth century, their example was followed by the commercial towns on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Baltic, but on a larger scale, the new Hansa forming a political as well as a commercial association, which was commenced by Lübeck, between which and Hamburg a treaty was

* Hansa signified every association, the members of which paid a contribution.

made, [A. D. 1241,] in which Bremen and almost every city in the north of Germany far inland, as far as Cologne and Brunswick, joined. The most distinguished character of these times was a citizen of Lübeck named Alexander von Soltwedel, the indefatigable adversary of the Danes, who, besides assisting in gaining the victory near Bornhövede in 1227, performed still more signal services at sea. He several times went in pursuit of Erich IV. of Denmark, who incessantly harassed the northern coasts, with the Lübeck fleet; plundered Copenhagen, or, as Ditmar writes it, Copmanhaven; burnt Stralsund, at that time a Danish settlement, to the ground, and returned home laden with immense booty. John, earl of Holstein, was taken prisoner by the citizens of Lübeck, whom he had provoked, A. D. 1261. The citizens of Bremen pulled down the custom-houses erected by the archbishop and asserted their independence, A. D. 1246.

A similar league, though more for the purpose of mutual protection, was formed between the cities of the Rhine, almost all of which favoured the imperial cause, and by having on more than one occasion taken part with the Hohenstaufen against the bishops and the pretenders to the crown, had incurred the animosity of the great vassals, with whom they had to sustain several severe contests. In 1291, the ancient town of Metz carried on a spirited contest against the bishop, and subsequently united with Strassburg and other neighbouring cities against the pope's stanch adherents, the Dukes Matthæus and Frederick of Lothringia. In 1263, the citizens of Strassburg expelled their despotic bishop, Walter von Geroldseck, and destroyed all the houses belonging to the clergy and nobility. Count Rudolf von Habsburg at first aided the bishop, but afterwards, on the retention of a bond by Walter's successor, Henry, sided with the citizens, not because, as modern sentimentalists imagine, he was the friend of popular liberty, but from an entirely selfish motive. Rösselmann, mayor of Colmar, whom the bishop had expelled, re-entered Colmar in a wine cask, incited the citizens to open sedition, and opened the gates to the Habsburg. The citizens afterwards gained, unassisted, a complete victory over the bishop at Eckwersheim. A feud broke out subsequently between Rudolf and the city of Basel on occasion of a tournament, during which the nobles, attempting to insnare the pretty daughters

of the citizens, were driven with broken heads out of the city, A. D. 1267.

The civil disturbances that took place in Cologne are most worthy of remark. The archbishop, Conrad von Hochstetten, (since 1237,) made the dissension between the pope and the emperor conduce to his own aggrandizement, by supporting himself on the authority of the former. His first great feud with Simon, bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück, and the dukes of Saxony, was chiefly carried on in his name by the frontier count, Engelbert, who gained a signal victory on the Wülfrich near Dortmund, A. D. 1254. This archbishop afterwards attempted to deprive the cities of their privileges. His first attack was directed against Aix-la-Chapelle, as the weakest point; but this city had been placed by the emperor under the protection of Guillaume, Comte de Juliers, by whom the archbishop was defeated and taken prisoner; his first act, on regaining his liberty, was to take advantage of the emperor's absence in Italy, in order to encroach upon the privileges of the citizens of Cologne by striking a new coinage, which the citizens protesting against, he fled to Bonn, where he threw up fortifications. His siege of Cologne, during which he attempted to bombard the city by casting immense stones across the Rhine from Deutz, was unsuccessful, and a reconciliation took place. It was in the presence of the newly-elected emperor, William of Holland, that Conrad laid the foundation-stone to the great cathedral of Cologne. Unable to reduce the city beneath his authority by force, Conrad had recourse to stratagem, and incited the guilds of mechanics, particularly the weavers, (there were not less than thirty thousand looms in the city,) against the great burgher families, who were expelled, A. D. 1258. Conrad shortly afterwards died, and was succeeded by Engelbert von Falkenberg, [A. D. 1261,] who pursued the system of his predecessor, seized the city keys, fortified the towers at Beyen and Ryle, and surrounded the whole city with watch-towers, which he garrisoned with his mercenaries, and, relying upon his power, began to lay the city under contribution. One of the citizens, Eberhard von Buttermarkt, roused to indignation by this insolence, exhorted the people to conciliate the burgher families, the guardians of the ancient liberties of Cologne and the promoters of her glory, and to unite against their common enemy, the arch-

bishop. The burgher families were consequently recalled, and Mathias Overstolz, placing himself at their head, stormed the archbishop's watch-towers and freed the city, A. D. 1262. Engelbert made a feigned submission, but subsequently retreated to Rome, whence he placed the city under an interdict. On his return, he was anticipated in an attempt to take Cologne by surprise, by the citizens, who seized his person. On his restoration to liberty, he had recourse to his former artifice, and again attempted to incite the weavers against the burgesses; this time, however, the latter were prepared for the event, and being, moreover, favoured by the disinclination of the rest of the citizens to espouse the archbishop's quarrel, easily overcame their antagonists. Engelbert was more successful in his next plan, that of creating dissension among the burgesses themselves, by exciting the jealousy of the family of Weissen against the more prosperous and superior one of the Overstolze. The heads of the family of Weissen, Louis and Gottschalk, fell in battle, the rest fled; but a hole being made in the wall during the night by one of their partisans, named Habenichts, (Lackall,) they again penetrated into the city. Old Mathias Overstolz was killed in the fight that took place in the streets, whence his party succeeded in repelling the assailants. After this unnecessary bloodshed, the city factions discovered that they were merely the archbishop's tools, and a reconciliation took place. Aix-la-Chapelle, equally harassed by Engelbert, who also possessed that bishopric, placed herself under the protection of Guillaume, Comte de Juliers, and of Otto, Earl of Gueldres. A bloody feud ensued. Engelbert was taken prisoner in the battle of Lechenich and shut up in an iron cage, and the Comte de Juliers, attempting to rule despotically over Aix-la-Chapelle, fell, together with his three sons, beneath the axes of the butchers, A. D. 1267. Disturbances broke out in Liege, A. D. 1277. The bishop, Henry, erected a fortification in the city, reduced the citizens to slavery, and led the most profligate life. He was deposed, but getting his successor, John, who was a very corpulent man, into his power, had him bound with ropes on a horse, and trotted to death. Henry was at length assassinated by the citizens. These disputes between the citizens and the bishop were of common occurrence in almost every city. The inhabitants of Hameln were unsuccessful in their contest with

the bishop of Minden, to whom [A. D. 1259] the patronage of the city had been resigned by the abbot of Fulda. The Count von Everstein, the city patron, and the citizens opposed the bishop, but were defeated, and several of them taken prisoners. In 1252, the citizens of Leipsig destroyed the Zwingburg, the fastness of the despotic abbot of St. Augustin; those of Halle protected the Jews [A. D. 1261] against the archbishop, Ruprecht von Magdeburg, by whom they were persecuted; those of Würzburg compelled the bishop, Tring, [A. D. 1265,] to raise the interdict laid upon them, and defeated his successor, Berthold, in a pitched battle at Kitzingen, A. D. 1269. The citizens of Augsburg also defeated their bishop, Hartmann, on the Hamelberg.

These examples show the spirit then reigning in the cities which, more particularly in Swabia and Franconia, were incessantly at open enmity with the petty nobility, (whose numbers were greatly increased by the subdivision that took place within these two duchies,) sometimes on account of the numerous Pfahlbürger or enfranchised citizens, peasants who enrolled themselves among the citizens in order to escape from the tyranny of the petty lords; sometimes on account of the merchants, who were either pillaged by the noble knights, or allowed a safe passage on payment of a heavy toll. The tolls on the Rhine and the Neckar formed a perpetual subject of dispute. The ruins of the fastnesses with which these robber knights crowned the heights on the banks of these rivers, and whence they waylaid the travelling merchants, still stand, picturesque memorials of those wild and lawless times. The cities of Swabia, particularly Reutlingen and Esslingen, carried on a lengthy contest with Ulrich, count of Wurtemberg, the bitterest enemy and the destroyer of cities, whose example on the Neckar was followed by the nobles on the Rhine. The exaction of a fresh and heavy toll on passing the Rheinfels, by Count Diether von Katzenellenbogen gave rise to the Rhenish league, to which the first impulse was given by Arnold de Turri, (of the *Thurm*, tower,) a citizen of Mayence, against the exactions and robberies of the nobles, A. D. 1247. The confederation, which at first solely consisted of Mayence, Worms, Spires, Basel, and Strassburg, was renewed after the death of Conrad IV., [A. D. 1255,] and was shortly swelled by sixty of the Rhenish and Swabian towns.

In 1271, it had gained great strength, and a considerable number of the fastnesses of the robber knights were destroyed, but it never attained the note enjoyed by the great northern Hansa.

The hopes of Germany, which lay, as it were, buried in the tomb of the last of the Hohenstaufen, revived with the maintenance of civil right by the cities, and a glorious prospect of civil liberty and of common weal opened to view.

PART XII.

SUMMIT OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CLXII. *The Hierarchy.*

THE spirit of religion, originally mild and lowly, had, at the period of which we treat, gradually assumed a character of fervid devotion and extravagant enthusiasm. The zealots of the times sought to realize a heaven upon earth, where God was to be represented by his vicegerent the pope, the angels by the immaculate priesthood, and heaven itself by the church, to which those whose lives were not entirely devoted to the service of God, the laity, mere dwellers on the outskirts of heaven, were to be subordinate.

The layman, the emperor, and the empire were thus to be subordinate to the priest, the pope, and the church, and the whole world was to be governed by a great theocracy, of which the pope was the head. The Sachsenspiegel, or Saxon code, says: "God sent two swords on earth for the protection of Christendom, and gave to the pope the spiritual, to the emperor the temporal one:" the Schwabenspiegel, that was shortly afterwards compiled in order to suit the schemes of the church of Rome, altered the sense thus: "God, now the Prince of Peace, left two swords here upon earth, on his ascension into heaven, for the protection of Christendom, both of

which he consigned to St. Peter, one for temporal, the other for spiritual rule. The temporal sword is lent by the pope to the emperor. The spiritual sword is held by the pope himself."

The subordination of all the princes of the world to a higher power, and the combination of all the nations of the earth into one vast and universal community, was in truth a grand and sublime idea; but unfortunately for its realization, the ecclesiastical shepherds allowed too much of earthly passion and of sordid interest to cling to them in their elevated and almost superhuman position, and gave an undue preponderance to the Italians in the universal community of nations, in which men were to regard each other as the children of the God of peace and love, in whose presence strife was to cease. That mutual concord is productive of mutual benefit has long been a received truth. The long-lost vigour restored by the German conqueror to ancient Rome, was repaid by the acquisition of learning, and of the knowledge and love of art, for which Germany owes, and ever must owe, a heavy debt of gratitude to Italy, and especially to the church of Rome; even the deterioration of German nationality by the preponderance of that of Rome may be viewed as the inevitable result of this universal and historical fact. The national rights of Germany nevertheless must not, as too often has been the case, be set aside, nor their violation be forgotten.

The Roman pontiff solely attained his gigantic power by undermining the German empire; and the success attending his schemes, far from being the result of the power of mind over matter, or of the superiority of the Italian over the German nation, may be chiefly ascribed to the treason of the great vassals of the crown, who, at first unable to assert their independence, willingly confederated with the pope, whom they regarded as a half-independent sovereign, whose power as the head of the nations of Italy might serve to counterpoise that of the emperor, and countenanced the dismemberment of Lombardy from the empire, the seizure of Lower Italy and of the Burgundian Arelat by the French, and the sole election of French or Italian popes. Italy could never have gained this novel preponderance without the aid of the princes of Germany. The election of German popes had been upheld by the emperors. If the ancient Roman empire had been overthrown

by Germans; if their victories over the Moors, the Hungarians, and the Slavonians had saved Christendom from ruin, and the whole heart of Europe was undeniably their own, why then should not Germany also preponderate in the church, and the pope be a German by birth? The germanization of the church would have been effected by the emperors had they not been abandoned and betrayed by the princes of the empire. It has been objected, that the sovereignty and tyranny of the emperor would have been a worse evil, and that the church of Rome would have been reduced in Germany to the state in which she now is in Russia; a consolatory reflection, founded upon an utter misapprehension of the national feeling throughout Germany. Had the unity of the empire and its external power been preserved under the emperor, civil and mental liberty would, in all probability, have reached a much higher pitch than they possibly could under a polygarchy influenced by the inimical and malicious stranger.

By the destruction of the Hohenstaufen, the popes, at the head of the Italians, gained a complete victory over the emperors, who until now had been at the head of the nations of Germany, but the means of which they made use in the pursuance of their schemes were exactly contrary to the tenets of the religion they professed to teach, nor was their vocation as vicegerents of Christ upon earth at all compatible with the policy by means of which, leagued with France, they pursued their plans in Italy, and continually injured, harassed, and degraded the Germans as a nation. For this purely political and national purpose, means were continually made use of so glaringly unjust and criminal, that the measure of offence was at length complete, and called forth that fearful reaction of German nationality, known as the Reformation. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century, it was the policy of Rome, as, since that period, it has ever been that of France, to weaken, to disunite, and to subdue Germany.

The remainder of the princes of Christendom were, after the fall of the German emperors, either too weak still to oppose the pope, or entered into alliance with, and supported him; as, for instance, the French monarch, whom he treated on that account with a condescension never practised by him towards an emperor of Germany.

The power of the pope over the church was absolute. His authority over the councils, which he convoked at pleasure, was uncontrolled. The canons, (*canones*,) or public decrees, were drawn up under his direction in the general council, and his private decrees, drawn up without its assistance, such as *decretalia*, *bullæ et brevia*, were of equal weight. The whole of these laws formed the body of the canon or ecclesiastical law (*corpus juris canonici S. ecclesiastici*). The first collection of Gratian, which, in 1151, had been opposed as the *new* Roman law to the resuscitated *old* temporal Roman law made use of by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa for the confirmation of his power, was, in 1234, completed and ratified by the pope, Gregory IX. In order to limit the power of the archbishops, which threatened to endanger his authority, the pope gradually withdrew the bishops from beneath their jurisdiction, and rendered them, as well as the monkish orders, solely dependent upon the pontifical chair. His next step was to give unlimited extension to the right of appeal from the lower courts to Rome, and, consequently, exemption or freedom from all other jurisdiction except that of the pope. Multitudes now poured into Rome with demands for justice, and the legates, for still greater convenience, travelled into every country and administered justice in the name of the pope. The appointment to ecclesiastical offices depended on him alone. The exclusion of the imperial vote had been gained in the great dispute concerning right of investiture. The power of the chapters was limited by papal reservations. At first the pope asserted his right to induct, independently of the episcopal chapters, successors to those bishops who died within a circle of two days' journey round Rome, an event of very frequent occurrence, Rome, on account of the right of appeal, being always filled with foreign clergy, and no bishop being confirmed in his dignity unless he appeared there in person. Before long the reservation was extended, and the pope decreed that on him alone depended the nomination to all ecclesiastical dignities that fell vacant during certain months, and finally asserted his right of removing or deposing the bishops, and of founding and of holding the nomination to new benefices. The pope, moreover, created, since the crusades, titular or suffragan bishops, possessed of no real bishoprics, but bearing the title of one in the Holy Land, (*in partibus*

infidelium,) that had to be conquered before they could be installed. These titular bishops were assisted by real bishops, who, in fact, acted as papal overseers.——The pope also possessed the right, as the monarch of the Christian world, of *taxing the whole of Christendom.* The taxes were partly direct, partly indirect. The former were styled annates or yearly allowances, and were merely levied upon the church, the laity contributing richly enough in other ways. Since the twelfth century, it had been the custom to pay a portion of the income of each ecclesiastical office to the pope, who, before long, claimed the whole income of the first year of installation. The indirect taxes were far more numerous. Both priests and laymen were taxed for the crusades and other pious purposes. The chattels of the bishops and abbots, which, on their decease, formerly fell to the emperor, were now inherited by the pope. Simony, so heavily visited upon laymen by the pontiff, was now practised by himself, and the sale of ecclesiastical dignities to the highest bidder, was by no means of rare occurrence.

The most terrible weapons wielded by the pope, were the ecclesiastical punishments in three classes; excommunication, or simple exclusion from the church; the bann, by which the criminal was outlawed and his murder declared a duty; and the interdict, which prohibited the exercise of church service in the city or country in which the excommunicant dwelt.—— These spiritual weapons were supported by an unlimited territorial possession, feudal right, an armed force, and an inexhaustible source of ever-increasing wealth. The pope was a temporal prince in the state of the church; the archbishops, bishops, and abbots in the empire, were no less temporal princes in their dominions. The amount of the pontifical treasury was every century swelled by tithes, indulgences, and fines, by offerings to the saints, by the gifts of the pious or the penitent.

The external power of the church was, nevertheless, surpassed by its internal, moral power. Had this moral power remained untinctured by the insolence resulting from unlimited rule, it would have become a blessing to every nation. But ordinances merely calculated to increase external authority were added to the simple tenets of the Christian religion. The most important of these new dogmas was the sanctity of

celibacy, which, since the time of Gregory IV., had been imposed as a duty upon the priesthood, and which at once broke every tie between them and the rest of mankind. The practice of celibacy caused them to be regarded in the superstition of the times as beings of angelic purity. The ceremony of ordination, from which the vow of eternal chastity was inseparable, raised the consecrated priest above every earthly passion, and bestowed upon him the power of holding direct intercourse with the Deity, whilst the layman could only hold indirect intercourse with him by means of the priest. In order to strengthen this belief, the mass, during which the priest holds up the Deity to the view of the layman, and confession, in which the layman receives remission of his sins in the name of God from the priest, were greatly increased in importance and signification. During the celebration of the Lord's supper, the chalice was at first withdrawn from the lower and plebeian classes, and, before long, from all laymen, and the priests alone were declared worthy of partaking of it. Thus was the equality of all mankind in the sight of God, as announced by the Saviour of the world, destroyed. The study of the Bible was, for similar purposes, also prohibited to all laymen.

External worship, the Roman liturgy, the solemnization of church festivals, were amplified. Innumerable new saints appeared, all of whom required veneration, particular churches, chapels, festivals, and prayers. The number of relics, to which pilgrimages were made, consequently, also increased.* Penances multiplied, among others, the fasts, at first so simple. Then came the ceremonies. The poetical feeling of the age, the idleness of the monks, and even the jealousy between their various orders, demanded variety.† Innumerable particular festivals, processions, religious exhibitions, which often de-

* One of the most extraordinary pilgrimages was founded by Frederick, archbishop of Treves, A. D. 1273, to the grave of St. Willibrod at Epternach, where a general dance in her honour was performed by the pilgrims, who, linked together, made two steps forward, one backward, and then zigzagged off to the right and left. This custom was kept up until very lately.

† Juliana, a nun at Liege, having, in 1230, seen the full moon with a piece out of it in a vision, and being told by a voice from heaven, that this signified the want of another great church festival, Urban IV. instituted that of Corpus-Christi.

generated to the most extravagant popular amusements, were instituted and varied according to the customs of different countries, or according to the peculiar history of the saint. Thus, for instance, the ass on which Christ entered Jerusalem, gave occasion to an ass's festival; the long fast, commencing with Easter, was prepared for by the most frantic gaiety, the present carnival, as if to wear out old sins by giving vent to them. Prayer was, on the other hand, as greatly simplified, and the rosary, which assisted the repetition of the same prayer by counting with the fingers, was introduced.

The dogma most important in its results, was the remission of sins, or absolution. No one by repentance could find grace before God unless first declared free from sin by the priest, and absolution, at first solely obtained by severe personal penance, was ere long much oftener purchased with money; and in order to implant the necessity of absolution more deeply in the minds of the people, the power of Satan, eternal torments in hell, and the pains suffered in purgatory until absolution had been obtained from some priest on earth, were forcibly depictured.——Still, notwithstanding the mischievous and bad tendency of these abuses, the enormous number of pious institutions and donations by which the church was enriched, afford a touching proof of the disposition of the people, who disinterestedly sacrificed their worldly wealth for the salvation of the dead, for parents, husbands, wives, and children. Thus did the church, for its ambitious purposes, abuse man's purer and gentler feelings.

The childlike belief in the direct intercourse between the visible and invisible world, and that of men with God, was the source of the deep poetical feeling and enthusiasm that characterize these times; and the popular respect for all that was or seemed to be holy, is the finest as well as the most striking trait of the middle ages.*

Germany was, at that period, divided into the following ecclesiastical provinces:—1. The archbishopric of Treves, with

* In 1465, the city of Berne, when the pyx with the holy of holies was stolen from the high altar in the cathedral, went into deep mourning on account of this proof of the anger of God. Gambling and luxury were abolished, splendour in apparel restricted, swearing severely punished, the morals of the citizens thoroughly reformed.—*Wirz. History of Switzerland.*

the bishoprics of Tull, Verdun, Metz. 2. The archbishopric of Mayence, the bishoprics of Spires, Strasbourg, Worms, Augsburg, Constance, Chur, Würzburg, Eichstädt, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Verden, Bamberg. 3. The archbishopric of Cologne, the bishoprics of Liege, Utrecht, Osnabrück, Münden, Münster. 4. The archbishopric of Salzburg, the bishoprics of Ratisbon, Freisingen, Passau, Brixen, Gurck, Chiemsee, Seckau, Lavant, Olmütz. 5. The archbishopric of Bremen, the bishoprics of Lübeck, (Oldenburg,) Schwerin, (Mecklenburg,) Ratzeburg, Camin, Schleswig. 6. The archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Zeiz, (Naumburg,) Merseburg, Meissen, Brandenburg, Lebus, Havelberg. 7. The archbishopric of Besançon, the bishoprics of Basle, Lausanne, Sion, Geneva. 8. The archbishopric of Prague, the bishoprics of Leutmeritz, Königsgrätz. To these were added, 9. The archbishopric of Riga, with the bishoprics Ermeland, Culm, Pomesania, Samland, Reval, Dorpat, Oesel. The bishopric of Breslau was independent. In the Netherlands, the bishoprics of Cammerich, (Cambray,) Doornik, (Tournay,) and Arras, were under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Rheims. The bishopric of Trident belonged to the patriarchate of Aglar (Aquileia). The archbishoprics and bishoprics belonging to the empire in Italy and the Arelat had long been lost.

Monasteries and nunneries rapidly increased in number. The oldest and richest were canonries or prebends, (similar to the episcopal chapters,) generally sinecures for the nobility. Even in the common monasteries the harder work was committed to the lay-brothers, (*fratres*,) whilst the actual monks (*patres*) merely prayed and sang.* A reaction in the pride and laziness of monastic life was, however, produced by some pious men who reformed the Benedictine orders, and reintroduced the severest discipline and complete renunciation of the world, as the Carthusians, the Premonstratenses, the Eisterzienses, etc.,† and finally, the great begging orders, the

* In some of the largest and richest monasteries, which contained several hundred monks, the choir service was carried on for centuries incessantly by day and by night, the monks relieving each other by turns. This was the case at Corbey, in Westphalia, and at St. Maurice, in the Canton Vaud.

† The order of the Carmelites was founded during the crusades on Mount Carmel, where the prophet Elias formerly dwelt in seclusion.

Franciscans and Dominicans, of whom mention has already been made as the pope's most devoted servants, his spiritual mercenaries or church police, who watched over his interest in different countries. Before long a jealousy arose between these two numerous orders, and a dispute broke out among the Franciscans, some of whom wished to modify the severity of the rules of their order, and to alter the vow of poverty so as to enable them to become, not the possessors, but the managers of property, whilst others resolved to persevere in the practice of the most abject poverty, humility, and penance. The latter, thoroughly animated with the spirit of the first teachers of Christianity, endangered the pope, by openly and zealously preaching against the worldliness and luxury of the church, in consequence of which Innocent IV. decided against them and countenanced the opposite party, A. D. 1245. The Franciscans refused to obey, and became martyrs in the cause. The contest was of long duration. They wrote openly against the pope, often supported the emperor against the church, and although delivered up to their bitterest enemies, the Dominicans, by whom they were burnt as heretics, their tenets continued to be upheld by some of the monks, and even influenced the universities.

At this period, German mysticism had already ceded to Italian scholasticism. The founder of this mysticism was, as has already been mentioned, the count and abbot, Hugh de St. Victoire. His Gothic system was grounded on the three original powers of the Deity, and their effect on the universe. The Godhead is triple, as Power, Wisdom, and Goodness; the universe is triple, as heaven, earth, and hell; the human soul is triple, in so far as it can freely revert to each of these three. In the chevaleresque spirit of the times, Hugh admonished men to bid defiance to the double spells of sense, (hell,) and of reason, (earth,) with eyes fixed in constant adoration on heaven; like the knight, who, intent upon freeing his beloved, fights his way through enchanted forests guarded by monsters. The power by which he is enabled to defy danger and to rise superior to temptation being pure, spotless love.——Incited by this example, Honorius, (Augustodunensis, of Augst, near Basle,) set up another mystical system, in which he represented the struggle of the soul, not like Hugo, as a courageous rejection of the world, but as a thorough

comprehension of the universe. He compared the world to a harp, whose discords were all reducible to harmony; and maintained that, although God might have departed from his original unity in the hostile contrasts in the world, man, like a little god, possessed the power of regaining the sense of divine unity by a knowledge of the harmony of the universe.—Rupert von Duiz, on the other hand, sought for manifestations of the Divine essence not so much in nature as in time, in history. He beheld God the Father manifested in the ancient pagan times until the birth of Christ, God the Son in the Christian and present times, and believed that God the Holy Ghost would be manifested at a third and future period. Thus, Hugh imaged Divine power, Honorius Divine beauty, and Rupert applied both to daily life, drew heaven down to the earth, the eternal into the finite. The idea of Hugh coincided with Christian knighthood, that of Honorius with Christian art, that of Rupert with great historical advance in civilization by a transmutation of forms. The thoughts of these three men portray the spirit of their times.

These mystic philosophers flourished during the reign of Barbarossa, and were succeeded by another, Albert the Great, a Swabian nobleman of the house of Bollstädt, bishop of Ratisbon, (1280,) whose name shone brightly as the star of the Staufen fell. His mind, although enriched with all the learning of the age, (by the ignorant he was suspected of magic,) was deeply imbued with Italian scholasticism. Still, although he joined the Italian philosophers, and became a thorough papist, he was distinguished from the rest of the scholastics by being the first who again made nature his study. He also sought to explain the idea of God theoretically, without reference to the ordinances of the church, but was weak enough to exercise his wit on this apparently open way of research for the mere purpose of attempting to prove that every papist dogma was both natural and necessary.——Among the papist zealots in the twelfth century was the oracle of the Guelphs, Geroch, provost at Reichersperg, the founder of Ultramontanism in Bavaria. He preached the destruction of all temporal kingdoms and the supremacy of the pope. The luxury of the ecclesiastics and the stupidity and licence of the monks, so glaringly opposed to the doctrines they professed, were, nevertheless, unsparingly ridiculed by the pen and

pencil. Nigellus Wireker wrote, at the close of the twelfth century, a biting satire (*Brunellus, seu speculum stultorum*) against the monks. At a later period, the spirit of ridicule gained increased force, being not only tolerated but fostered in the court of the emperor Frederick II., and characterizes the songs of the Minnesingers.*

The visions (*visiones, revelationes*) of ecstatic seers, dreamy images supposed to reveal the profoundest secrets of heavenly wisdom, formed the transition from mysticism to poetry. The first and most remarkable of these seers are St. Hildegarde of Bingen, and her sister Elisabeth, in the twelfth century; who were followed, in the thirteenth century, by St. Gertrude, and her sister Matilda, in Mansfeld; and in the Netherlands, by Maria von Ognis and Lydtwit. Cæsar von Heisterbach and Jordan wrote in general upon the visions of their times; and Henry von Klingenberg, a work upon the angels. The late discoveries in magnetism confirm the fact of these celebrated seers having been somnambulists. Highly-wrought poetical imagery pre-eminently distinguishes the visions of St. Hildegarde.

The Virgin Mary, the ideal of chastity and beauty, the model of piety for the women and the object of the ecstatic devotion of the men, formed the chief subject of the poetry of the times. The Latin work of the monk Potho glows with love and adoration; but the most valuable works of the age are, the Life of Mary, and hymns in her praise, written in German in the twelfth century, by Wernher, Philip the Carthusian, Conrad von Würzburg, Conrad von Hennesfurt, and by several anonymous authors; besides innumerable legends. Unlike the later legends distinguished for their wonders, repetitions, bad taste, boasting and flattery of many an ecclesiastical tyrant, of many a rich princess, who bequeathed their wealth to the church and were consequently canonized, those of this period are remarkable for their excellence, especially those in which a moral precept or a Christian tenet was artfully wound up with the history of a saint.† Most of the legends are written

* Art also exercised its wit. In the Strasburg cathedral there was a group in stone representing a boar carrying the holy water-pot and sprinkling brush, a wolf the cross, a hare the taper, a pig and a goat a box of relics, in which lay a sleeping fox, and an ass reading mass, whilst a cat acted as reading desk.

† Those legends, for instance, are extremely beautiful in which the

in Latin. Several of the German ones are in verse, that of St. Gregory by the celebrated poet Hartmann von Aue, that of St. George by Reinbot von Doren, that of St. Alexius by Conrad von Würzburg, that of St. Elisabeth by Conrad von Marburg and John Rote, Barlaam and Josaphat by Rudolf von Hohenems, and several others. Among the German poems on the life of Christ, "The Crucified," by John von Falkenstein, is pre-eminent. Besides these there are a multitude of parables, prayers, hymns, and pious effusions by the Swabian Minnesingers, whose heroic poetry and amorous ditties are also pervaded by the fear and reverence of God distinctive of their times. Several excellent sermons written in the thirteenth century in the Swabian dialect, by Berthold von Regensburg, (Ratisbon,) are still extant. Rudolf von Hohenems translated the Bible, up to the death of Solomon, in verse, for Henry Raspe the Bad, and intermixed it with legends and historical accounts. The celebrated Chronicle of the Emperors is also similarly interwoven with numerous and extremely fine legends; also Enikel's Universal Chronicle.

CLXIII. *Gothic architecture.*

ECCLESIASTICAL architecture took its rise from the Romans and Byzantines. After the crusades, and under the Hohenstaufen, a new style of architecture arose in Germany, far superior to the Byzantine in sublimity and beauty; the churches were built of a greater size, the towers became more lofty, lightness and beauty of form was studied, the pointed arch replaced the rounded one, and architecture was rendered altogether more symbolical in design. This new and

divine power of innocence is set forth, such as those of the childhood of Christ. Innocence struggling against and overcoming every earthly sorrow, as in the legend of the emperor Octavianus; its victory over earthly desires, as in that of St. Genoveva. The triumph of Christianity over paganism, of faith over worldly wisdom, is often the favourite subject, and is well described in the legend of St. Faustinianus. The fidelity with which the knight, conscious of his want of spiritual wisdom, serves the saint, is praised in that of St. Christopher. Faith and the force of will triumph over the temptations of the world in the legend of St. Antony. Faith and repentance snatch the sinner from the path of vice in that of St. Magdalene. And the victory of patient hope and faith over torture and death is recorded with boundless triumph in that of all the martyrs.

thoroughly German style was denominated the Gothic.* This art was cultivated and exercised by a large civil corporation. At an earlier period every monastery had its working-monks, (*operarii,*) architect, sculptor, painter, musician; but, in the thirteenth century, the great guild of masons and stonemasons was formed in the cities, who adopted in the service of the church its mystical ideas, and eternalized them in their gigantic labours. Their secret was preserved in the guild as the heritage of its members, who enjoyed great privileges and were termed Free-masons, their art the royal one. In Upper Germany, for instance, at Ulm, this guild even ruled the city for some time, a circumstance that explains the existence of so many fine churches in that city, in all of which the same idea, the same rules may be traced.

The churches were skilfully adorned with carved work, rich ornaments, pillars, and pictures, and built in such a manner as to echo and give the finest tone to music. At length the Germans acquired the grand idea of expressing the sublimity of the Deity by means of architectural designs; and whilst the churches still served their former purpose, the rough masses of stone became fraught with meaning. The majestic edifices still stand to bear witness to the spirit to which they owed their rise. The buildings were to be lofty and large, striking the eye with wonder and filling the heart with the feeling of immensity, for the God to whom the temple is raised is great and sublime. The appearance of heaviness was to be carefully avoided, art was to be hidden and its creations to spring forth with the apparent ease of a plant from the soil, for faith in God is neither forced nor oppressive, but free, natural, and sublime. The building must be lofty, the columns and the pillars shoot like plants and trees upwards towards the light, and terminate in high and pointed towers, for faith aspires to heaven. The altar must stand towards the East, whence came the Saviour. The chancel, the holy of holies, only trodden by the priest, must be separated

* The word Gothic has no reference either to the ancient Goths, Gothic architecture having taken its rise under the Hohenstaufen, or to the Spaniards, it having been first introduced into Spain by the masters John and Simon of Cologne, by whom the cathedral at Burgos was erected. The term "Gothic" has a later and an Italian origin, the Italians applying it to German architecture to denote its barbarity.

from the aisle, where stood the people, for the priesthood is nearer than the people to the Deity. Finally, the sublimity of the whole edifice was to be veiled by rich and beauteous ornaments, the straight and abrupt lines were to be bent into a thousand elegant curves and degrees, manifold as the colours of the prism, whilst the massive edifice rose as if from blocks of living stone, for God is hidden in the universe, in nature and in endless variety. All these ornaments had also one principal form, as if the idea of the whole pervaded each minute particle. This form is the rose in the windows, doors, arches, pillar ornaments; and borne by it, or blossoming out of it, the cross. By the rose is signified the world, life; by the cross, faith and the Deity. A cross within the rose was in the middle ages the general symbol of the Deity.*

The building was the work of centuries. The plan devised by the bold genius of one man required unborn generations to complete, for the live-long toil of thousands and thousands of skilful hands was necessary to impress the hard stone with the master's thought. With genuine self-denial and freedom from a mania for improvement, artists of equal skill followed in spirit and in thought the first laid-down plan, and each in turn, ambitious for his work and not for a name, have, almost all, the inventor and the perfecter, remained utterly unknown. The cathedral of Cologne is, both in size and in idea, the greatest of these works of wonder. It was commenced in 1248; the chancel was finished in 1320. It is still in an unfinished state, none of its towers are completed, and yet it is the loftiest building in the world, and surpasses all as a work of art. Ranking next to it stands the Strasbourg cathedral, begun in 1015, the plan of its celebrated tower was designed in 1276,

* The sublimity of Gothic architecture was regulated by a scale according to law. All the archiepiscopal cathedrals had three towers, two in front and one over the high altar. All episcopal ones had two on the western side. All parish churches one in front, or where the aisle joins the chancel. All chapels of ease, merely a belfry. Among the monastic churches, those of the Benedictines had two towers, between the chancel and the aisle; those of the Cistercians, one over the high altar; those of the Carthusians, a very high tower on the western side; those of the begging orders, merely a belfry, that of the Franciscans before, and that of the Capuchins over the door. The position of the altar to the east, was the same in all churches. The Jesuit and Protestant churches, at a later period, aped the old Roman architecture, and introduced tasteless ornaments and irregularity.

by Erwin von Steinbach, and the tower itself at length completed in 1439, by John Hütz of Cologne. The other tower is still wanting. Among the other great works of this period, may be enumerated the splendid churches of Freiburg in Breisgau, Ulm, Erfurt, Marburg, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Oppenheim, Esslingen, Wimpfen, Zanten, Metz, Frankfurt, Tann, Naumburg, Halberstadt, Meissen, the St. Stephen's church at Vienna; at a later date, the stately edifices at Prague, and numerous fine churches in the Netherlands. The palaces of Barbarossa at Hagenau and Gelnhausen have long been destroyed, besides many churches, for instance, at Paulinzelle, etc. Many of the town-council houses, as well as many of the cathedrals, still retain their ancient beauty.

Among the other arts in the service of religion, those of the sculptor, the founder, and the carver, were early put into requisition in Germany for the adornment of the churches. Fine statues existed as early as the age of the Ottos, for instance, that of Otto I. at Magdeburg, and that in the church at Naumburg of the time of Otto III. In Germany sculpture never rose essentially above architecture in merit. The secret of the great effect produced by art in the middle ages, was the accordance of every separate part with the whole, like the different organs of life, which, when united, expressed the idea no single part could represent, and produced a joint effect in which each art assisted the other. As the wondrous pile wholly consisted of sculptured materials, sculpture merely exerted its skill in shafts and decorations, whilst painted windows and frescoes gave light and colouring to each object, and the subject of each picture accorded with all around. Then the pile resounded and spoke like God from the clouds, from its lofty tower, or alternately sorrowed and rejoiced like man in the deep-swelling organ. The art of the founder and of the musician was devoted solely to the service of the church.

The worship of the saints encouraged that of images and pictures, which was at first violently opposed as heathenish and idolatrous: thus the people's natural sense of beauty saved art. The painting of profane subjects was also encouraged, as the picture of the battle of Merseburg, celebrated by contemporaries, proves. Painting also rose to greater perfection as architecture advanced. The fine old German paintings ap-

peared after the crusades. The picture of the Saviour, or of the Virgin, or of a saint, ever adorned the high altar. All the subordinate pictures were to correspond with and refer to that over the altar, and to represent the actions, the miracles, or the symbols of the patron *Deity* of the church. All represented sacred objects, or what was holy by profane ones. For this reason they were, until the fifteenth century, always painted upon a golden ground, which signified the glory and brightness of religion. Their subjects, whether landscapes or figures, bear a character of repose, for the essence of holiness is calm, childlike simplicity, and the truth of nature. The first great school of painting appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at Cologne, and probably resulted from the connexion between the Netherlands and Greece. Its most celebrated master, in the fourteenth century, was William of Cologne. A celebrated painter, Henry of Bavaria, flourished as early as the twelfth century; in the thirteenth, appeared Jacob Kern of Nuremberg; in the fourteenth, a society of painters formed at Prague, having at its head, Nicolas Wurmser, court painter to the emperor Charles IV. Painting on glass was afterwards brought to great perfection. Oil painting was first introduced about this period. This art appears to have been principally practised in the Netherlands, and more particularly in the city of Cologne, or, as it was called during the middle ages, the Holy City. The excellence and fame of the Colognese school remained unrivalled, and the works of William unsurpassed, until the commencement of the fifteenth century, when painting in oils was invented by a Dutchman, John van Eyk, the first master of the pure German school. A peculiar style of painting on parchment was practised in manuscripts. Charlemagne possessed devotional books ornamented with pictures, and almost all the manuscripts, until quite the latter part of the middle ages, are filled with them.

The churches were rendered still more imposing in various other ways, by the management of the light, the fumes of incense, the measured movements of the priests, the splendour of their attire, the sumptuous plate, etc. The solemn tones of the organ accompanied Latin hymns of deep and stirring import. Under the last of the Saliers, Guido d'Arezzo had introduced harmony into music in Italy. During the reign of Barbarossa, Franco of Cologne improved the writing and the measure of music.

CLXIV. *The Emperor and the Empire.*

ACCORDING to the idea of Charlemagne, the German emperor was to be the chief shepherd of the nations of Christendom, and to unite the separate races. The supremacy had, however, been usurped by the pope, to whom the emperor and the rest of the sovereigns and princes of Europe were declared subordinate. In the empire itself the officers of the crown had become hereditary princes, and their support of the emperor depended entirely on their private inclination. The emperor grasped but a shadowy sceptre, and the imperial dignity now solely owed its preservation to the ancestral power of the princely families to whom the crown had fallen. The choice of the powerful princes of the empire therefore fell purposely upon petty nobles, from whom they had nothing to fear; and even when the crown, by bribery and cunning, came into the possession of a great and princely house, the jealousy of the rest of the nobility had to be appeased by immense concessions, and thus, under every circumstance, the princes increased in wealth and power, whilst the emperor was gradually impoverished. Imperial investiture had become a mere form, which could not be refused except on certain occasions. The Pfalzgraves, formerly intrusted with the management of the imperial allods, had seized them as hereditary fiefs. The customs, mines, and other royal dues had been mortgaged to the church, the princes, and the cities; the cities had made themselves independent of the imperial governor, and the free peasantry, at length, also lost the protection of the crown, and fell under the jurisdiction of the bishops and princes, who again strove to enslave them.

The most productive sources of the imperial revenue were presents in return for grants of privileges, for exemptions from certain duties, and the legitimation of bastards, or for the settlement of disputed inheritances, with which a disgraceful traffic was often made. Thus the dukes of Austria paid a certain sum of money to the emperor for investing them with their dignity in their own territory, instead of in the diet. The taxes paid by the Jews for toleration within the empire also poured a considerable sum into the imperial treasury. They were on this account termed the lacqueys of the holy Roman empire. As the universities increased in importance

they were granted imperial privileges, and the emperor held the preferment to the professorships, etc., in his gift, which was managed in his name by a Pfalzgrave nominated for that purpose; but, as the dignities bestowed upon poor professors were not very profitable, the emperors carried on a more lucrative traffic in titles, which they bestowed upon the nobility, raising counts to the dignity of princes, lords to that of counts, and citizens to the knighthood. By this means there existed before long numbers of petty princes, having the title of duke, (*dux*,) who possessed a mere shadow of an army; counts, who were neither provincial nor popular judges; and all the doctors in the universities, although they might never have bestrode a horse, were enrolled as chevaliers or knights. These follies commenced in the fourteenth century.

According to the mystical fashion of the times, the different grades in the empire were illustrated by the number of the planets. The empire was represented as a great camp with seven gradations and seven shields, the first of which was borne by the emperor, the second by the spiritual lords, the third by the temporal princes, the fourth by the counts of the empire, the fifth by the knights of the empire, the sixth by the country nobility, the vassals of the princes, the seventh by the free citizens and peasantry; the serfs, who were incapable of bearing arms, being excluded.

The ancient distinction between the feudal vassals and the freehold proprietors still existed. Every knight who possessed an ancient allod, however small in extent, considered himself equal in birth to the most powerful counts and dukes. These nobles, originally nobles of the empire, were generally termed the *Semperfreien*, ever free. Their privilege consisted in their freedom from any bounden duty save to the emperor, whilst they could be feudal lieges over other freemen; a privilege so much the more pertinaciously insisted on by the weaker among them, who possessed rank without the ability to maintain it. Hence arose the importance attached to the ancient allod, to ancestral castles, to ancient names and arms, in short, to birth, and the haughty contempt with which the barons of the empire looked down upon the feudal nobility. There was, in reality, a great difference between the Semperfreien themselves, and the powerful dukes might often smile

at the impoverished counts and barons, (Freiherren,) who set themselves up as their equals in rank.

The three spiritual princes, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, had anciently precedence in the election of the emperor, and in the administration of the affairs of the empire. In the fourteenth century, four temporal princes associated themselves with them, and seized the exclusive right of electing the emperor and the exercise of the imperial offices as their hereditary right. Seven electors, or *Churfürsten*, were added to them on account of the mystic idea represented by the number. They were, the archbishop of Mayence, as archchancellor of the German empire; the archbishop of Treves, as chancellor of Burgundy; the archbishop of Cologne, as chancellor of Italy; the Rhenish Pfalzgrave, as imperial Truchsess, (*dapifer*,) seneschal, who at the coronation bore the imperial ball in the procession, and at the banquet placed the silver dishes on the table; the duke of Saxon-Wittenberg, as marshal of the empire, who bore the sword before the emperor, and acted as master of the horse; the Margrave of Brandenburg, as imperial chamberlain, who bore the sceptre before the emperor, held the ewer and basin, and managed the imperial household; the king of Bohemia, as imperial cupbearer. These *Churfürsten* elected the emperor according to custom at Frankfurt on the Maine, and crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle. The first diet was always opened by the emperor in person at Nuremberg.

This princely aristocracy, however, could not succeed in totally excluding the rest of the spiritual lords of the German church, the jealous nobles of the empire, and the powerful cities, from the government of the empire, and they were before long compelled to concede seats and votes in the diet to the bishops, abbots, petty princes, counts, knights, and burgesses.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the Babenbergs, the following princely houses or races come chiefly into notice; the ancient race of the Welfs in Brunswick, that of Wittelsbach in Bavaria, that of Ballenstädt or Ascanien in Brandenburg and Anhalt, the Zähringer in Baden, that of Wettin in Meissen, that of Löwen in Brabant and Hesse, then those of the counts of Habsburg, Luxemburg, Würtemberg, those of

the Truchsesses of Waldburg, Hohenzollern, Nassau, Oldenburg, all of which acquired great fame at a later period. The reigning families of Holland, Flanders, Gueldres, Juliers, Holstein, and Meran became extinct, and only the modern houses of Burgundy and Lothringia became celebrated in the west of the empire. To the south of the Alps, the Earl of Savoy, the Visconti in Milan, the Margraves d'Este in Ferrara, gained great power. In Hungary, the ancient royal house of Arpad reigned for a short period longer, and the old Slavonian races also in Bohemia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, (the descendants of Niclot,) and Silesia (the ancient house of Piast).

The prince only ruled as liege lord over his vassals, among whom all the clergy, all the counts and knights of the empire, the imperial cities, and free peasantry were not included, although within his demesnes. In his quality as duke, the prince had the banner, and a right to summon to the field; but the ancient duchies had been dismembered and divided into several fiefs, and the nobles of the empire marched under the imperial banner, so that the prince merely took the field at the head of his immediate vassals. In his quality as count, he had the right of jurisdiction, but merely over his vassals, the clergy and all the vassals of the empire being free from it. The highest officer who acted in the name of the prince, was the *Vizdom* or deputy, (*vice-domus*,) also termed the captain of the country. The sheriff of the country, who represented the prince in feudal matters, and the judge of the court, who superintended the private possessions of the prince, held sometimes separate offices. Many of the princes gained the privilege of no appeal being permitted from their tribunal to the emperor (*privilegium de non appellando*). The emperor, nevertheless, always remained the sole source of legislative and executive power, so that a privilege of this description can merely be counted as an exception, and the emperor had the right of bestowing new privileges, according to his will, throughout the whole empire, even on the princes his subjects. Below the upper provincial courts of justice, were especial provincial courts, answering to the ancient *Gau* or provincial courts, (*judicia provincialia*,) over which a sheriff presided; and below these again the old hundred courts, the bailiwicks with bailiffs and domain judges. The lower courts judged petty offences; the provincial courts of justice, capital crimes.

The power of the princes was also considerably increased by the royal dues, such as customs, mines, etc., conceded to them by the emperor.

The rule of the princes was most despotic in the Slavonian frontier provinces, where the feeling of personal independence was not so deeply rooted among the people; the princes of Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Austria, consequently, ere long surpassed the rest in power. In the western countries of Germany there were a greater number of petty princes. After rendering the emperor dependent upon themselves, the princes had to carry on a lengthy contest with the lower classes, the result of which was the institution of the provincial estates. The example of the princes, who had made their great possessions independent of the emperor and hereditary, was followed in turn by their vassals, the feudal nobility, who endeavoured to secure to themselves the free possession of their estates; whilst a fixed station, similar to that gained in the empire by the imperial towns and free peasantry, was also aspired to by the provincial towns and serfs. The tyranny of some of the princes, like Frederick the Quarrelsome and Henry Raspe, occasioned confederacies to be set on foot between the provincial nobility, the cities, and the peasantry, against the princes. In other places, the necessities of the princes caused the imposition of taxes, which, being at that period unheard of, were laid before the people in the form of requests (*Beden*, precaria). Hostile attacks, the encroachments of neighbouring powers, disputed claims, often rendered it necessary for the princes to turn to their subjects, and to purchase their aid with grants and privileges. It was in this manner that the provincial estates, which stood in the same relation to the prince as the imperial estates did to the emperor, and that provincial diets, which represented the imperial diet on a small scale, arose. At first, separate agreements were made for certain purposes. Thus, in 1302, the barons and knights of Upper Bavaria granted a tax to their duke; in 1307, the clergy and the cities did the same; but each estate separately, and it was not until 1396, that the three estates met in a general diet. The fourth or peasant class was only free, and therefore possessed of a right to sit in the diet, in the Tyrol, Wurtemberg, Kempten, Hadeln, Hoja, Baireuth.——The provincial diets secured the privileges of the princes and the estates, and bound

them together by the ties of mutual interest and mutual protection. The maxim of the estates was, "Where we do not counsel, we will not act."

The policy pursued by some of the princely houses is remarkable. Primogeniture (the right of the first-born to the whole of the inheritance, by which subdivision, so prejudicial to family power and influence, was avoided) was, notwithstanding the evident advantage, introduced at a later period, and became by no means general. The Zähringer and the Welfs at first attempted to strengthen themselves by means of the cities, in which they were unsuccessful, the cities of Zurich and Berne on the one hand, and that of Lübeck on the other, making themselves independent. The Wittelsbacher were more successful, and increased their authority by favouring the institution of the provincial estates. At a later period, the Habsburgs chiefly supported themselves upon the provincial nobility, the Luxemburgs on the citizen class, on art and science, and raised Bohemia to a high degree of civilization; whilst the Wurtembergs raised themselves imperceptibly to greater power, by purging their demesnes as much as possible of the ecclesiastical and lay lords and of the cities, and by solely favouring the peasantry.

The laws wholly consisted of treaties and privileges. The former were, 1st, Concordates between the emperor and the pope, in which the emperor always made concessions to the church, and by which the canon law was essentially increased. 2nd, Laws of the empire concluded in the diet between the emperor and the assembled states, and answering to the capitularies of former times, but now chiefly consisting of resolutions for the maintenance of public tranquillity, decrees of the states for the regulation of the empire. The independent spirit of the estates opposed a more comprehensive mode of legislation, as had been, for instance, attempted to be introduced by Frederick II. 3rd, Capitulations, grants, charters, negociations concerning inheritances and divisions, concluded between the emperor and the powerful princes. 4th, Feudal laws agreed to by the feoffer and the feodary. 5th, Provincial laws settled between the princes and the provincial estates. 6th, Federative laws of the federated knights, cities, and peasants. 7th, Commercial privileges of the citizens and peasantry. 8th, Privileges of corporations and guilds, some

for the single towns, others for the members of a corporation spread throughout the empire.* Every trade imposed its particular regulations upon itself; the customs of the craft were every where similar, and merely the political privileges of the corporation differed in different towns.

Privileges were conferred by the emperor, and also by the princes, and always merely related to single prerogatives.

The canon law, clear and comprehensive, as greatly contrasted with the confused state of the temporal legislature, as did the church with the empire. It was on this account that the Hohenstaufen endeavoured to introduce the Roman law, and, at all events, favoured the study of this law, which was introduced into the university of Bologna by the great lawyer Irnerus (Werner). Besides which, the Germans themselves endeavoured to compile general codes of law out of the numerous single laws. Eike (Ecco, Echard) von Repcow was the first who, by command of Count Hoier von Falkenstein, (the picturesque ruins of whose castle are still to be seen on the Harz,) collected all the Saxon laws, and formed them into a compilation called the *Saxonspiegel*, or Saxonlage, written in Latin and low German, A. D. 1215. It contained the imperial prerogatives, feudal laws, provincial laws, and ancient usages in law matters, and every Saxon could refer to it for information in every legal case. Whenever the ancient Saxon law opposed the new papal ordinances, it was defended and maintained, on account of which the pope rejected many of the rights insisted on in this code. Although the Saxonspiegel was simply a private collection, (first ratified by Frederick II.,) and was not only far from containing all the German laws, but was also compiled without reference to order, the want of a general code of laws was so deeply felt, that this code shortly became extremely celebrated, was continually copied, and finally completed by the addition of local laws and regulations. In 1282, it appeared in a new form as the *Schwabenspiegel*, or code of Swabian laws, and, as was natural on

* For instance, the pipers and musicians, who had a distinct court of justice, as also had the singers at a later period. The bee-masters' court in Nuremberg, an imperial court of justice for the free corporation of bee-masters, who, during war-time, sent a contingence of six arquebusiers to serve the empire, and whose honey furnished the celebrated Nuremberg gingerbread, was peculiar of its kind.

the fall of the Hohenstaufen, with a much more decided papist tendency; also with new additions, as the standard law-book and imperial law, to all of which the Sachsenspiegel served as a foundation.—Among the especial laws, the feudal laws of Lombardy of 1235, and the Austrian provincial laws of 1250, the municipal laws of Soest and Lübeck, and the Friscian peasant laws, were the most celebrated.

The feudal system gradually gained ground. So little was it deemed disgraceful to be a feodary, that it often happened that the feudal lord was at the same time vassal to his vassals.* Hence arose the strange and scarcely accountable symbols of enfeoffment. When a wealthy man of rank held a property or a privilege in fee of an inferior, he humbled himself merely in a laughable manner before him. The same took place between equals, and, in this manner, a number of feudal tenures became associated with ridiculous customs suggested by chance and by good humour.† The feoffee of a church was invested by touching the bell-rope.

In the administration of justice, the right of every criminal to choose his own judges was still preserved. Thus, the *Schwabenspiegel* says, "Every temporal tribunal is raised by election, in order that no lord may impose a judge upon the people except the one whom they choose themselves." In the same manner, the proceedings were held in public, and conducted by word of mouth, both in the imperial courts of justice and all others, down to those of the peasantry. Even evidence by averment, single combat, and ordeals was still retained in the law, and single combat came into still greater practice on account of the customs of chivalry.‡

* The emperor Henry VI. was invested by the bishop of Basle, A. D. 1185, with the city of Breisach. *Och's History of Basle.*

† Dümge has given several examples. A monastery had, when first invested, presented the feudal liege with a pair of boots, which he probably needed at the moment, and was consequently obliged to present him annually with a pair. The emperor Sigmund, when on a journey being once well entertained, invested his host with a meadow; the host in return engaging to meet every emperor who might visit that part of the country with a waggon-load of cooked meats served in dishes. The city of Nimwegen sent a glove full of pepper as an annual offering to the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, in return for the decision of their law cases by the tribunal of the latter city. *Birkenmeyer's Antiquarian Curiosities.*

‡ Even among the lower classes and among women. In the thirteenth century, it was the custom when a complaint was brought before the

The influence of the Roman and Mosaic notions, however, introduced a fresh barbarity into criminal law, unknown in Germany, even during the earliest ages. All the lower courts were not only empowered, as formerly, to fix the *Wergeld* or fine at a certain amount, but also to pronounce over "hide and hair," that is, to adjudge the criminal to be flogged, beaten, or shorn; whilst all the upper courts were empowered to pronounce over "head and hand," over life and death. The gallows and the rack were ever at work. Chopping off the hands, putting out the eyes, etc., became the order of the day. It is remarkable in the transition from the ancient Germanic to the Roman-Mosaic administration of justice, that the office of headsman, which, in ancient pagan times, was a priestly function in the name of the Divinity, was long deemed sacred and honourable, and was, consequently, performed by the youngest counsellors; and it was not until Roman tortures and numerous and cruel bodily punishments and modes of death were introduced together with the Doctors of the Roman law, that the people attached the idea of disgrace and infamy to the headsman's office, now become both hateful and difficult to perform, and it was for the future committed to a newly-formed corporation or society of headsmen, who were licensed to follow that bloody and disgusting profession, but were, on that account, deprived of all honourable privileges in social life.—The mode of crime often furnished the mode of punishment. Thus, for instance, coiners were boiled in kettles. Heretics were burnt alive. The aristocracy, like the clergy, enjoyed privileges. For a high dignitary of the church to be convicted of misdemeanour, a greater number of witnesses were requisite than could by any possibility be present. It gradually became a settled custom, that equals in birth alone could prefer a complaint against one another. The emperor himself conferred the right upon certain knights of being solely amenable to accusations laid to their charge by another knight. The same difference was made in punishments; the hanging of a knight has always been cited by historians as an exception, and that of the lower classes as a general

court of the violation of female chastity, and the matter could not be proved, for the defendant to be buried in the ground up to his middle, and, armed with a stick an ell in length, to fight with the complainant, who struck at him with a stone tied up in her veil. *Gasser. Chronicle of Augsburg.*

rule.——The Roman law also introduced the use of the most horrid modes of torture into the German administration of justice; and also in law-suits, written and secret proceedings gradually gained ground by means of secret examinations, written decisions, and reports to higher courts.

In Westphalia, as in Friesland, the ancient mode of administering justice was longest preserved. There the provincial Grafs still held their tribunal in the open air, with the elected justices or sheriffs, in the presence of the free peasantry. This tribunal was denominated a free court of justice; the seat of justice, the free seat; the Graf, the free Graf; the sheriffs, the free sheriffs. In each district, *Gau*, or province, were several seats of justice, answering to the ancient hundred courts. These courts were afterwards replaced by the *Femgericht*, superior or high court of judicature, the secret tribunal (*secreta judicia*) formed under the great regent of the empire, Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, and duke of Westphalia, who federated with a number of honourable men of every class for the purpose of secretly judging and punishing all evil-doers. Secrecy was, at that time, highly necessary, each of the judges, in case his name was discovered, being exposed to the vengeance of the innumerable turbulent spirits. The utility of this tribunal was ere long so generally recognised, that in the fourteenth century it already counted 100,000 members. These members were bound by a solemn oath. A traitor was hanged seven feet higher than other criminals. The chief judge presided over the whole of the members. Next in order were the free Grafs, who elected the chief judge; then the free sheriffs, who elected the free Graf; and fourthly and lastly, the messengers who summoned the court and the accused, and executed the sentence. All the members recognised each other by a secret sign. No ecclesiastic, except the spiritual lord, no Jew, woman, or servant, were permitted among the members, nor were they amenable to the court. Freeborn laymen alone were, in this manner, judged by their peers. Such accusations were also alone brought before this court that either had not been, or could not be, brought before any other. The tribunal assembled in secret. A member came forward as accuser. The accused was summoned three times. There was no appeal except in cases of indecision, and then only to the emperor

or to the pope. If the accused neglected to appear, the oath of the accuser was declared sufficient proof of his guilt. On the other hand, every member accused by another could clear himself by oath. The condemned criminal was secretly and mysteriously deprived of life. His body was always found with a dagger marked with the letters S S G G (stick, stone, grass, *grein*) plunged into it.

CLXV. *The aristocracy and the knighthood.*

The lower nobility were of three kinds. The old and proud families, who still retained their allods and despised feudality, were the sworn enemies of the princes, the bishops, the abbeys, and the cities. Within the walls of their ancestral castles they bade defiance to all, and acknowledged no superior except the emperor. The more powerful families strove to place themselves on an equal footing with the princes, and took advantage of the disturbances of the times to extend their authority, more especially since the fall of the duchies of Franconia, Saxony, and Swabia. In this manner, noble families, such as those of Habsburg, Luxemburg, Wurtemberg, Hohenzollern, Nassau, Mansfeld, Schwarzburg, etc., which, at first, merely possessed some small castle, gradually rose. The weaker families were partly ruined by their more powerful neighbours, who attacked and reduced them to submission, and partly maintained their independence by entering into a mutual league after the example of the cities. The mode in which these bold knights existed was very romantic.* Whenever the labour of their en-

* The memory of the wild knights still lives in numerous legends. The four robber-nests of the notorious knight Landschaden von Neckar-Steinach still stand on the Neckar. This knight was put out of the bann of the empire, but disguising himself in black armour, and wearing his vizor always closed, accompanied a crusade to the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself by performing prodigies of valour, and at length, when the emperor, struck with his bravery, offered him a reward in the presence of his other knights, lifted his vizor and discovered the well-known features of the old robber.—Who is there throughout Bavaria unacquainted with grim Heinz von Stein? And stories, like the following, are to be met with in all the old chronicles. A troop of Hessian robber-knights, headed by the lords of Bibra, Ebersberg, Thüngen, and Steinau, entered the little town of Brückenau concealed in wine-casks,

slaved serfs was insufficient for their maintenance and for that of their men-at-arms, they robbed the monasteries, and waylaid the merchants travelling with their goods from one city to another. The citizens often marched against them, and sometimes the emperor in person; many of their castles were destroyed, and themselves, whenever they could be caught, hanged on the nearest tree, booted and spurred.——It often happened that several poor neighbouring knights would build a castle at their common expense, in which they dwelt together, and which formed the common inheritance of their children. These were termed co-proprietors. In the songs of the Minnesingers, the bitter complaints of the poor knights, that although equal in birth to the princes, they were so far inferior to them in power, are of frequent recurrence.

The nobles belonging to the different orders of knighthood formed a second and distinct class. They also still breathed the spirit of ancient freedom and proud independence, and, at the same time, acquired an aristocratic influence, equalling that of the princes. The first of these orders, the Templars, became so powerful in Italy, that the French monarch made use of his influence over the pope, in order to annihilate them. Had the German order of knighthood settled in the heart of Germany, a coalition between it and the whole of the discontented nobles of the empire would have resulted, and a strong opposition have thus been raised against the princes; but by migrating to the utmost limits of the empire, to Prussia, it ever remained a stranger to the internal affairs of Germany, merely recruiting its numbers from the German aristocracy.

out of which they crept during the night, and pillaged the place, but, being delayed by packing the booty, were attacked by the citizens, and, after losing all their ill-gotten gain, were chased from the town. The independent spirit of the knights, however, was sometimes shown in a more worthy manner. The legend of the knight Thedel Unverferden von Wallmoden, who was said to use the devil as his steed, and was famed for his fearlessness, is perfectly in accordance with the age. Henry the Lion once attempting to startle him by suddenly biting his finger, he gave him in return a hearty box on the ear, angrily exclaiming, "Have you become a dog?" The conduct of the Freiherr von Krenkingen was still more independent; when visited by the emperor Barbarossa at his estate at Tengen near Constance, he received him sitting, because he held his lands in fee of no one but of the sun, and although he personally honoured the emperor, did not own him as his liege lord.

The feudal aristocracy formed a third class as court nobility, and filled all the chief offices of state. This class consisted of the ancient *ministeriales*, who actually served at court,* and of the vassals, the feudal nobles, who either held lands in fee of the clergy and of the temporal princes for services rendered, or who had changed their originally free allods into a *feudum oblatum*. These nobles, although raised by their own services, still maintained an aristocratic power, opposed to that of the princes. The vassals often rose in arms against their liege, as was the case in Thuringia, Austria, Bavaria, etc., and at length gained new political rights as provincial estates, and yet these nobles were bound both by their feudal oath, by habit, and by interest, to the court of the prince. Many fiefs were inseparable from court offices, and those knights who could neither live by robbery, support the solitude of their rocky fastnesses, nor enter the church, were alone able (no value being at that period attached to agriculture and industry) to satisfy their ambition, their love of splendour, and their romantic love of adventure, at court.

The institution of knighthood (*ordo militaris*) was founded during the crusades, and formed an exclusive society, in which novices (noble youths, pages, *guargune*, armour-bearers) and companions (squires, men-at-arms) learnt the art of arms under the master, (a knight,) and followed him to the field, until they had rendered themselves worthy of the honour of knighthood. The ceremony consisted of being invested with the weapons sacred to knighthood, and receiving a stroke with the flat of the sword,† which was deemed the highest honour that even a sovereign could attain. The youthful knight, in sign of devoting himself to the service of God, prepared himself like a priest by fasting and watching (over his arms at night) for the solemnity, and, robed in white, swore, before the altar,

* It often happened that their original vassalage was not removed, even when a family was already in the enjoyment of all the other privileges of the ministerial nobles, but it was only in law questions that the real rank of these aristocrats was brought into notice. Hüllmann has collected several cases of this kind.

† With the words:

"In honour of God and the Virgin pure,
This receive and nothing more,
Be honest, true, and brave,
Better knight than slave."

ever to speak the truth, to defend right, religion, and her servants, to protect widows, orphans, and innocence, and to fight against the infidels. Besides these general duties, each knight imposed upon himself the private one of fighting in honour of his mistress or his wife, bore her favourite colour and her token, and used her name as his war-cry.

The institution of knighthood was the result of the ancient heroic spirit of our pagan forefathers, sanctified by that of Christianity. The chivalric school of arms was an imitation of the ancient warlike fraternities, in which personal bravery and unflinching courage were, as in chivalry, necessary in the warrior. The ancient spirit of the people might be traced even in the lawless insolence of the wild robber-knights and ruffians. It was this spirit that inspired these bold and venturesome knights with such profound contempt for all law save sword-law, according to the motto of that wildest of knights, Count Eberhard von Wurtemberg; "The friend of God and foe of all mankind!" Like to a race of royal eagles, they built their eyries on the summits of the rocks, and looked down with proud contempt on the laborious dwellers in the vale. It was the same spirit that drove them to the mountain tops, there to erect their lordly castles, and thence to rule the plain, that in olden time caused mountains to be selected for the abode of kings and the seat of gods. The hardy habits of these mountain knights, life and continual exercise in the open air, the objects by which they were surrounded, the sunny height, the forest shade, the rushing stream, the flowery mead, also fostered in their bosoms that love of nature, with which the German in days of yore was so strongly imbued, and tuned the poet's soul.

The courts of the emperor and of the princes naturally became the centres of chivalry. It was in these courts, to which the assemblage of knights lent splendour, that they sought to earn distinction by deeds of prowess in honour of their dames, and acquired all the accomplishments of the day. Wherever a prince proclaimed a tournament the knights poured in crowds to the spot. A herald or king-at-arms examined their genealogies and right of admission to the noble pastime. After the usual forms, the tournament began in the presence of the princes, of the ladies, by whom the prize was bestowed, and of an innumerable crowd composed of every class. The

advantage of ground, light, and sun was rendered as equal as possible. The weapons also were alike. A tournament generally signified a mimic fight, of which there were several kinds, on foot and on horseback, merely with the sword and the lance. The principal part of the tournament was the tilting or breaking of lances, by which the prowess of the knights was proved. The knights and their horses were clothed cap-à-pie in mail, and ran against each other with long heavy lances. The one who bore the fearful blow without being unseated, and cast his opponent to the ground, was declared victor.* This dangerous sport often proved fatal.† Each knight bore his arms. Each of the nations of Germany had originally two colours, into which the shield was divided, or one was the ground-colour and the other that of the figure represented upon it. These colours were the same in every family belonging to the same nation, the figures alone varying. The French shields were white and red, those of the Swabians red and yellow, those of Bavaria white and blue, those of Saxony black and white. The hereditary offices of the empire and the free imperial towns assumed the colours of the reigning dynasty.‡ The rapid succession of different reigning families, the intermixture and exchange of feudal possessions, had, it is true, been productive of great confusion in the ancient colours of the four principal nations of Germany.

* The old German custom was to tilt freely at each other; the Italian custom was to place a barrier between the knights, along which they rode, each on the opposite side, against the other, so that the men and not the horses received the blow. As the spirit of chivalry declined, the armour became less ponderous—this was termed the modern mode. There were four distinctive modes of tilting, the old German, the modern German, the Italian, and the modern Italian. There were also numerous varieties of tilting, differing from the real fight, that is, from the various modes of fighting on foot with long or short swords, daggers, clubs, battle-axes. The best accounts are to be found in Schemel's Book of the Tournament, in manuscript, with coloured designs, (the only one of its kind,) in the Ambraser collection at Vienna.

† At a tournament held at Magdeburg in 1175, sixteen knights were slain; at one at Neuss in 1256, thirty-six; in 1394, at Liegnitz, the duke, Boleslaw, lost his life; and in 1496, twenty-six knights fell.

‡ The Imperial colours took from the Saxon dynasty black, from the Franconian red, and from the Swabian gold colour. Under the Carlovingians they were simply Franconian, white and red. Those of France were, for the same reason, originally white and red, the blue afterwards added was the colour of the Valois.

The greatest variety reigned in the symbols, each family having its own peculiar sign; and some individuals again made choice of particular ones, as, for instance, Henry the Welf, the lion, Albrecht of Brandenburg, the bear. It must further be remarked, that the names of families with the addition "von," was originally no sign of nobility of birth, every peasant having a right to add to his name that of his birthplace or place of abode.

It was at the courts that the knights also learnt to carry the feeling of honour to a high degree of refinement, and to practise the customs of chivalry. There it was that they smoothed down the rough, coarse manners that had accompanied them from their villages, that blood-thirsty cruelty was checked, and the difficult art of honour fostered and cultivated to an incredible excess, with the same assiduous enthusiasm with which the Germans, at that period, pursued every object regarded by them as sacred. When at length the spirit had vanished that once animated the noble to deeds of chivalry, the dead form of honour alone remained in the corrupt system of duelling, and in the foolish prejudices allied with birth and station.

The service of the fair formed an essential part of courtly and knightly customs. It originated in the reverence paid during pagan times to women, was ennobled by Christianity, and, in conformity with the rules of art and manners, practised in the courtly circle, and admitted into the code of honour. To insult or injure a woman was against the laws of chivalry, for honour imposed upon the strong the defence and care of the weak. Woman, the ideal of beauty, gentleness, and love, inflamed each knightly bosom with a desire to serve her, to perform great deeds at her bidding or in her name, to worship her as a protecting divinity or a saint, to conquer or to die under her colours; and this submission to the gentle yoke of women, bred in humility and religion, chiefly contributed to civilize and humanize the manners of the age. The knight of renowned courage and an adept in the rules of honour was likewise required to understand the rules of female society, the service of the fair, courtship or the service of love, before he could secure the reward of love, the heart and hand of his beloved. Love became an art, a knightly study. The rules of love were recorded in verse and in song, and applied

with the greatest minuteness to every case. There were also courts of love composed of select women and knightly poets, who gave their judgment with extraordinary sagacity on every question of love. This art was in romantic countries termed gallantry, a term now merely indicative of the empty, vain shadow of the ancient reality. The difference is so great, that the term gallantry, which at that period signified modesty and virtue, now signifies immodesty and vice. Fidelity was the very essence of true love. And the practice of chastity and continence bestowed those blessings of health and strength on the generations of that period, which the licence of later ages, like rust upon iron, could alone destroy.

CLXVI. *The chivalric poetry of Swabia.*

THE chivalric poetry of Swabia flourished from the commencement of the twelfth until that of the fourteenth century. The poets sang to the harp, the favourite instrument during the middle ages. The violin or fiddle appears to have also come into use at an early period, the singers being termed harpers or fiddlers. Poetry, of whatever description, was generally in rhythm, an ancient German invention, and peculiar to the German language, it having been unknown to the more ancient nations, the Greeks and the Romans, and being adopted from the German by the Italians of more modern date. By the metre the shortness or length of the vowel was merely marked; rhythm, on the contrary, marked the difference between the vowels, and added the charm of harmony, thus converting the monotonous rise and fall of one tone into a language varied as the tones of music. Rhythm introduced a higher species of poetry, and added richness and expression to language.

Minnelieder, or love songs, were of high antiquity in Germany. We find, in the time of Louis the Pious, that the German nuns sang *Winlieder*, (*Win*, friend,) which were forbidden as too worldly by that pious emperor. In the days of chivalry the sun of love once more rose upon Swabia, and awoke thousands of flowers, a world full of songs of love, which have been handed down to us by hundreds of poets. The joy of the heart is in these songs compared to spring; pain, to winter.

They are full of beautiful comparisons. They are themselves flowers, their roots the heart, their sun love, their atmosphere fate. The preservation of the most beautiful of the *Minnelieder* is due to the noble knight, Rudiger Maness von Manek, a citizen of Zurich, who, about the year 1300, assiduously collected them into a manuscript enriched with pictures. This collection was left at Paris by mistake in 1815. Another valuable collection of *Minnelieder* is to be seen at Jena, a smaller one at Heidelberg. Among the Minnesingers were several princes, among whom the Hohenstaufen chiefly distinguished themselves; the emperor Frederick II., Manfred, and Enzio always used the Italian language; *Minnelieder*, in the German tongue, of the emperors Henry VI. and Conrad of Swabia, are still extant, besides some composed by Wenzel, king of Bohemia, Henry, duke of Breslau, Henry, duke of Anhalt, John, duke of Brabant, Henry, Margrave of Meissen, Otto, Margrave of Brandenburg, etc. The finest and greatest number of *Minnelieder* were the work of Swabian nobles of lesser degree, the most distinguished among whom was Walther von der Vogelweide, who sang not only of love, but of national glory, and of the corruption that began to prevail in the church and state. Next to him came Reinmar von Zweter. The most ardent admirers of the sex were Ulrich von Lichtenstein, (who, attired as "Dame Venus," travelled from Venice into Bohemia, challenging every knight to single combat,) and Henry Frauenlob of Mayence, who was borne to his grave by the most beautiful of the women of that city, and wine was poured over his tomb. Hartmann von Owe was the finest of the pastoral poets.

An anonymous poet of the twelfth century blended the finest of the old ancestral legends of the Franconians, Burgundians, and Goths, bearing reference to Saxony, Swabia, and Bavaria, into one great epic poem, that carries us back to the time of Attila, (Etzel,) and in the description of the different races and of their heroes borrows many traits from later history, and softens the gloom and cruelty of pagan times by tinging the whole with the brighter spirit of chivalry and Christianity. This most extraordinary of all German poems is the song of the Nibelungen, which has been with justice said to figure in German poetry as the epic poem of Homer does in that of Greece. The general idea of the *Nibelungenlied* is similar

with that of the Edda, nor is the resemblance fortuitous. The fate of the ancient heroic age was fixed beforehand; it was to be fulfilled by the universal struggle caused by the migrations, and the new and milder age promised in the Edda after the conflagration of the world, was to commence with the Christian era, and under the wise legislation of Theodoric the Great. The composer of the Nibelungenlied took a similar view of ancient times. He assembles all the German heroes at Etzel's court, and destroys them all, together with the empire of the Huns, in one immense conflict, whence Dietrich von Bern (Verona) alone issues victorious and becomes the founder of a new era.

The histories of Henry IV., of the Saxon war, and of Frederick Barbarossa, (Günther Ligurinus,) written in Latin verse, are imitations of the ancient Roman poets. The following heroic legends, written in German rhythm, bear more resemblance in their tone and spirit to the ancient book of heroes; the legend of Duke Ernst of Swabia, written by Henry von Veldek and others, the wondrous histories of Henry the Lion, Louis of Thuringia, Frederick of Swabia, Frederick the Quarrelsome, Godfred of Bouillon, etc., and many other ancestral legends of both the princes and lower aristocracy.

To these may be added the chronicles written in rhythm of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which historical facts intermingle with legendary tales.

The poetry of Germany became gradually influenced by the taste prevalent throughout Europe. The orders of knighthood embraced the whole of the Christian aristocracy of Europe, without distinction of nation or of language, and the conquest of the holy sepulchre united them in one common object, and brought them into contact. They became acquainted with the manners and customs of the East, studied the poets of Greece and Rome, and the fantastic magic tales of Araby. A new species of poetry, full of warmth and life, replaced the old popular legends; a similar spirit animated the poets of Germany and Italy, who mutually borrowed from each other. German romance, however, bore away the palm, and surpassed that of rival nations both in compass and depth.

In the twelfth century, the legends of Greece and Rome began to be interwoven with those of Germany, and gave

birth to the chronicle of the emperors, which was written in verse. This and other chronicles of the same period are a complete medley of ancient legends and classical stories. Lamprecht's Life of Alexander the Great is, on the other hand, remarkable for beauty and simplicity, but the tone was first given to German romance by Henry von Veldek, in the reign of Barbarossa, the splendour of whose court he has described in his free translation of the Æneid. He was followed by several others of the same school. The foreign legends of King Arthur of the round table, etc., were also borrowed and successfully imitated. These poems, still breathing the spirit of those chivalric times, are in themselves a golden key to the middle ages.

In the thirteenth century, Reinecke Fuchs, a satire written by Willem de Matoc in the Netherlands, offered a strong contrast with this chivalric poetry, and ridiculed the policy of the courts and of the great with surpassing wit. The materials from which this fable was composed, belong to a still earlier date, and appear to have formerly served as satires upon political life.

The knights, assembled at the different courts, emulated each other in feats of arms or in song. The German legendary bards, in particular, opposed, as national poets, those of the holy "Graal," or universal ones. Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, assembled the most renowned poets of the age of either party in the Wartburg, where a prize was to be contested. Among the number were Henry von Veldeck, Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Bitterolf, Reinhard von Zwetzen, Henry von Ofterdingen. They first tried each other's wit, by proposing enigmas and ingenious questions. Henry von Ofterdingen sang in praise of Leopold, duke of Austria, and Wolfram von Eschenbach in that of the Landgrave Hermann. The contest, without doubt, aroused bitter feelings; these two bards had been the most redoubtable champions of German legendary poetry and of that of the holy Graal, and the feud carried on during those times between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines is visible even in their songs. This is seen in the names of the German-Rhenish Nibelungen, and of the Italian-Gothic *Wölfinger*, Welfs; and a poem of Henry von Ofterdingen, the Little Rose-garden, clearly favours the *Wölfinger* (Welfs or Guelphs). Accord-

ing to the story, the contest between Wolfram and Henry became at length one of life and death, and the headsman stood in readiness to decapitate the discomfited singer. Eschenbach's metallic notes were victorious, and Henry von Ofterdingen fled for protection to the Landgravine Sophia, who covered him with her mantle and saved his life. He received permission to visit Hungary and bring thence to his assistance the celebrated bard and magician, Clingsor, to whose art and influence at court he afterwards owed his life. This scene took place in the great hall in the Wartburg, which is still standing, A. D. 1207.

The pipers and musicians were distinct from the knightly bards, and exercised their art merely at festivals and dances. They travelled about in small bands. They also formed a particular guild or society, that spread throughout the whole empire; the counts of Rappoltstein in Alsace, who were their hereditary governors, were termed the piper-kings, and, adorned with a golden crown, annually held a great court of justice, the pipers' court, to which all the musicians in Europe brought their complaints.

CLXVII. *The cities.*

THE cities had, from an insignificant origin, risen to a height of power that enabled them to defy the authority of the sovereign, and to become the most powerful support of the empire. Increasing civilization had produced numerous wants, which commerce and industry could alone supply. The people, moreover, oppressed by the feudal system in the country, sheltered themselves beneath the Ægis of the city corporations. The artisans, although orginally serfs, were always free. In many cities the air bestowed freedom; whoever dwelt within their walls could not be reduced to a state of vassalage, and was instantly affranchised, although formerly a serf when dwelling beyond the walls. In the thirteenth century, every town throughout Flanders enjoyed this privilege. It was only in the villages that fell, at a later period, under the jurisdiction of the towns that the peasants still remained in a state of vassalage. The emperors, who beheld in the independence and power of the cities a defence against the princes and the

popes, readily bestowed great privileges upon them, and released them from the jurisdiction of the lords of the country, the bishops and the imperial governors. The cities often asserted their own independence, the power of a bishop being unable to cope with that of a numerous and high-spirited body of citizens. They also increased their extent at the expense of the provincial nobility, by throwing down their castles, by taking their serfs as Pfahlbürger, (suburbans,) or by purchasing their lands.

The imperial free cities had the right of prescribing their own laws, which were merely ratified by the emperor. The sovereign princes of the country at first projected laws in favour of the citizens, as, for instance, the Zähringer, the town-laws of Freiburg in the eleventh century, and Henry the Lion, those of Lübeck. The celebrated town-laws of Soest date from the twelfth century. These were followed by those of Stade, earlier than 1204; those of Schwerin, in 1222; of Brunswick, in 1232; and by those of Mühlhausen, Hamburg, Augsburg, Celle, Erfurt, Ratisbon, etc. To the right of legislation was added that of independent jurisdiction, which was denoted by the pillars, known as Roland's pillars, and by the red towers. The red flag was the sign of penal judicature, and red towers were used as prisons for criminals, and as the practice of torture became more general in criminal cases, torture, famine, witch, and heretic towers were erected in almost every town. The management of the town affairs was at length entirely intrusted to the council, which originally consisted of the sheriffs headed by a mayor, but was afterwards chiefly composed of members elected from the different parishes, and was at length compelled to admit among its number the presidents of the various guilds; and the mayor, the president of the ancient burgesses, was, consequently, replaced by the burgomaster, or president of the guilds. The right of self-government was denoted by the bell on the town or council house, in the middle ages the greatest pride of the provincial cities, which had gained independence.

The annual election of all the city officers was an almost general regulation, and by this means the communes, at first the aristocratic burgesses, and afterwards the democratic guilds, always controlled the affairs of the town. At a later period,

the most powerful party attempted to render their dignities hereditary, and revolutions repeatedly ensued in consequence. All the citizens were freemen, bore arms, and could attain knighthood. The burgesses formed chivalric guilds according to families, as the Overstolzen at Cologne, the Zoren and Muhlheimer at Strassburg; or free associations, as, for instance, the Lilien-Vente, in Brunswick, which numbered four hundred and two knights.

Many of the cities were invested with royal privileges, such as minting and levying customs. All possessed the right of holding large markets, which the country people were obliged to attend. On this account, artisans were not permitted to reside in the villages, but were compelled to take up their abode according to their craft in the cities. Several of the towns had also staple laws, that is, all merchants passing through them or along the river on which they were built, were compelled to stop and to expose their goods for sale for some time within their walls. It was also settled that all great festivals and assemblies should be held in the cities.

The great burgesses in the cities were on an equality with the provincial nobility, with whom they continually intermarried; consequently, many of the citizens possessed castles in the province, or the knights, who inhabited the castles, had a right of citizenship. The interest of the nobility was, however, opposed to that of the cities, which they molested either in order to serve the prince, or on their own account, and the great burgesses were compelled to declare for one party. In the cities of Southern Germany, their inclination in favour of the aristocracy and of the princes generally terminated in their expulsion from the city. In the North of Germany, they were animated with a more civic spirit, placed themselves at the head of the populace, and in strong opposition to the nobility, by which means they more firmly secured their authority. As time passed on, the number of the artisans, divided into guilds according to the craft they followed, increased to an enormous extent, whilst that of the great burgess families gradually diminished, numbers of them becoming extinct. As the aid of the artisans was indispensable for carrying on the feuds between the burgher families of different cities, they were compelled to grant them a part of the profit gained in trade, hence it naturally followed that the guilds ere long

grasped at greater privileges, and formed a democratic party, which aimed at wresting the management of the town business out of the hands of the aristocratic burghers.

The corporations corresponded with the ancient German guilds. The artisan entered as an apprentice, became partner, and finally master. The apprentice, like the knightly squire, was obliged to travel. The completion of a master-piece was required before he could become a master. Illegitimate birth and immorality excluded the artisan from the guild. Each guild was strictly superintended by a tribune. Every member of a guild was assisted when in need by the society. Every disagreement between the members was put a stop to, as injurious to the whole body. The members of one corporation generally dwelt in one particular street, had their common station in the market, their distinguishing colours, and a part assigned to them in guarding the city, etc. These guilds chiefly conduced to bring art and handicraft to perfection. The apprentice returned from his travels with a stock of experience and knowledge he could not have acquired at home. The guilds of different cities had little connexion with each other beyond housing their brother craftsmen on their arrival in a strange city, and by the general similarity in their rules of art and in their corporative regulations. The mercantile guilds were an exception, and formed the great Hansa league in which several cities were included. The society of free-masons, whose art called them to different parts of the world, were also closely united. They were divided, according to the four quarters of the heavens, into four classes, each of which had a particular place of assembly, symbolically termed a lodge, where the masters met, for the purpose of deliberating over the mode in which any great architectural design was to be executed, of laying down rules, and of giving directions in matters relating to art or to the corporation, of nominating new masters, etc. The four great lodges were at Cologne, Strassburg, Vienna, and Zurich.

The princes, bishops, and aristocracy, as well as, generally speaking, the great burgher families, dreaded the rising power of the guilds, and sought to annihilate it by violence. The emperor, on the contrary, favoured them from prudential motives. Favour and disgrace were equally ineffectual; the power possessed by the guilds made its own way. The

burghers, few in number, and disdaining the co-operation of the other ancient burgesses of ignoble descent, could not withstand the immense numerical strength of the artisans. Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Strassburg, could each raise a body of twenty thousand able-bodied citizens and suburbans. At Lyons, the weavers' guild alone numbered four thousand masters and fifteen thousand apprentices. Revolts before long broke out in all the cities. The guilds were sometimes victorious, and drove the burghers from the towns, or incorporated them with their guilds; sometimes the burghers succeeded in defending themselves for some time, with the aid of their partisans and of the neighbouring nobility. The emperor sometimes attempted to arbitrate between the contending parties, or peace was brought about by the neighbouring cities. These events gave rise to constitutions varying from each other in the different cities, in some of which the burghers retained the shadow of their former authority, and in others were utterly pushed aside and a new council was formed, consisting of the heads of each corporation. The whole of the citizens were, consequently, divided into corporations, and the lesser and less numerous craftsmen of different kinds united into one body. But, as the son generally followed his father's business, and, consequently, succeeded him in his guild, particular families retained possession of the presidency of the guild, and often formed a new order of patricians, which, whenever it seemed likely to endanger the liberties of the citizens, was associated with a civic committee. The former, in that case, was termed the little council, and exercised the executive power according to prescribed rules; the latter, the great council, which had the legislative power, and called the little one to account.

The guilds first rose to power in the cities of Southern Germany; at Basle and Ulm, in the thirteenth century. In Northern Germany, the burghers maintained their power by means of the commercial league, which was chiefly between themselves. The democratic reaction in the North took place as the power of the Hansa declined, and during the general struggle for liberty at the time of the first reformation.

German commerce flourished in the Northern Ocean earlier than in the Baltic, which, until the twelfth century, was infested by Scandinavian and Slavonian pirates. Flanders far

surpassed the other countries of Germany in her municipal privileges, art, and industry, possessed the first great commercial navy, and founded the first great commercial league or Hansa, in the twelfth century.

This example, the final subjection of the Wends on the Baltic, and the crusades, greatly increased the activity of commerce in the thirteenth century, on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Baltic. The crusades were undertaken in a mercantile as well as a religious point of view. In the East, the merchant pilgrims formed themselves into the German orders of knighthood, and, on their return to their native country, leagued together [A. D. 1241] for the purpose of defending their rights against the native princes, and their commerce against the attacks of the foreigner.

This Hansa league extended to such a degree in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, as sometimes to include upwards of seventy cities; its fleets ruled the Northern Ocean, conquered entire countries, and reduced powerful sovereigns to submission. The union that existed between the cities was, nevertheless, far from firmly cemented, and the whole of its immense force was, from want of unanimity, seldom brought to bear at once upon its enemies. A single attempt would have placed the whole of Northern Germany within its power, had the policy of the citizens been other than mercantile, and had they not been merely intent upon forcing the temporal and spiritual lords to trade with them upon the most favourable conditions.

All the cities included in the league sent their representatives to the Hanse diet at Lübeck, where the archive was kept. The leagued cities were, at a later period, divided into three and afterwards into four quarters or circles, each of which had its particular metropolis, and specially elected aldermen. In the fifteenth century they stood as follows: 1st, The Wendian cities, Lübeck, (the metropolis of the whole league, where the directory of the Hansa, the general archive and treasury, were kept, where the great Hanse diets were held by the deputies from all the Hanse towns, in which they took into deliberation commercial speculations, the arming of fleets, peace and war,) Hamburg, Bremen, Wismar, Rostock, Kiel, Greifswald, Stralsund, Lüneberg, Stettin, Colberg, Wisby (celebrated for giving the maritime laws, the "*Wisbyska watter-recht,*" to the Hansa) in Gothland, etc. 2nd, The Western

cities, Cologne, with the Dutch towns of Nimwegen, Stavern, Gröningen, Dortrecht, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Maestricht, Emden, Zütphen, etc., with Westphalian Soest, Osnabrück, Dortmund, Duisburg, Münster, Wesel, Minden, Paderborn, etc. 3dly, The Saxon cities, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Halle, Hildesheim, Goslar, Göttingen, Eimbeck, Hanover, Hameln, Stade, Halbenstadt, Quedlinburg, Aschersleben, Erfurt, Nordhausen, Mühlhausen, Zerbst, Stendal, Brandenburg, Frankfurt on the Oder, Breslau, etc. 4thly, The Eastern cities, Dantzig, (from Danske-wik, Danish place, having been first founded by the Danes,) Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, Culm, Landsberg, Riga, Reval, Pernau, etc. The German order of Hospitallers also sent its representatives to the diet: its close connexion with the Hanse towns was partly due to its origin and partly to the position of Prussia, to which those towns sent German colonists and aid of every description, a union between that country and the Germanized mere of Brandenburg being still hindered by Wendian Pomerania and Poland.

Firmly as the Hospitallers and the Hansa were allied, the interests of the two parties were, nevertheless, totally at variance, that of the former being conquest, that of the latter commerce. The cities on the Elbe and Rhine required protection against the German princes; the maritime cities merely applied themselves to commerce. Those on the Baltic were continually engaged in disputes with the Flemish, who supported themselves by their manufactures and their alliance with Italy, whilst the more distant towns on the coast of the Baltic refused to interfere. At Brugge, the Hansa merely possessed a depôt for their goods, which passed thence into the hands of the Italians. The Colognese merchants possessed a second great depôt as early as 1203, in London, still known as Guildhall, the hall of the merchants' guild of Cologne. At a later period, the Hansa monopolized the whole commerce of England. At Bergen, in Norway, the Hansa possessed a third and extremely remarkable colony, three thousand Hanseatic merchants, masters, and apprentices, living there like monks without any women. The Hanseatic colonists were generally forbidden to marry, lest they should take possession of the country in which they lived and deprive the league of it. The fourth great depôt was founded at Novogrod in the north of Russia, A. D. 1277. By it the ancient commercial relations

between the coasts of the Baltic and Asia were preserved, and the Hansa traded by land with Asia at first through Riga, but on the expulsion of the Tartars from Russia and the subjugation of Novogrod by the Czars, through Breslau, Erfurt, Magdeburg, and Leipzig. Germany and Europe were thus supplied with spices, silks, jewels, etc. from Asia, with furs, iron, and immense quantities of herrings from the North. France principally traded in salt, whilst Germany exported beer and wine, corn, linen, and arms; Bohemia, metals and precious stones; and Flanders, fine linen, and cloths of every description.

The ferocity of the Hungarians, Servians, and Wallachians, and the enmity of the Greeks, effectually closed the Danube, the natural outlet for the produce of the interior of Germany towards Asia. The traffic on this stream during the crusades raised Ulm, and, at a later period, Augsburg, to considerable importance. The traffic on the Rhine was far more considerable, notwithstanding the heavy customs levied by the barbarous princes and knights which the Rhenish league was annually compelled to oppose and put down by force. Cologne was the grand depôt for the whole of the inland commerce. Goods were brought here from every quarter of the globe, and, according to an Hanseatic law, no merchant coming from the West, from France, Flanders, or Spain, was allowed to pass with his goods further than Cologne; none coming from the East, not even the Dutch, could mount, and none from the upper country descend the Rhine beyond that city.——The high roads were naturally in a bad state, and infested with toll-gatherers and robbers. The merchants were compelled to purchase a safe-conduct along the worst roads, or to clear them by force of arms. Most of the roads were laid by the merchants with the permission of well-disposed princes. Thus, for instance, the rich burgher, Henry Cunter of Botzen, laid the road across the rocks, until then impassable, on the Eisack, between Botzen and Brixen, A. D. 1304; travellers, up to that period, having been compelled to make a wearisome détour through Meran and Jauffen.

The lace and cloth manufactures of the Flemish, which lent increased splendour to the courts, the wealthy, and the high-born, were the first that rose into note, the Hansa being merely occupied with trade and commercial monopoly. Ulm

afterwards attempted to compete with the Italian manufacturers; but Nuremberg, on account of her central position, less attracted by foreign commerce, became the first town of manufacturing repute in Germany.

The trade with the rich East, and the silver mines discovered in the tenth century in the Harz, in the twelfth, in the Erz mountains in Bohemia, brought more money into circulation. The ancient *Hohlpfennigs*, (*solidi*, shillings,) of which there were twenty-two to a pound, (and twelve *denarii* to a shilling,) were replaced by the heavy *Groschen*, (*solidi grossi*,) of which there were sixty to a silver mark, and by the *albus* or white pennies, which varied in value. The working of the Bohemian mines in the fourteenth century, brought the broad Prague Groschen into note; they were reckoned by scores, always by sixties, the cardinal number in Bohemia. The smaller copper coins, or *Heller*, (from *hohl*, hollow, *halb*, half, or from the imperial free town, Hall,) were weighed by the pound, the value of which was two *gülden*, which at a later period, when silver became more common, rose to three.

The Jews were greatly oppressed during this period. In the cities they were forced to dwell in certain narrow streets that were closed with iron gates at night. They were forbidden to purchase land, or to belong to any corporation. They were chiefly pawnbrokers and usurers, Christians being strictly prohibited by the church from taking interest on money lent.

CLXVIII. *The peasantry.*

In Swabia and Saxony the free communes of peasantry, in the Alps, the Tyrol, Wurtemberg, Friesland, Ditmarsch, and some of less importance in the country around Hadel, Baireuth, and Hall, retained their liberties for the longest period. These communes had been originally either Gaue, districts, or hundreds under the jurisdiction of the counts and centners, and now resembled oases varying in extent, whither liberty had fled from the barren waste of vassalage. The peasants of Friesland and Switzerland, whose power equalled their love of liberty, gained the upper hand in those countries, whilst, in other countries, where their power was less, they remained unnoted and in obscurity.

Friesland was divided by the Fly (Zudyer See) into Western

and Eastern Friesland. The former fell [A. D. 1005] under the counts of Holland, and the attempt to suppress the liberties still proudly upheld by the peasantry, proved fatal to more than one of their rulers. The latter enjoyed greater freedom under the bishops of Utrecht, Bremen, and Münster, whose spiritual authority they recognised, but administered their temporal affairs themselves, the interference of the clergy in temporal matters being prohibited by law. The Friedlanders, moreover, disregarded the decree of Gregory VII. concerning the celibacy of the clergy, and compelled their priests to marry, for the better maintenance of morality. The ancient and still pagan popular assembly was maintained even in Christian times, or, at all events, was renewed. The different tribes assembled during Whitsuntide, at a place near Aurich, sanctified by three old oaks, (the ancient Upstalesboom, tree of high justice,) for the purpose of voting laws and of deliberating over the affairs of the country. During wartime, and more especially whenever strange fleets and pirates landed, barrels of pitch were set on fire, the alarm spread rapidly from village to village, and the people rose *en masse* to defend the coasts. It appears that the Marcellus flood, as it was termed, which laid Friesland waste in 1219, and swallowed up whole villages, occasioned the reinstitution of the ancient meeting at the Upstales-boom, in 1224. The numerous crusades undertaken by the Friscians at this period, were partly occasioned by this flood, as the crusaders were accompanied by their wives and children, and were, in reality, emigrants. In 1287, a second and still more destructive flood overwhelmed Friesland, and fifty thousand men, with their villages and a large portion of the country, sank into the sea, on the spot now occupied by the bay of Dollart. A fresh meeting at the Upstales-boom followed in 1323, in which the older laws of the country were formed into a general code. The separate tribes among the Friscians were independent, freemen, as in the ancient days of Germany. They annually elected a judge, (*Redieva,*) and a *Talemann,* whose office it was to restrain the power of the former. Each of these tribes had its own laws, which were perfectly similar to those of ancient Germany. The most important of these are the Hunsingoer provincial law, the Rüstringer Asega-book, and the Brokmer Briefs. The whole of the laws were popular resolutions; "so

will the Brockmen, so have the people decided," were the simple words annexed to them. The common salutation between the people was, "*Eala fria Fresena!*" "Hail, free Friscian!" Nobility and stone houses came into vogue among them at a very late period.

In the rest of the countries of Germany, the peasantry were chiefly in a state of servitude. In the ancient Gaue, the Graf no longer stood at the head of free-born men and equal. He still exercised the penal judicature, the highest office of a judge, and bore the banner, the highest command during war; but these offices had become hereditary in his family. He was, moreover, lord over his *ministeriales*, who rendered him personal service; the protector of the few free and independent inhabitants of the Gau, who paid a tribute for the protection granted; the manorial and feudal lord of the vassals, (peasants who kept horses, and instead of paying ground-rent to their lord rendered him average service,) and proprietor of the serfs. A governor or mayor was placed over the peasantry in the separate villages. Their local customs were, at a later period, sometimes termed village regulations, village rights, and were laid down by the peasantry themselves. In criminal matters, the punishments for the serfs were of a more disgraceful nature than those for the free-born. The ringleaders of mobs were so called, owing to their being condemned to carry a ring or wheel into the neighbouring country, where they were put to death.* The German, generally speaking, preserved, even in servitude, more personal honour than the Slavonian; the peasants in Western Germany were in consequence more harassed with dues, while those in the Eastern provinces suffered a greater degree of personal ill-treatment. The former consequently possessed a certain degree of mental cultivation, nay, literature. The finest of the popular ballads were translated into the country dialect, and well known by every peasant, and numbers of legends and songs forgotten by the upper classes, became traditional among the peasantry.——Heavy imposts and dues were levied at an early period. The nobles, more particularly since the crusades, appear to have become more luxurious, and, naturally, more needy. Several extraordinary customs, among others the *jus primæ noctis*, from

* This was probably the remains of the heathen custom of crushing malefactors beneath the wheels of the sacred car.

which a conclusion has been drawn of the degraded state of the peasantry, have been greatly misunderstood; the honour of the female serfs was guarded by the laws, and, in Lombardy, a woman whose chastity was violated by the lord of the demesne, was instantly affranchized together with her husband, who thus acquired a right to revenge his injured honour. The misery of the peasantry was by no means so great during the middle ages as it became after the great peasant war in 1525.

The division of the ancient free nation into different classes with opposite views and interests, and particularly the subordination of the peasantry to petty village proprietors, had in general a most pernicious effect, and chiefly contributed, since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, to lower the high spirit and national pride of the German. The parish priest belonged to the universal Christian church, the knight to the universal European aristocracy, the citizen was solely intent on his mercantile affairs, and the cities were, like islets on the deep, distinct spots on the surface of the land; these upper classes as ill replaced the ancient and great order of free peasantry, as did their energy and civilization the national vigour they had lost; and to this may justly be ascribed the misfortunes and disgrace with which the empire was subsequently overwhelmed.

CLXIX.—*The liberal sciences.*

The emancipation of the sciences was fast approaching. The knowledge spread by the crusades had given rise to a general spirit of investigation and research. The monastic academies were placed on a more extensive footing, and transformed into universities. In Paris, independent of Rome, theology was particularly studied. Hence spread the Italian heresy of the pupils of Abelard, of Arnold of Brescia, and here was the birth-place of German mysticism, Hugh von Blankenburg being a professor in the Paris university, and abbot of the French monastery of St. Victoire. At Bologna, a school of law for the study of the resuscitated Roman law was formed, under the auspices of the Hohenstaufen, by the great law professor, Irnerius, and thus was laid the foundation to all the jurisprudence of later ages. At Salerno, the first celebrated school of medicine was founded. The medical

science of the Arabs and Greeks was, after the crusades, also adopted by this school.

The study of the sciences and the university system was first introduced into Germany during the fourteenth century. Until then, Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, and Albertus Magnus, formed the ideal of German erudition.

The historiographers, chiefly clergy, by whom the ancient Latin chronicles were continued, were extremely numerous. Besides Wippo, who wrote a biography of Conrad II., the most celebrated among them were, Hermannus Contractus, [A. D. 1054,] who was a lame Swabian count, and afterwards a monk at Reichenau; Marianus Scotus, a Scotchman by birth, and monk at Fulda, who, the legend relates, read and wrote by the light of his own finger; Adelbold, bishop of Utrecht, the author of the biography of Henry III. Henry IV. and his times have found many commentators, who generally wrote in a party spirit. The historians who favoured the emperor, were Waltram, Conrad of Utrecht, Benno von Meissen; those in favour of the pope, Hugo Blank and Deodatus, two German cardinals, Berthold of Constance, and the monk Bruno. The most veracious history of Gregory VII. was written by Paul Bernried. Some of the universal historians of this time acquired greater fame. Lambert of Aschaffenburg wrote an excellent German history in Latin, the style of which is superior to that of his predecessors. Sigebert de Gemblours, [A. D. 1112,] besides a violent attack upon the emperor, Henry IV., wrote an Universal Chronicle. Hepidanus wrote the Alemannic Annals; Eckhart, a History of St. Gall. Numerous chronicles of Quedlinburg, Hamersleben, Hildesheim, also belong to this period. The celebrated Adam von Bremen [A. D. 1076] is the most valuable writer of that age in reference to the histories of the northern archbishoprics, and of the pagan North. To him succeeded Wibald, chancellor to the emperor Lothar, and Frederick Barbarossa's ambassador at Constantinople. He was poisoned in Paphlagonia, [A. D. 1158,] and left four hundred letters. Otto, bishop of Freysingen, the son of Leopold, Margrave of Austria, and step-brother to the emperor, Conrad III., died in the same year after gaining great fame, and left, besides an Universal Chronicle, a Biography of Barbarossa, and a History, since lost, of the House of Babenberg. Günther, an Alsacian monk,

wrote, in Latin verse, the exploits of Barbarossa in Upper Italy, (Liguria,) whence he received the surname of Ligurinus. Barbarossa's deeds were also celebrated by Radewich, a canon of Freysingen. Godfred di Viterbo, who lived during his youth at Bamberg, and was probably a German, wrote an Universal Chronicle, up to the year 1186; another was written, as far as the reign of Conrad III., by Honorius von Augst; a third excellent Chronicle (*Chronica regia S. Pantaleonis*) was written by some monks at Cologne; a fourth, that of Magdeburg, by the "Chronographus Saxo;" and another by the monk Ekkehart at Bamberg, or Fulda. The best national and provincial historians were Cosmas, a deacon at Prague, who wrote a History of Bohemia, prior to 1125; Helmold, a priest at Bosow, near Lübeck, a celebrated Chronicle of the Slavonians, prior to 1170; an anonymous monk at Weingarten, the Chronicle of the Welfs; Conrad, abbot of Mœlk, a Chronicle of Austria; there were besides chronicles of the monastery of Muri in Switzerland, of Pegau in the Lausitz, of Liege, the Annals of Hildesheim, and other monastic chronicles of lesser importance.

In the thirteenth century, Oliverius, canon of Paderborn, who undertook a crusade against the Albigenses, accompanied another to Jerusalem, and, in 1227, died a cardinal, wrote a history of the Holy Land, and an account of the siege of Damietta. In 1226, Burchard of Biberach added a continuation to Ekkehart's Chronicle. Conrad von Lichtenau, abbot of Ursperg, A. D. 1240, wrote a great Universal Chronicle, the celebrated Chronicon Urspergense; another was written about the same time by a monk of Neumunster near Liege; a third by Albrecht von Stade, abbot of the same monastery prior to 1260. A celebrated Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors was written by Martinus Polonus, of Troppau in Silesia, A. D. 1278. The Letters, Conversations, and Controversial Writings of Frederick II., and his Chancellor, Peter de Vineis, and the History of the Englishman, Matthæus Paris, particularly concerning Frederick II., are of great historical value. An ancient Erfurt Chronicle, the Chronicon Schirense, of the prior Conrad von Scheyern, contains much interesting matter, besides several other lesser chronicles, those of Halberstadt, Lorch and Passau, St. Gall, Mayence, the Friscian Chronica. b. Emmonis et Manconis, etc.

The historians of the fourteenth century partly wrote chronicles in the spirit of the past age, as, for instance, Henry, (Stero,) a monk of Altaich, Sigfried, presbyter of Meissen, Matthias von Neuenburg, and Albert of Strassburg, partly learned collections, such as the Cosmodromium of Gobelinus Persona, deacon of Birkenfeld in Paderborn, [A. D. 1420,] and the work de Temporibus Memorabilibus, of Henry of Herford, who became a professor at Erfurt. Besides the Annals of Colmar, and those of Henry von Rebdorf, as well as the Ecclesiastical History of Henry von Diessenhofen, some of the city and provincial chronicles are in part excellent. These chronicles, as soon as the citizens took up the pen, were written in German; those written by the clergy are, without exception, in Latin. The most celebrated of the German writers were, Ottocar von Horneck, who composed a History of Austria in verse, which reached as far as 1309; Peter Suchenwirth of Austria, the author of ballads, in which he hands down to posterity the exploits of the heroes of his time; Ernst von Kirchberg, author of the Mecklenburg Chronicle, written in verse; Albrecht von Bardewich, of the Lubeck Stades Chronicle; Closener, of that of Strassburg; Kœnigshoven, of that of Alsace up to 1386; Riedesel, of that of Hesse; and Gensbein, of that of Limburg, finally the Chronicle of the sheriffs of Magdeburg. In 1326, Peter von Duisburg penned, in Latin, the first History of Prussia, and Liebhold von Northa one of the frontier counts, and a catalogue of the archbishops of Cologne.

The knowledge of geography was greatly increased by the crusades. Some bold adventurers penetrated, even at that period, into the heart of Asia. The most celebrated travels are those of Marco Polo, the Venetian; but eighteen years earlier, in 1253, a German monk, named Ruisbrock, frater Willielmus of the Netherlands, travelled through Great Tartary as far as China, confirmed for the first time the account given by the ancients of the position of the Caspian Sea, and brought the first news of the existence of a native Asiatic people with whom the Germans were related by descent. See the works of Roger Bacon, Bergeron, and Humboldt. William von Baldensleven, a German nobleman and monk, travelled [A. D. 1315] into the Holy Land, and thence into Tartary.

PART XIII.

SUPREMACY OF THE POPE.

CLXX. *Rudolf von Habsburg.*

THE triumph of the pope over the emperor entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The emperors became the mere tools of a princely aristocracy under the Ægis of the pope. Weakness and treason overwhelmed the ancient empire with disgrace. But, whilst the princes were engaged in appropriating to themselves the fragments of the shattered diadem, the people gradually acquired greater independence, formed themselves into federations without the aid of the princes, or into estates under them, and finally broke the papal yoke by the great Reformation.

Years had elapsed since the death of Frederick II.; his unfortunate son, Conrad, had been, like William, Richard, and Alfonso, a mere puppet on the throne. Alfonso was still living in Spain, completely absorbed in the study of astronomy. The people, unforgetful of their ancient glory, again desired an emperor, and the legendary superstition concerning the return of Barbarossa once more revived. The lower and weaker classes throughout the empire were bitterly sensible of the want of the protection of the crown, but the election of a successor to the throne would have been still longer neglected by the princes, had they not felt the necessity of setting a limit to the ambitious designs of Ottocar of Bohemia. A conference accordingly took place between them and the pope, and the election was not proceeded with until a fitting tool for their purposes had been discovered, and their prerogatives guarded by conditions and stipulations. The qualities required in the new emperor were courage and warlike habits, in order to insure a triumph over Ottocar; a certain degree of popularity, for the purpose of cajoling the people; and the blindest submission to the authority of the pope and princes.

This political tool was found in Rudolf, Count von Habs-

burg, who had been held at the font by Frederick II., a mark of distinction bestowed by that monarch for his father's faithful services. Rudolf had fought in Prussia, (whither he had undertaken a crusade in expiation of the crime of burning down a convent during a feud with Basle,) for Ottocar, by whom he had been knighted, and had, since that period, fought with equal bravery and skill for every party that chanced to suit his interests, at one moment aiding the nobles in their innumerable petty feuds against the cities of Strassburg and Basle, at another fighting under the banner of Strassburg, against the bishop and the nobility, or making head in his own cause against the abbot of St. Gall, and his own uncle, the Count von Kyburg, on account of a disputed inheritance, etc. Werner, archbishop of Mayence, whom Rudolf had escorted across the Alps, mediated in his favour with the pope. He had also personally recommended himself, as a zealous Guelph, to the pope, Gregory X., at Mugello in the Apennines, and, notwithstanding the feuds he had formerly carried on with the bishops and abbots, now played the part of a most humble servant of the church; he gained great fame, on one occasion, by leaping from his saddle and presenting his horse to a priest who was carrying the pyx. He agreed, if elected, to yield unconditional obedience to the pope, to renounce all claim upon or interference with Italy, and to enter into alliance with the House of Anjou. Frederick von Hohenzollern, Burggrave of Nuremberg, (the ancestor of the Electors of Brandenburg and of the royal line of Prussia,) acted as his mediator with the princes, to three of the most powerful among whom he offered his daughters in marriage, to Louis of Pfalz-Bavaria, (the cruel murderer of his first wife,) Mechtilda, to Otto of Brandenburg, Hedwig, and to Albert of Saxony, Agnes. He moreover promised never to act, when emperor, without the consent of the princes, on every important occasion to obtain their sanction in writing, and confirmed them all, Ottocar of Bohemia excepted, in the possession of the territory belonging to the empire, and of the hereditary lands of the Staufen illegally seized by them. That the election of a new emperor by the pope and the princes merely hinged upon these conditions was perfectly natural, the whole power lying in their hands. This was the simple result of the downfal of the Staufen, and of the defeat of the Ghibellines.

Rudolf, who was engaged in a feud with the city of Basle when Frederick von Zollern arrived with the news of his election, instantly concluded peace with that city, marched down the Rhine, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, A. D. 1273. The real imperial crown and the sceptre were still in Italy; the latter was supplied, by way of flattery to the church, by a crucifix. The ceremony of coronation was enhanced by that of the marriage of his three daughters. Henry of Bavaria, the brother of Louis, was, after some opposition, also won over, and his son Otto wedded to his fourth daughter, Catherina. The lower classes in the empire were, nevertheless, filled with discontent. The coalition between the great vassals inspired them with the deepest apprehension. They were, however, pacified. The lower nobility, who had rendered themselves hated by their rapine and insolence, were at strife with the towns. Rudolf, who had, up to this period, been a mere military adventurer, a robber-knight, now headed the great princes against his former associates, and reduced them all, even the wild Count Eberhard of Würtemberg, to submission. This policy flattered the cities, which Rudolf also sought to win by affability; he bestowed the dignity of knighthood with great solemnity on Jacob Müller of Zurich, in order to gain for his Swiss possessions the protection of the neighbouring towns; he was, nevertheless, viewed with great mistrust by many of the cities.

Gregory X. hastened to bestow his benediction on his new creature, and, in order to deprive him at once of any pretext for a visit to Rome, and of effectually closing Italy against the Germans, came in person to Lausanne. Rudolf knelt humbly at the pontiff's feet and vowed unconditional obedience, an action he afterwards attempted to palliate by a jest, saying that "Rome was the lion's den, into which all the footsteps entered, but whence none returned. He therefore preferred serving to fighting with the lion of the church."

The subjection of Ottocar had been one of the conditions annexed to the possession of the crown. The vote of the king of Bohemia, although that of the most powerful vassal of the empire, had therefore been omitted in the election, or rather, the whole scheme of Rudolf's accession had been managed too secretly and rapidly for interference on his part. Ottocar having rendered himself hateful by his severity, Stephen

of Hungary, the son of Bela, made a fresh attempt [A. D. 1270] to gain possession of Styria. The Styrians, however, hated the Hungarian even more than the Bohemian yoke, and he was repulsed. Whilst pursuing the fugitives across the Neusiedler lake, the ice gave way, and numbers of the Styrians were drowned. The Hungarians made fresh inroads, and Ottocar redoubled his tyranny. Among other acts of cruelty, he ordered the Styrian knight Seyfried von Mœhrenberg, whom sickness had hindered from coming to his rencontre, to be dragged at a horse's tail, and then hanged by the feet. He also continued to seize the castles of the nobility, and threatened to cast the children of the expelled lords, whom he retained as hostages, from the roofs. The Austrians and Styrians were, consequently, fully justified in laying a solemn accusation against their blood-thirsty tyrant before the diet at Wurzburg, A. D. 1275. Bernhard von Wolkersdorf and Hartnid von Wildon spoke in their name. Rudolf, after sealing a compact with Henry of Bavaria and with Stephen of Hungary, took the field at the head of a numerous army, and Ottocar, conscious of guilt and surrounded by foes, yielded, again ceded Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola to the empire, and was merely allowed to hold Bohemia and Moravia in fee of the emperor. In 1276, he came, attired in the royal robes of Bohemia, to an island on the Danube, where Rudolf, meanly clad as a horse-soldier, received him under a tent, which, whilst the king was kneeling at his feet, and taking the oath of fealty, was raised at a given signal, in order to degrade the monarch in the eyes of the people; a mean and dastardly action; and the reproach of vanity can alone be cast upon the emperor, the king of Bohemia having merely appeared in a garb suited to his dignity, on an occasion which, far from elevating his pride, deeply wounded it; nor can his high-spirited queen be blamed for inciting him to revenge the insult. Rudolf, meanwhile, sought to secure his footing in Austria. Unable openly to appropriate that country as family property, he gradually and separately won the nobility, cities, and bishops over to his interest, and induced the spiritual lords more especially to bestow a number of single fiefs on his sons, whom he by this means firmly settled in the country. Ottocar, instigated by his queen, Cunigunda, at length declared war, and marched at the head of his entire force against

Rudolf. His plan of battle was betrayed to Rudolf by his best general, Milota von Diedicz, who thus revenged the execution of his brother. The Hungarians also came to Rudolf's assistance, and Ottocar, defeated on the Marchfeld near Vienna, [A. D. 1278,] by treachery and superior numbers, fell by the hands of the two young Mœhrenbergs, who sought him in the thickest of the fight.

Rudolf held a triumphal festival at Vienna, where the centagenarian knight, Otto von Haslau, broke a lance with one of his own great-grandsons. The greatest hilarity prevailed. Rudolf, meanwhile, cautiously made use of passing events in order to enrich his family. His son Rudolf was elevated to the dukedom of Swabia, and his hand forced upon Agnes, the daughter of Ottocar. Bohemia's rightful heir, Wenzel, the infant son of Ottocar, was given up to Otto of Brandenburg, the emperor's son-in-law, by whom he was utterly neglected, whilst, under the title of his guardian, the duke plundered Bohemia and carried off waggon loads of silver and gold. Rudolf's second son, Albert, received the duchy of Austria and the hand of Elisabeth, daughter of Meinhard, count of Tyrol, who was created duke of Carinthia. Rudolf also gave his fifth daughter, Clementia, in marriage to Charles Martell, the son of Charles d'Anjou, by whom the last of the Hohenstaufen had been put to death at Naples. This marriage was a sacrifice made to the pope, whose jealousy of the increasing power of his house he thus sought to appease. In 1280, a Frenchman was raised, under the name of Martin IV., to the pontifical chair. The hatred borne by this pope to the Germans was such, that he openly said that "he wished Germany was a pond full of fish, and he a pike, that he might swallow them all." Rudolf, nevertheless, deeply humbled himself before him.——The hand of Gutta, Rudolf's sixth daughter, was forced upon the youthful heir to Bohemia, who was ransomed at a heavy price by his subjects. His mother, Cunigunda, had, meanwhile, married a Minnesinger, named Zawitch, whom, on his release, he instantly ordered to execution, as a slight reparation for the injured honour of his father.

The emperor continued, henceforward, to suppress petty feuds in person, and travelled from one diet to another for the purpose of passing resolutions for the peace of the country, and from one province to another for that of enforcing peace.

He was surnamed the living or wandering law, (*lex animata,*) and numbers of his magnanimous and just actions and sayings became proverbial. The people, ever inclined to judge by single actions, and equally blind to their motive and their tendency, valued a quaint anecdote concerning the emperor Rudolf far more highly than a great institution founded by his predecessors, and the popular admiration of this chivalric emperor has been handed down from one generation to another. The empire, nevertheless, remained in a state bordering on anarchy, might was right, and Rudolf, notwithstanding his efforts, merely succeeded in re-establishing peace during short and broken intervals.

At Neuss on the Rhine, [A. D. 1285,] appeared a certain Thile Coluf, or Frederick Holzschuh, (wooden-shoe,) who gave himself out as Frederick II., declaring that he had risen from the dead. He held a court for a short time at Wetzlar. In Swabia, Eberhard of Würtemberg, Rudolf of Baden, and sixteen other counts renewed their prèdatory attacks upon the cities. They were reduced to submission [A. D. 1286] by the emperor, who burnt the castle of Stuttgart to the ground. He also made a successful inroad into Burgundy, less for the purpose of connecting that country more closely with the empire than for that of extending, or at all events of protecting, his Swiss possessions on that side. In his old age, he married Agnes of Burgundy, (*Franche comté,*) who was then in her fourteenth year,* and reduced his rivals, the Pfalzgrave Otto, (a descendant of another branch of the same family,) and the Count Reginald von Mümpelgard, to submission. The latter had attacked the people of Basle, and taken their bishop prisoner in a bloody battle, in which a fourth of the citizens were slain. The partition among the counts, however, continued to exist, and the eastern side of ancient Burgundy was seized by Savoy, the Swiss confederation, and, above all, by Berne, which, even at that period, refused to furnish the imperial contingency, and made such a valiant defence that Rudolf was compelled to retire from before the walls. The bears in the city arms were placed in a bloody field in memory

* The bishop of Spires, by whom she was conducted after the ceremony to the carriage, was so enchanted with her beauty that he kissed her, upon which the emperor said that it was the Agnus Dei, not Agnes, that he ought to kiss.

of the blood shed on this occasion. Rudolf merely advanced northwards as far as Thuringia, where he destroyed sixty-six robber castles, and, in 1290, condemned twenty-nine of the robber knights to be hanged at Ilmenau.

The efforts of the emperor were confined to this narrow circle, whilst bloody feuds, with which he did not interfere, were carried on in every quarter of the empire. His chief object was the confirmation of the Austrian possessions to his family. He was also desirous of making the imperial crown hereditary, and of naming his son, Albert, his successor to the throne. The chagrin produced by the refusal of the princes hastened his death, which took place A. D. 1291. Rudolf was tall and thin, had a hooked nose, which occasioned popular jokes at his expense, and a bald head.

The greatest anarchy and want of union prevailed throughout the other provinces of the empire, which had completely fallen a prey to petty interests and petty feuds. The Hansa alone sustained the dignity of the German name both at home and abroad, but merely in pursuance of its own interests, without reference to the weak and mean-spirited emperor. The Hanseatic flag ruled the Northern Ocean. Its fleets captured every vessel belonging to Erich, king of Norway, and blocked up the Scandinavian harbours. The treaty of Colmar, A. D. 1285, confirmed its commercial monopoly. The whole of Northern Germany, meanwhile, senselessly wasted its strength in intestine strife. The counts of Holstein again attempted to subjugate the free Ditmarses, and suffered a shameful defeat, A. D. 1289. Florens V. of Holland revenged the death of his father on the Western Friscians, over whom he gained a signal victory at Alkmaar, when the secret of his father's burial-place was discovered to him. His firm support of the citizens and peasantry rendered him the darling of the people, and roused the hatred of the nobles, who conspired against and murdered him, A. D. 1296.

A violent feud was at that time also carried on on the Rhine. Siegfried von Westerburg, who had succeeded Engelbert in the archbishopric of Cologne, opposed the Count Adolf VII. von Berg, who coveted the archbishopric for his brother Conrad, and was, moreover, supported by the citizens. About this time, Adolf took possession of the duchy of Limburg in his right as grandson to Henry, duke of Limburg, who had

inherited Berg; Count Reinold of Gueldres also claimed the duchy in right of his wife, another grandchild of the duke, Henry, and the archbishop, confederating with him, exerted his influence in his favour with the Netherland nobility, more particularly with Henry von Luxemburg, and Adolf von Nassau, the future emperor. Adolf von Berg, unable to meet the rising storm, ceded his claims upon Limburg to the brave duke, John of Brabant, and, aided by him and by the valiant citizens of Cologne, gave battle to the archbishop at Wæringen near that city, where Henry IV. of Luxemburg and his three brethren were slain, and the archbishop, Reinhold, of Gueldres, and Adolf von Nassau were taken prisoners, A. D. 1288. John retained possession of Limburg. Siegfried, the fomentor of the broil, was imprisoned, armed cap-à-pie, in a cage, where he remained in that state for seven years. On regaining his liberty, he feigned a reconciliation with Adolf von Berg, whom, in an unguarded moment, he suddenly captured, and sentenced to be stripped naked, smeared from head to foot with honey, and exposed in an iron cage to the stings of insects and to the open sky. After enduring this martyrdom for thirteen months, the wretched count was released, but shortly afterwards died of the consequences. His sufferings were avenged by his brother and successor, William, who was victorious over the archbishop of Cologne, near Bonn, [A. D. 1296,] and peace was finally made.——Feuds of a similar description, in which bishops played the chief part, were common throughout the empire.

In Meissen and Thuringia, Albert the Degenerate persecuted his wife, Margaretha, of the noble house of Hohenstaufen, and his children, with the most rancorous hatred, on account of the disappointment of the hopes of aggrandizement which had formed the sole motive of his alliance with that family. He even despatched one of his servants to the Wartburg for the purpose of assassinating her; but the countess, warned by him of his lord's intention, fled secretly (after biting her eldest son, Frederick, in the cheek, in token of the vengeance she intended to take) to Frankfurt, where she shortly afterwards died of grief. Albert persecuted his brother Dietrich with equal enmity. Their father, Henry, (who fought so long with Magdeburg against the Brandenburgs,) had divided his possessions between the two brothers, giving Meissen and Thu-

ringia to Albert, Pleissner with the margraviates of Landsberg and Lausitz to Dietrich. Albert, when attempting to expel his brother, was defeated near Tennstedt, [A. D. 1275,] by him and his ally, Conrad, archbishop of Magdeburg. Dietrich was surnamed the Thick, and was a Minnesinger. Conrad died A. D. 1276; his successor, Gunther, was attacked by Otto, margrave of Brandenburg, whose brother, Erich, coveted the mitre. Otto was defeated at Aken, and subsequently taken prisoner, [A. D. 1278,] in an engagement on the Sülz. He was imprisoned in a narrow chest. On being ransomed for an insignificant amount, he haughtily observed, "Had ye placed me armed cap-à-pie on horseback, and buried me in gold and silver coin to my lance's point, ye would have had a ransom worthy of me." He speedily infringed the treaty, and again took up arms. He was surnamed Otto with the Arrow, on account of a wound he had received in his head, whence the arrow-point could not be extracted, during the siege of Magdeburg. Bernhard, who succeeded Gunther in the archiepiscopal dignity, quarrelled with Dietrich the Thick, who attempting to seize his person by stratagem, he withdrew to the castle of Werfen, which he fortified, A. D. 1282. Dietrich expired shortly afterwards without issue, and his possessions fell to Albert the Degenerate. Bernhard, however, avoided another bloody feud with Brandenburg by voluntarily resigning his dignity in Erich's favour. Erich had long been an object of hatred to the citizens, whose hearts he, nevertheless, afterwards so completely gained, that being taken prisoner by Henry the Whimsical of Brunswick in a feud concerning the possession of a castle, they voluntarily ransomed him, in return for which he bestowed upon them great privileges. He died in peace and honour.——Otto the Severe, of Brunswick-Luneburg, (the Welfs were much weakened by sub-division,) carried on a feud with the city of Hanover, A. D. 1292. Saxon-Lauenburg was governed during the repeated absence of its duke, Albert, by the knight, Hermann Riebe, who practised common highway robbery, and whose castles were destroyed by the citizens of Lübeck, A. D. 1291. In Nuremberg, two of the Burggrave's sons, who had hunted a child to death with their hounds, were killed by the scythe-smiths, A. D. 1298.

In Mecklenburg, the princes were divided into several

branches, and were at feud not only with the cities of Rostock and Wismar, but also with each other. The aged prince, Henry von Güstrow, was murdered at Ribnitz, [A. D. 1291,] by his sons, when hunting. Henry the Pilgrim, of Mecklenburg, accompanied Louis IX. of France [A. D. 1276] to the Holy Land, where he was taken prisoner. During his prolonged absence, his wife, Anastasia, was ill-treated by her brother-in-law, John von Gadebusch, and saved the lives of her infant sons (the eldest of whom, Henry, was afterwards surnamed the Lion) by concealing them beneath the gowns of her female attendants. These sons afterwards avenged their mother's sufferings on their wicked uncle, whom they defeated, together with his allies, the princes of Brandenburg, Lauenburg, and Luneburg, on the Rambeeler heath, A. D. 1283. The Pilgrim, after remaining for twenty-six years in slavery, was released [A. D. 1302] by a miller's son from Gadebusch, who had once served under him as an arquebusier, and who, on being captured by the Turks, had embraced Mahommedanism, and been created sultan of Egypt. On the Pilgrim's return, no one recognised him. Two impostors, who had attempted to personate him, had been executed, one by fire, the other by water. His wild spirit, unbroken by long slavery, however, ere long proved his identity. Finding his son, the Lion, engaged in the siege of the castle of Glessen, he instantly advised the erection of a high gallows at its foot, in sign of the disgraceful death that awaited its defenders. He also besieged the castle of Wismar; his efforts, however, proved unsuccessful, and he expired during the same year, A. D. 1302. During his absence, his daughter, Luitgarde, had wedded Pribizlaw, duke of Poland, by whom she was condemned to be hanged on a bare suspicion of infidelity.——In Pomerania, the duke, Barnim IV., was stabbed by a certain Muckewitz, whose wife he had dishonoured, A. D. 1295. The whole of Europe's chivalry protected the assassin.

CLXXI. *Adolf of Nassau.*

RUDOLF of Swabia, the eldest son of the deceased emperor, died early, leaving an infant, Johannes, who was utterly neglected. The second son, Albert, inherited the Habsburg pos-

sessions; the third, Hartmann, was drowned in the Rhine near Lauffen.

Albert's conduct, even during his father's life-time, made the Austrians and Styrians bitterly repent their acceptation of him as duke. In 1287, the citizens of Vienna revolting against his tyranny, he besieged them from the Calenberg, and when famine at length forced them to capitulate, deprived them of all their privileges, and condemned numbers of them to have their eyes and tongues torn out, and their fingers chopped off. Iban, Count von Günz, his equal in cruelty, who was supported by Hungary, alone ventured to set him at defiance. Ladislaw, king of Hungary, died, A. D. 1290. Albert had been invested at a venture by his father with that crown, but the Hungarians, headed by their new king, Andreas, invaded Austria, and compelled him to purchase a disgraceful peace by the cession of Pressburg and Tirnau.* The brave Styrians stood by him in this emergency, nor was it until peace had been concluded that they brought forward their grievances, and accused him of issuing base coin, of robbing private individuals, and of countenancing the licentious practices of his stadtholder, Henry, abbot of Admont. Albert, no longer in awe of the Hungarians, treated the complainants with contempt, upon which Frederick von Stubenberg exclaimed, that "they had done wrong in expelling Ottocar, having merely exchanged one tyrant for another." Hartnid von Wildon, who had at first sued the Habsburgs for protection, now again took up arms against them. Admont was taken by storm, and the abbot expelled. Rudolf, archbishop of Salzburg, protecting the mountaineers, Albert invited him insidiously to Vienna, where he caused him to be poisoned. His successor, Conrad, and Otto of Bavaria, Albert's son-in-law, from whom he had withheld the dowry, promised their aid to the Styrians. Albert, however, obviated their plans, by causing the Alpine passes to be cleared of the snow during the winter, and suddenly attacked the rebellious nobles: Stubenberg was taken prisoner. The nobles were, for the most part, compelled to surrender their castles to the duke, who, on this occasion, acted with unwonted lenity, his object being to conciliate the

* The Chron. Leobiense bitterly reproaches Albert with the devastation caused by the Hungarians: "Talis pestilentia sex septimanis in terra ista duravit. Dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper."

people, and to guard his rear whilst attempting to gain possession of the imperial throne.

The helm of the state had fallen into the most worthless hands. The creatures of the pope and of France, who had risen to power since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, emulated each other in baseness and servility. Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, the arch-chancellor of the empire in the name of the pope, craftily managed the election of a successor to the late emperor, by inducing the electors, who were divided in their choice, to commit it to him alone, and deceived them all by placing his own cousin, Adolf, count of Nassau, whom none had thought of as emperor, on the throne, A. D. 1291. Albert was the most deeply deceived, Gerhard having spared no flattery, and even invited him, as he believed, to his own coronation. On learning, midway, the election of Adolf, he prudently yielded to circumstances, and took the oath of fealty to the new emperor at Oppenheim, but refused the proposal of affiancing their children. An open contest for the possession of the throne would have raised too many and too powerful foes, he therefore patiently waited until, as he hoped, Adolf might create enemies against himself, and commit errors capable of being turned to advantage.

The emperor Adolf was a poor count, brave, but a slave to the lowest debauchery, and misguided by his intriguing cousin of Mayence, whose chief object in electing him was the aggrandizement of the house of Nassau, by the increase of its territorial possessions, the first step to which was the promotion of intermarriages with the great families. Rudolf, the son of Adolf, consequently, wedded Jutta of Bohemia, and his daughter, Mechthilda, the youthful Pfalzgrave, Rudolf the Stammerer. England offered money for the purpose of engaging the emperor on her side against France. Adolf, however, had the meanness to accept it, and instead of forwarding the interests of England, purchased with it Meissen and Thuringia from Albert the Degenerate. This duke viewed his own offspring with the deadliest hatred. His unfortunate children, Frederick with the bitten check, and Diezmann, fled from their cruel parent, who craftily regained possession of them, and would have starved them to death had not his own servants taken compassion upon them, and saved their lives. On attaining manhood, they took up arms against their un-

natural father, and, supported by the enraged people, took him prisoner. By the persuasions of Cunna von Isenburg, his mistress, he was induced to offer his possessions for sale to the emperor, for the sake of disinheriting his sons, a proposal greedily accepted by Adolf, who also aided him with troops against his children. The greatest cruelties were practised by the imperial forces. On one occasion, they pitched and feathered two women, and drove them through their camp. The complaints of the Count von Hohenstein were unheeded by the emperor, by whom licence was encouraged to such a degree, that the Thuringians, excited to frenzy, exercised the most horrid barbarities on every imperialist who chanced to fall into their hands. In Mühlhausen, where the emperor was peaceably received, he behaved with such brutality, that the citizens expelled him the city. After a long struggle, Frederick and Diezmann were compelled to seek safety in flight.

Albert's apparent disgrace by the election of Adolf, raised a party against him in his oldest hereditary possessions. The peasants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, formed a defensive alliance, in 1291; whilst William, abbot of St. Gall, an ancient foe to the house of Habsburg, the bishop of Constance, the counts of Savoy, Montfort, Nellenburg, and the city of Zurich, in the hope of freeing themselves from their encroaching neighbour, by placing themselves under the protection of the emperor, attacked Albert's town, Winterthur; Count Hugh von Werdenberg, the one-eyed, armed the Habsburg vassals in defence, and Albert, speedily appearing in person, laid siege to Zurich, but as quickly retreated in order to quell a revolt to his rear among the Styrians, on whom he took a fearful revenge, but was compelled to make peace, his son-in-law, Louis of Carinthia, being taken prisoner by the rebels. Louis was exchanged for Stubenberg. Salzburg and Bavaria again took part with Styria, and a diet was held at Trubensee, A. D. 1292. The nobles demanded the dismissal of his governors, von Landenberg and Waldsee, who harassed the country. Albert refused, and bade them defiance; Adolf remained an indifferent spectator; Salzburg and Bavaria were lukewarm; the citizens of Vienna also refused to aid the nobility, by whom they had formerly been deserted, and Albert again succeeded in quelling the insurrection.

Adolf, roused either by the derision with which he was

treated by his subjects, by whom he was nick-named the Priest-king, or weary of his fetters, imprudently quarrelled with his cousin Gerhard, and with Wenzel of Bohemia, who claimed Pleissen as his share of the Meissen booty. Albert had no sooner quelled the sedition in his hereditary lands, and entered into amicable relations with Bohemia and Hungary, than Gerhard, fearing lest he might share the fate with which the universally and justly detested emperor was threatened, resolved to abandon him, and to be the first to lay the crown of Germany at his rival's feet. Under pretext of solemnizing the coronation of the youthful king of Bohemia, he visited Prague with the whole of his retinue, and there devised measures with Albert, who also arrived with a crowd of adherents. The duke even threw himself on his knees before Wenzel, in order to sue for his vote. His party was very numerous; there were 190,000 horses in the city. Every street was hung with purple; in the new market-place the wine flowed from a fountain. Albert thence visited Pressburg, [A. D. 1297,] for the purpose of wedding his daughter, Agnes, to his ancient enemy, Andreas of Hungary. Thus secure to the rear, and followed by numerous and powerful adherents, he advanced to the Rhine; Salzburg joined his party, Bavaria remained tranquil, Wurtemberg and numbers of the Swabian nobility ranged themselves beneath his standard. Adolf, although merely aided by the Pfalzgrave Rudolf and by the cities, marched boldly against his antagonist, whom he compelled to retreat up the Rhine, upon which Otto of Bavaria declared in his favour, and defeated Albert's party in a nocturnal engagement near Oberndorf, in which Albert's uncle and trusty counsellor, the aged Count von Heigerloch, was slain. Notwithstanding this disaster, Gerhard convoked the electors or their deputies to Mayence, deposed his cousin, and proclaimed Albert emperor. Adolf's unworthy conduct served as an excellent pretext for that of the electors whose votes had been bought. The two armies watched each other for some time on the Upper Rhine; Albert threw himself into Strassburg, whose gates were opened to him by the bishop, and then into the Pfalz, whither he was followed by Adolf, who came up with him at the foot of the Donnerberg, at a spot known as the Hasenbühel, upon which Albert spread a report that he and Gerhard had been slain, and making a

feigned retreat, Adolf hastily pursued with his cavalry, and was no sooner separated from his infantry, than Albert suddenly turned and fell upon him. According to his orders his soldiery stabbed the horses of the enemy, so that most of the cavalry was speedily dismounted and compelled to fight in their heavy armour on foot. Adolf, whose horse had been killed under him, and who had lost his helmet, searched unremittingly for his rival, and after attacking several knights disguised in Albert's armour, was slain, when faint and weary, as Albert himself confessed, not by his hand, as has often been believed, but by that of the Raugraf,* A. D. 1298.

CLXXII. *Albert the First.*

This monster had at length, when hoary with age, attained his joyless aim. A life of intrigue, danger, and crime had lent an expression of gloom and severity to his countenance, which even the brilliance and splendour of his coronation at Nuremberg could not dispel, and he cruelly repulsed Adolf's unhappy widow, who fell at his feet to beg the life of her son Ruprecht, who had been taken prisoner in the battle. Agnes of Burgundy, his stepmother, was reduced by him to poverty, and at length found a refuge among her relations at Dijon. His first act on mounting the throne was directed against the youthful king of Bohemia, whose pride he sought to humble. During the coronation, Wenzel had performed the office of cup-bearer, mounted on horseback, his crown upon his head, in order to preserve his dignity while performing that menial office. The emperor also levied a large sum upon the cities of Franconia on account of the murder of the Jews, caused by the desecration of the holy wafer by one of their nation.

An opportunity at this time offered for intermeddling with the foreign policy of the empire, so long and so shamefully neglected. The pope, Boniface VIII., had quarrelled with Philip the Handsome of France, who had attempted to use him as his tool. This pope was also highly displeased with Albert for having accepted the crown without paying homage to him as to his liege. "I am the emperor," wrote the pope to him.

* A title borne by one of the Rhenish Grafs or Counts.—Translator.

Upon this Albert confederated with Philip against the pope, met his new ally at Tours, where he affianced his son, Rudolf, with the Princess Blanca, Philip's daughter, and solemnly invested Philip himself with the Arelat, which had in fact been long severed from the empire.* This alliance with France greatly diminished the influence and roused the anger of Gerhard of Mayence; Albert, however, acted with extreme prudence by reconciliating the cities, until now inimical to him, by the abolition of the Rhenish customs, whence the ecclesiastical princes, and, more particularly, Gerhard, had derived great wealth. Gerhard formed a papal party against him by confederating with his neighbours of Cologne and Treves, and with the Pfalzgrave Rudolf, Adolf's ancient ally; but Albert was supported by the cities, by Reinhold the Warlike, count of Gueldres, whose daughter he wedded to his son Frederick, and by French troops, who laid waste the beautiful Rhenish provinces. The archbishops, last of all that of Treves, which endured a hard siege, were compelled to yield. Fresh intrigues were meanwhile carried on in the Netherlands. John, the last count of Holland, and his wife were poisoned, [A. D. 1299,] and John d'Avesnes, count in the Hennegau, the son of a sister of the emperor William, backed by France, laid claim to the inheritance, whilst Albert, on the other hand, attempted to seize the fiefs of the empire for the purpose of bestowing them on his sons. When on a visit, with this view, to Reinhold of Gueldres at Nimwegen, he ran the greatest danger of being seized by John d'Avesnes, who, in concert with France, intended to force him to concede to his desires, or, it is even probable, to remove him from Philip's path, that monarch cherishing the hope of procuring the crown of Germany for his own brother, Charles, the electors being base enough to encourage the project. Reinhold was also on his part deeply offended on account of Albert's refusal to wed his son Frederick, who afterwards mounted the imperial throne, with his daughter, by whom the emperor was generously saved. He escaped by her assistance from

* Cæsar Gallo remisit, quicquid Imperio Germanico majoris illius in regno Arelatensi eripuisse *Germani ægre ferebant.—Petri Saxii pontif. Arelatense, ad an.* 1294. Albert was also reproached for being in the pay of France, to which he replied, "That is no disgrace, for was not Adolf in that of England!"

Nimwegen, but was compelled to cede Holland to John d'Avesnes.

Albert, thus deceived by France, now turned to the pope, who had just proclaimed the great jubilee. Rome was thronged with pilgrims, and the wealth poured on the altars was so enormous that the gold was absolutely collected thence with rakes. By a disgraceful formula, Albert recognised the pope's supremacy, and vowed to procure the crown of Hungary, vacant since the death of Andreas in 1301, for the French house of Anjou in Naples, which was more submissive to the pontiff than Philip the Handsome. Although Albert's real object had been to place the crown of Hungary on his own head, he sacrificed his own hopes for the sake of gaining the favour of the mighty pontiff, and from the dread of being overpowered by his numerous enemies, for Wenzel of Bohemia also claimed Hungary, and at length openly vented his long-concealed wrath upon him. The houses of Habsburg and of Anjou, united beneath the pope, invaded Bohemia with an immense army of half-pagan Cumans, who devastated not only Bohemia but Austria. They were defeated by Wenzel before Kuttenberg, and in Austria the Count von Ortenburg raised the country and deprived the plunderers of their booty. Wenzel died suddenly, bequeathing, with his last breath, his claims upon Hungary to Otto of Bavaria, who rode alone and in disguise, with the sacred crown and sceptre of Hungary in his pocket, through Austria to that country, where he found Charles Robert of Naples already firmly seated on the throne. He gained but few adherents, and was taken prisoner. It is a remarkable fact, that the Saxons of Siebenburg twice revolted against the new French dynasty on the throne of Hungary; in 1325, under their count, Henning von Petersdorf, who was defeated and murdered by the wild Cumans, and in 1342, when the king, Louis, entered their country at the head of a large army and succeeded in conciliating them.

The example of the French monarch inspired Albert with a desire for absolute sovereignty, at all events, in his hereditary lands, and with a determination to break the power of the bishops, the nobility, and the cities. With this intent, he purchased a countless number of small estates, fiefs, privileges, from the other princes, bishops, and even from knights; the smallest portion of land, the meanest prerogative that could

in any way increase his territory or his sovereign rule, was not overlooked. He drew the nobles from their castles, and formed them into a brilliant cortege around his person. He also introduced uniforms, and formed five hundred knights, who were distinguished by a particular dress, into a sort of body-guard. He placed governors over the lands, towns, and castles he had either purchased or which had been ceded to him, and also carefully guarded against the division of the Habsburg possessions among the various members of the family, withholding, for that purpose, from his youthful nephew, Johannes, the allods to which he had a right in Zwitzerland. His encroachments brought him in collision with Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who was also engaged, although on a smaller scale, in increasing his family possessions. Albert, however, seduced by the prospect of greater gain, quickly terminated this feud, in order to turn his undivided attention upon Thuringia and Meissen, where he hoped to reinstate himself, and which he intended, together with Bohemia, to annex to his hereditary estates. Wenzel's son, the last of the ancient race of Przmizl, was murdered by the magnates of the kingdom at Olmütz, A. D. 1305. He had amused himself by breaking pots, to each of which he gave the name of a Bohemian noble, and had, by these means, incurred their suspicions. Albert's son, Rudolf, whose wife, Bianca, was dead, was instantly compelled to espouse Elisabeth, the widow of Wenzel, who died shortly afterwards, and Henry of Carinthia, who had married one of Wenzel's sisters, laid claim to the throne. Frederick of Thuringia also valiantly defended his inheritance.

Frederick with the bitten cheek, whose gigantic iron armour is still preserved in the Wartburg, the descendant, on the female line, by his mother, Margaretha, from the Hohenstaufen, had, after a brave resistance, been deprived of Meissen and Thuringia. He took refuge in Italy, the country of his great ancestors, where he was received by the Ghibellines with open arms; the example of Conradin, however, deterred them from opposing a foe their superior in power. Frederick returned to Germany, and, on the death of the emperor Adolf, again fixed himself in Thuringia. His now aged father had, on the death of his mistress, Cunna, married the wealthy widow of the Count von Arnshove, whose daughter, Elisabeth, a young woman of surpassing beauty, was loved and

carried off by Frederick. His marriage with his step-sister now served as a pretext to the emperor for renewing his claims, as Adolf's successor, on Thuringia, and Frederick was once more expelled from the Wartburg.* The Thuringians, nevertheless, crowded beneath the standard of their former darling, and Albert was defeated at Lucca, A. D. 1307, and a second time at Borna, A. D. 1309. The people, whose rights were no longer protected against the usurpations of the princes by the emperor, who, moreover, abused the authority of the crown in order to tyrannize over them, now aided the princes against their sovereign. Frederick reconquered the whole of his inheritance, with the exception of the Lausitz, which his brother, Diezmann, had ceded to Brandenburg.

The pretensions of the Habsburgs to Bohemia sank on the death of Rudolf, Albert having rendered himself so universally hated, that the Bohemian estates unanimously refused to acknowledge one of that obnoxious family as their sovereign, and on Tobias von Bechin venturing to speak in Albert's favour, Ulrich von Lichtenstein ran him through the body with his sword. The crown was bestowed upon Henry of Carinthia. Albert marched against Prague, and revenged himself by laying the land waste, but was compelled to retreat. Disappointed in his hopes in this quarter, he repaired to Upper Swabia, where the greatest danger threatened. His former expedition against Zurich was still fresh in the minds of the people; his neighbours, jealous of his power, and the people, harassed by his provincial governors, viewed him with the deadliest hatred. His nephew, Johannes, imbittered against him by his unjust deprivation of the ancient ancestral property in Switzerland, which he claimed as son of the eldest brother, conspired against him with some Swabian knights, separated him, when crossing the Reuss not far from the ancient castle of Habsburg, from his retinue, and gave the signal for the bloody deed. "How long is this corpse still to ride?" inquired von Wart. "Do your purpose!" shouted Johannes in

* With his new-born daughter, who cried incessantly during their flight: although the enemy was close at hand, he stopped and asked the nurse what ailed the babe. The nurse replied, "My lord, she will not be quiet until she is suckled:" so he ordered his men to halt, saying, "My child shall have her desire though it cost me all Thuringia;" and, drawing his men up in front, remained by his babe's side until she had been suckled.—*Rohte.*

reply; and in an instant von Eschenbach had seized the emperor's bridle, whilst von Palm on one side, and von Wart on the other, simultaneously dealt him a blow on the head. The aged emperor cried out for assistance to his nephew, who ran his sword through his back, and he expired on the roadside, in the arms of an old woman, before his warlike son, Leopold, who was on the opposite bank of the Reuss, could cross the stream, A. D. 1308. This emperor had six sons, Rudolf, Frederick the Handsome, Leopold the Glorious, Albert the Lame, Henry the Amiable, Otto the Joyous; and five daughters.

CLXXIII. *The encroachments of France. The Battle of Spurs.*

In France, Philip the Handsome realized the projects vainly attempted by the Hohenstaufen in Germany; he suppressed, in the interior, the independence of the great vassals, gave to his kingdom union and peace, and extended his influence abroad. The popes, who had formerly cast themselves into the arms of the French monarchs, were now unable to escape from their toils. It was now in vain that Boniface VIII. declared himself, in the Bull *unam sanctam*, lord over every human creature, "*subesse Pontifici Romæ, omnem creaturam humanam,*" etc.; the proud pontiff, then in his eightieth year, was, at Philip's command, seized in Rome herself by some French knights, assisted by Romans, and so ill-treated that he died mad, A. D. 1303. His successor, Benedict XI., bent before Philip, but afterwards attempting to shake off his fetters, was removed by poison. The next pope, Clement V., was a Frenchman by birth, and so completely Philip's tool, that he removed his seat of government from Rome to Avignon, which belonged to Arelat, and appertained to the house of Anjou; in 1348 the city and territory of Avignon were sold by John of Naples for ever to the pope. Philip, at that period, abolished the rich and powerful order of Templars, and caused the grandmaster, Molay, and several knights, whom he had insidiously induced to visit France, to be burnt alive. This order had greatly supported the aristocracy against the throne, and was, consequently, dangerous to monarchical power; and the

pope, to whom it was useful as a counterpoise against the authority of the sovereigns, weakly allowed it to be annihilated. The half Mahomedan or Græco-gnostic heresy of the Templars served as an excuse for their destruction. The principal part of their possessions were inherited by the knights of St. John, who fixed themselves in the island of Rhodes.

Philip also revived his former project of annexing Flanders, which at that time had been raised by German industry, and by the national spirit of its rulers, above every other country in the world in prosperity and civilization, immediately to France, its mere feudal dependence on that kingdom and its independent government (by its own counts and its own laws) putting it out of his power to drain it as he desired by means of governors and tax-gatherers.

Guillaume de Dampierre bequeathed Flanders to his son, Guido the Incapable, who attempted to place the wealthy towns under contribution, which gave rise to the revolt at Brugge, the great Moorlemaey, A. D. 1282. He also refused to take the oath of fealty for Imperial Flanders to the emperor Rudolf, and was on that account placed under the interdict by the pope, Rudolf's patron. This event was turned to advantage by Philip, who raised a party in his favour in that country. Guido sought the protection of England, and offered his daughter, Philippa, in marriage to the English prince, Edward, but, blinded by Philip's dexterous flattery, was persuaded to visit Paris, accompanied by his daughter and the flower of the Flemish nobility, A. D. 1296, where they were all retained prisoners. Guido, by dint of great promises, regained his liberty; Edward I. of England offered to negotiate terms for him, and, in order to gain the emperor Adolf over to his interest, gave him a large sum of money, of which, as has already been seen, he made such a bad use. It was in vain that the princes of Brabant, Juliers, and Holland took up arms; the emperor, whom they expected to join them, never appeared. Every thing went wrong; Edward marched singly in advance with his English troops and was defeated; the Dutch followed and suffered the same fate at Furnes, where William, count of Juliers, was taken prisoner, A. D. 1297. The defeated English, reduced to extreme want, plundered the country, and three hundred English knights were slain by the enraged citizens of Ghent.

Guido again submitted to the French king, who, contrary to his plighted word, threw him into close imprisonment.

Philip now hastened to gain over by flattery the clergy and the great burgher families in the Flemish towns, whom the papal interdict and the imposition of taxes had rendered inimical to Guido, in the hope of inducing the whole of Flanders by their aid to acknowledge him as their sovereign prince, and of thus setting aside the ruling families. The adherents to the royal party in Flanders were denominated Liliards, from the lily in the arms of France. The scheme proved successful, and Philip, entering Flanders at the head of a large army, received the oath of fealty from the different towns on his route. The queen, on reaching Brügge, was welcomed by six hundred of the wives of the citizens, all of whom equalling or surpassing her in the richness of their apparel, she angrily exclaimed, "I expected to see but one queen, and here are six hundred!" The Liliards found their expectations deceived, Philip depriving them of the power they enjoyed, and attempting not only to drain the rich country of its wealth, but also to place the Flemish, habituated to liberty and self-government, under the yoke of a despotic French stadtholder, Jacques de Chatillon. His treatment of Philippa, Guido's daughter, whom he dishonoured in order to compel her father to cede Flanders, chiefly contributed to imbitter the minds of the people against him, and they rose to a man, resolved to avenge their disgrace and to cast off the yoke of the foreigner. Peter de Konink, the head of the corporation of clothiers at Brügge, being arrested, together with twenty-five of his fellows, for refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the French, the people set him free, and, placing him at their head, expelled the traitorous town-council, the stadtholder Chatillon, and all the French, from the city. Chatillon, however, quickly assembled a larger force, and again forced his way into the city, whence Peter de Konink was compelled to retreat. The people of Ghent had, meanwhile, followed the example of the citizens of Brügge, and expelled their town-council and all the French. The news of this proceeding no sooner reached Brügge than a fresh tumult ensued. One Breyel, a butcher, having killed a servant of Mons. d'Epinoi, the French commandant at Male, not far from Brügge, the commandant attempted to seize him, but Breyel

defended himself with the greatest fury, and the citizens rushing to his assistance, Mons. d'Epinoi and every Frenchman in Male were murdered. Chatillon, in the mean time, negotiated matters with the citizens of Ghent, whom he induced by promises to oppose the people of Brügge. In consequence of this, on the arrival of Peter de Konink at the head of a mob before Ghent, the gates were closed against him, and he returned to Brügge, where, finding the gates also closed, he forced his way into the city, and shouting "Strike the false foreigners down!" murdered every Frenchman whom he encountered in the streets, and stationed his men at every gate and corner with the watch-word, "Schild en Vriend," which no Frenchman could pronounce, so that all who had concealed themselves and attempted to get away secretly were by that means discovered and killed. This massacre took place the 14th of May, 1302. Chatillon escaped by swimming through the city moat. Ghent, where the Liliards triumphed, remained true to the treaty. The citizens and peasantry, however, flocked from every quarter to Peter de Konink. Guido, a son of the captive count, also arrived, and William of Juliers, the younger brother of the William of Juliers taken prisoner at Furnes, and canon at Mæstricht, abandoned his church in order to place himself at the head of the citizens. The Flemish nobility, (with the exception of those who were imprisoned at Paris,) and Gottfried of Brabant, were, however, induced, by their hatred of the citizens, to side with France. Philip, impatient to revenge the insults heaped upon his stadtholder, despatched forty-seven thousand men, the flower of the French chivalry, under the command of Robert d'Artois, against the little army of undisciplined citizens and peasants, led by a priest. At Kortryk, on the 11th of July, 1302, William of Juliers, guarded by a deep fosse, awaited the onset of the enemy. Guido, too young to take the command in person, had delegated it to William, who, as commander-in-chief, had, on the rise of that bloody day, solemnly bestowed the honour of knighthood on Peter, the weaver, and Breyel, the butcher. Robert d'Artois, at sight of this undisciplined mob, treated the advice of the constable of Nesle, who attempted to dissuade him from making too rash an onset, with contempt, and hinted that his connexion by marriage with Guido cooled his zeal in the French cause.

The constable, touched to the quick by this insult, angrily exclaimed, "Well! I will lead you further than you will ever return!" and dashing furiously forwards at the head of the knights, plunged headlong into the muddy fosse, which was quickly filled with the dead bodies of men and horses, those in advance being pushed by those behind, who, blinded by the dust, could not see what took place in front. At this moment, the Flemish infantry advanced and bore down all before them. No quarter was given. The noble constable fell. Artois begged for his life, but his antagonists replied to his entreaties, "There is no nobleman here to understand your gibberish!" and struck him down. With him fell the bravest and best of France's chivalry, and twenty thousand men. Two German princes, Gottfried of Brabant and Theobald of Lothringia, who fought under French colours, found here a dishonourable death. The Brabant knights, in the hope of saving their lives, flung themselves from horseback, and joined in the Flemish war-cry, "Vlaendren ende Leu!" The Flemish, among whom there were no knights, quickly discovered the stratagem, and instantly shouted, "Down with all who wear spurs!" The victors collected five thousand golden spurs belonging to the princes and knights who had fallen on this occasion, and hung them as trophies in the church of Kortryk. This dreadful day was thence called "The battle of spurs."

William of Juliers, who had fought until forced, from very weariness, to be carried from the field, returned to his solitary cell. Philip, deeply humbled, sent his prisoner, Count Guido, to negotiate terms, but the proud victor refused to listen, and Guido nobly returned to his prison, where he died, at a great age, not long after. John II., the new duke of Brabant, and William, bishop of Utrecht, meanwhile, joined the Flemish, and the German party became so powerful, that it was resolved to take vengeance on John d'Avesnes, who had until now been intriguing in favour of France against the emperor, Albert, and had taken possession of Holland. John lay, at that time, sick. His son, William III., was defeated near the Ziriksee, A. D. 1304; the whole of Holland was conquered. The cruelty of the Flemish, however, roused the people to rebellion. Witte von Hamsteede, a natural son of the old Count Floris, and who shared his father's popularity, raised the standard of revolt; the women even fought in defence of

their country, and the Flemish suffered a complete defeat near Harlem. Philip of France, who had shortly before bribed the emperor, to whose son, Rudolf, he had given his daughter, Blanche, in marriage, despatched a great fleet under Grimaldi, a Genoese, and a large land-army, against the Flemish, for the purpose of reducing them to subjection, and of revenging the disaster at Kortryk. Grimaldi was victorious, and took Guido the younger prisoner. Upon this, William of Juliers again quitted his cloister, replaced himself at the head of the Flemish, fought with unexampled bravery at Mons-en-puelle, captured the Oriflamme, and almost succeeded in taking the king, who was wounded and fled. At this moment he was himself deprived of life. Philip, who had retreated, quickly returned to the charge, but, on beholding the immense multitude confronting him, exclaimed, "Do the skies rain with Flemish!" and refused to hazard another engagement. Peace was negotiated by John of Brabant. Robert, (surnamed de Bethune,) the eldest son of Guido the elder, was reinstated in Flanders, but ceded Ryssel, Douai, and Lille to Philip.

John of Brabant, the negotiator of the peace, had to quell disturbances in his own country. The cities of Brabant rivalled those of Flanders in industry and wealth, and rose before long against the nobility, who, with natural jealousy, sought to diminish their privileges. Mechlin, Louvain, and Brussels expelled the nobles from their walls, destroyed their houses, and even closed the gates against the duke, who took part with the nobility. The contest began A. D. 1303, and, after long negotiation, was terminated, A. D. 1312, by the laws of Kortenberg, by which great privileges were secured to the cities.

CLXXIV. *William Tell and the Swiss.*

THE Alpine peasantry also rose in defence of their liberties, not as the citizens in Flanders, against the foreign invader, but against their domestic tyrants. These simultaneous events sprang from a similar origin, being produced by the reaction of the popular spirit in Germany against the misery and disgrace that had fallen like a curse upon the empire since the fall of the Hohenstaufen. The peasantry, no longer

protected and counselled by a wise and magnanimous emperor, betrayed and sold to the foreigner, and oppressed by internal tyranny, were compelled to seek for aid in their own resources, but their efforts, like those of unconscious instinct, were solitary and uncombined, and consequently without material result. As a whole, the German nation was animated by no national spirit pervading and combining each kindred race, but was so completely absorbed in local and provincial interests, that the inhabitant of one part of the empire remained ignorant and indifferent to the events that took place among his brethren in another.

Around the beautiful lake formed by the Reuss, on its descent from the St. Gothard, lie the four forest towns, as they are called, and from which this lake takes its name—*vier Waldstætter See*—the lake of the four cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne. The shepherds in the valley of Uri were originally free-born Alemanni, who held their lands in fee of the nunnery at Zurich, and the monastery of Wettingen in the Aargau, but preserved their ancient communal right of self-government, a situation corresponding with that of the free Friscians and Ditmarses, who were subordinate to the bishops of Utrecht and Bremen. The shepherds of Schwyz and Unterwalden were claimed as serfs by the counts of Habsburg, a claim they stoutly opposed, appealing to their ancient liberties, and to a document drawn up in confirmation thereof by the emperor, Frederick II., and ratified by the emperor Adolf. They consequently held with the free peasants of Uri, with whom they had formerly been allied. (Lucerne was incontestably Habsburgian.) The counts of Habsburg exercised at this time, in the name of the emperor and of the empire, the right of penal judicature (the provincial government) throughout the whole district of the Aar, as far as the St. Gothard, consequently also over Uri, over which they formerly possessed no right. On the accession of the Habsburgs to the throne, they placed deputy governors over the country, who bore the double office of crown-officers, by their exercise of the right of penal judicature, and of administrators of the possessions of the Habsburg; between which, as may easily be understood, they did not always draw a broad enough line of distinction. The peasant was to them merely a peasant, whether a freeman of Uri or a serf of Lucerne. It is

well known, that the object of the emperor Albert was the abolition of local differences and privileges, and the subjection of the free communes to his rule; and the governors, as the free peasants of Uri were doomed to experience, were neither unwilling to obey nor tardy in executing the will of their sovereign.

The events that ensued we give in the words of the naive chronicle of Tschudi: "In the year of our Lord 1307, there dwelt a pious countryman in Unterwald beyond the Kernwald, whose name was Henry of Melchthal, a wise, prudent, honest man, well to do and in good esteem among his country-folk, moreover, a firm supporter of the liberties of his country, and of its adhesion to the Roman empire, on which account Beringer von Landenberg, the governor over the whole of Unterwald, was his enemy. This Melchtaler had some very fine oxen, and, on account of some trifling misdemeanour committed by his son, Arnold of Melchthal, the governor sent his servant to seize the finest pair of oxen by way of punishment, and in case old Henry of Melchthal said any thing against it, he was to say, that it was the governor's opinion that the peasants should draw the plough themselves. The servant fulfilled his lord's commands. But, as he unharnessed the oxen, Arnold, the son of the countryman, fell into a rage, and, striking him with a stick on the hand, broke one of his fingers. Upon this Arnold fled, for fear of his life, up the country towards Uri, where he kept himself long secret in the country where Conrad of Baumgarten from Altzelen lay hid for having killed the governor of Wolfenschiess, who had insulted his wife, with a blow of his axe. The servant, meanwhile, complained to his lord, by whose order old Melchthal's eyes were torn out. This tyrannical action rendered the governor highly unpopular, and Arnold, on learning how his good father had been treated, laid his wrongs secretly before trusty people in Uri, and awaited a fit opportunity for avenging his father's misfortune.

"At the same time, Gessler,* the governor of Uri and Schwyz, treated the people with almost equal cruelty, and erected a fortress in Uri, as a place of security for himself and other governors after him, in case of revolt, and as a means of keeping the country in greater awe and submission. His reply,

* Etterlyn names him Grissler; Schilling, a Count von Seedorf. No contemporary document, containing his name, has yet been discovered.

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on being asked, 'what the name of the fortress was to be?' 'Zwing Uri,' (Uri's prison,) greatly offended the people of Uri; on perceiving which, he resolved to degrade them still further, and, on St. Jacob's day, caused a pole to be fixed in the market-place, which was the common thoroughfare, by the lime-trees, at Altdorff, and a hat to be placed at the top, to which every one who passed was commanded, on pain of confiscation of his property and of corporal punishment, to bow lowly and to bend the knee as if to the king himself, and placed by it a guard whose duty it was to mark those who refused obedience, thinking to gain great fame, if by this means he should succeed in degrading this brave and unconquered nation to the basest slavery. It so chanced that when the governor, Gessler, rode through the country to Schwitz, over which he also ruled, there lived at Steinen in Schwitz, a wise and honourable man of an ancient family, named Wernherr von Stauffach, who had built a handsome house near the bridge at Steinen. On the governor's arrival, the Stauffacher, who was standing before the door, gave him a friendly welcome, and was asked by the governor to whom the house belonged? The Stauffacher, suspecting that the question boded nothing good, cautiously replied, 'My lord, the house belongs to my sovereign lord the king, and is your and my fief.' Upon this, the governor said, 'I will not allow peasants to build houses without my consent, or to live in freedom as if they were their own masters. I will teach you to resist!' and, so saying, rode on his journey. These words greatly disturbed the Stauffacher, who was a sensible, intelligent man, and had moreover a wise and prudent wife, who, quickly perceiving that something lay heavy on his mind, did not rest until she had found out what the governor had said. When she heard it, she said, 'My dear Ee-Wirt, you know that many of the good country-folk also complain of the governor's tyranny, it would therefore be well for some of you, who can trust one another, to meet secretly, and take counsel together how you may throw off his wanton power.' Stauffacher agreed to this and went to Uri, where, perceiving that all the people were impatient of the hateful yoke of the governor, he trusted his secret to a wise and honourable man of Uri, named Walter Furst, who mentioned to him their countryman of Unterwald, Arnold of Melchthal, who had taken

refuge in Uri, but had often gone secretly back to Unterwald to see his family, as one who might be trusted. He was therefore called in, and these three men agreed that each of them should secretly assemble all the trust-worthy people in their own country, in order to take measures for regaining their ancient liberties and expelling the tyrannical governor. It was also agreed that they should meet at night by the Mytenstein, that stands in the lake beneath Sewlisberg, at a place called 'in the Rœdlin.' Thus the ground-work to the famous Swiss confederation was laid in the country of Uri, by these three brave men.*

"On the following Sunday, the 18th of the winter-month after Othmari, 1307, an honest peasant of Uri, William Tell by name, who was also in the secret confederacy, passed several times before the hat, hung up in the market-place at Altdorff, without paying it due homage. This was told to the governor, who, on the following morning, summoned Tell to his presence, and asked him haughtily, why he disobeyed his commands? Tell replied, 'My dear lord, it happened unknowingly and not out of contempt, pardon me; if I were clever, I should not be called Tell,† I beg for mercy, it shall not happen again.' Now Tell was a good marksman, and had not his equal in the whole country; he had also beautiful children, of whom he was very fond: the governor sent for them, and said, 'Tell, which of your children do you love the best?' Tell answered, 'My lord, they are all alike dear to

* Hence the old rhyme,

"When the lowly wept and tyrants stormed,
The Swiss confederacy was formed."

† Tell (*toll*, dull, stupid, *Tölpel*) has a similar signification with the Northern Toko, (Docke, sly fellow, or dissembler, in the Swiss dialect, Töckeli—a silly butterfly,) a simpleton or fool. Both the name and the story of Tell agree so precisely with those of the Danish Palnotocke, the assassin of King Harald, that Tell's history has been sometimes deemed a mere fabulous imitation of the Danish one. Both stories are, according to Ideler, founded on one of still higher antiquity. Tell's history has been, undeniably, adorned with much poetical fiction, but its principal features are, nevertheless, true. The personal description of Tell appears to be perfectly genuine, for (as Mönnich, in his treatise concerning Tell, Nuremberg, 1841, remarks) his peasant-like manners, his perplexity and timidity at the first moment, his ignoble and unideal character, prove Tschudi's historical accuracy. A fictitious hero would have been more ideally portrayed.

me.' Upon this, the governor said, 'Well! Tell, you are a good and true marksman, as I hear, and shall prove your skill in my presence, by shooting an apple off the head of one of your children, but take care that you strike the apple, for should the first shot miss, it shall cost you your life.' Tell, filled with horror, begged the governor for God's sake to dispense with the trial, 'for it would be unnatural for him to shoot at his own dear child. He would sooner die.' But the governor merely replied, 'Unless you do it, you or your child shall die.' Tell now perceived that the trial must be made, and inwardly praying God to shield him and his dear child, took up his cross-bow, set it, placed the arrow in it, and stuck another behind in his collar, whilst the governor placed the apple with his own hand on the head of the child, who was not more than six years old. Tell then aimed at the apple, and shot it off the crown of the child's head without inflicting the slightest injury. The governor was greatly astonished at his wonderful skill, and praised him, but asked, 'what he intended by sticking another arrow behind in his collar?' Tell was afraid, and said, 'it was the custom among marksmen.' The governor, however, perceived that Tell avoided his question, and said, 'Tell, speak the truth openly and without fear, your life is safe, but I am not satisfied with your answer.' Then William Tell took courage, and replied, 'Well, my lord, I will tell you the whole truth; if I had struck my child, I would have shot at you with the other arrow, which would certainly not have missed its mark.'

"When the governor heard this, he said, 'Very well, Tell; I have promised you your life, and will keep my word, but now that I know your evil intentions against me, I will have you taken to a place where you shall never again behold either sun or moon;' and commanded his servants to take him bound to Fluellen. He also went with them; and, with his servants, and Tell with his hands bound, got into a boat, intending to go to Brunnen, and thence to carry Tell across the country through Schwitz to his castle at Küssnach, (according to Kopp, Küssnacht never belonged to a Gessler; the governor, nevertheless, might have the right of entry into the castle,) where he was to remain for the rest of his life in a dark dungeon. Tell's cross-bow lay in the boat by the side of the steersman. When they had got well into the lake,

and had reached the corner at Achsen, it pleased God to raise such a fearful and violent storm, that they all despaired of safety, and expected to drown miserably. Upon this, one of the servants said to the governor, 'My lord, you see your and our need, and the danger of our lives; now Tell is a strong man, and can manage a boat well, let us make use of him in our necessity.' The governor, who was in mortal dread of a watery grave, then said to Tell, 'If you truly bring us out of this danger, I will release you from your bonds.' To which Tell replied, 'Yes, my lord, I trust, with God's aid, to bring you safely out of this peril.' Thereupon he was unbound, and, standing at the helm, guided the boat well, but watched, meanwhile, for an opportunity to seize his cross-bow, which lay near him, and to jump out; as he approached a rock, (since known as Tell's rock, on which a small chapel has been erected,) he called to the servants, that they must go carefully until they came to this rock, when the worst danger would be past, and, on reaching the rock, drove the boat, for he was very strong, violently against it, snatched up his cross-bow, and springing upon the rocky shelf, pushed the boat back again into the lake, where it lay tossing about, whilst he ran through Schwitz to a hollow way between Art and Küssnach, with a high bank above where he lay hid, and awaited the coming of the governor, who, he well knew, must take that road to his castle. The governor and his servants, after great danger and trouble in crossing the lake, reached Brunnen; and riding thence through Schwitz, entered the hollow way, plotting as they went along all sorts of designs against Tell, who, nothing heeding, drew his cross-bow and shot the governor through the heart with an arrow, so that he fell heavily from his horse, and from that hour never breathed more. On the spot where William Tell shot the governor, a holy chapel, that is standing at this day, was built."

Tschudi further relates, that on new-year's day, 1308, the peasantry got possession of the fortresses of Sarnen and Rotzberg in Unterwald by stratagem, and that those of Uri destroyed the new fortress of Zwing-Uri, and those of Schwitz the castle of Lowers. After which it is said they formed at Brunnen on the lake, on the 6th of January, 1308, the first Swiss confederation, for the period of ten years, and with

the reservation of their allegiance to the emperor and the empire.*

The peasantry in the Tyrol also tried their strength at this period. The Italians at Feltre attempting to deprive the Germans at Fleims of some Alps in Southern Tyrol, the Fleimsers attacked Feltre, took it by storm, and burned the town to the ground, A. D. 1300. These peasants form the most Southern German outpost on the Italian side, and distinguished themselves in all the wars, up to 1809.

CLXXV. *Henry the Seventh of Luxemburg.*

On the death of Albert, the crown of Germany was claimed by Philip the Handsome of France, for his brother Charles; the princes, however, dreaded his power, and refused to elect him. The Habsburgs were as little favoured, the late emperor's authority appearing to his jealous subjects to have acquired too great weight. They consequently resolved to place another petty count upon the throne, and, in order to flatter the church, to recognise him as emperor, to whom the ecclesiastical electors gave the majority of votes.

The city and archbishopric of Treves was, at that time, on a good footing with the neighbouring count, Henry of Luxemburg. Henry was known to fame as the best knight of the day in the lists. His alliance with Treves was necessitated by the attacks of his neighbour of Brabant. The city of Treves bestowed upon him the rights of citizenship, and his brother Baldwin gained the mitre by means of his former medical

* This history is not confirmed by any contemporary writer, neither has it been disproved. Henry von Hünenberg alone mentions it in an epigram, the authenticity of which we cannot vouch.

"Dum pater in puerum telum crudele coruscat
Tellius, ex jussu, sæve tyranne, tuo
Pomum, non natum figit fatalis arundo
Altera mox, ultrix, te periture petet."

In 1388, in the provincial assembly at Uri, one hundred and fourteen of the country people declared that they had known Tell personally, and that in 1354 he was drowned at Bürglen during a flood, whilst attempting to save some persons. This declaration was even then necessary, in order to confirm the authenticity of Tell's history.

attendant, Peter Aichspalter, a Trevian by birth, his predecessor on the archiepiscopal throne. Baldwin consequently recommended his brother, who, being favoured by Mayence, the archbishop of Cologne, who sided with France, was left in the minority, and the princes, faithful to their plighted word, accepted Henry for their emperor.

Henry VII. was proclaimed emperor at Rense, [A. D. 1308,] near Braubach, on the left bank of the Rhine, and the royal crown was placed upon his brows. The two other crowns, the iron one of Lombardy and the imperial crown, were still in Italy. Henry was one of the noblest monarchs who sat on the throne of Germany. Deeply conscious of the duties imposed upon him by his station, he followed in the steps of Charlemagne and Barbarossa, and worthily upheld the dignity and honour of the empire, ever remaining a stranger to the petty policy of his late predecessors, who sacrificed the state for the sake of increasing the wealth and influence of their own houses. Sensible of his inability to cope with his jealous vassals at home, he sought to extend his authority abroad, and to cover himself with the glory of the ancient emperors by repelling the assumptions of France, and repairing the losses sustained by the empire since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, in order to acquire the power necessary for restoring and maintaining order in the interior of the empire. The Italians were weary of French usurpation and intrigue; the pope even sighed for release from French bondage; the times seemed more than ever propitious for the restoration of Italy to the empire, and the emperor would have neglected his duty had he not created this diversion against the plotting king of France. Henry acted both as a wise statesman and a great sovereign, and shame upon the princes of Germany who withheld their aid.

Before setting out for Italy he did his utmost to restore peace and tranquillity to the empire. Bohemia was in a state of complete anarchy. Henry of Carinthia filled every office in that kingdom with Carinthians, drained the country of money, took the heads of the Bohemian aristocracy prisoners at a banquet, and threw Elisabeth, Wenzel's second sister, into a dungeon, [A. D. 1308,] in order to force her into a marriage with a low-born knight, and thus exclude her from the succession. Aided by Berengar, an old and faithful chaplain, this

princess contrived to escape, and roused the people to rebellion. Henry of Luxemburg was, at this conjuncture, raised to the Imperial throne, and the Bohemians, resting their hopes on him for aid, sent ambassadors, bearing with them the Princess Elisabeth, then in her eighteenth year, to him, in order to offer her in marriage to his son, John, a boy of fourteen. The princess made the offer in person; the emperor, struck with the indecency of the demand, at first tauntingly rejected the proposal, but afterwards, won by her spirit and innocence, consented to the marriage, and despatched his son, John, a boy of uncommon bravery and promise, at the head of a body of troops, to Bohemia, where he was joyfully welcomed. The Carinthians were expelled.

The position of the emperor in respect to the house of Habsburg, at the head of which stood Albert's elder sons, Frederick the Handsome, and Leopold, besides a daughter, Agnes, the widow of the last of the Hungarian dynasty of Arpad, was replete with difficulty. The Austrians had not yet become habituated to their yoke. In Vienna, Albert's death was the signal for an insurrection, which Frederick was merely enabled to quell by the infliction of the most horrid punishments; numbers of the citizens were executed, deprived of sight, and mutilated. Otto of Bavaria, whom Albert had formerly expelled from Hungary, now revenged himself upon Frederick by invading Austria, where he carried all before him and laid the country waste. Styria was, meanwhile, restored to tranquillity by the governor, Ulric von Waldsee. The Habsburgs had also numerous enemies in the Alps. The emperor, Henry, solemnly released the peasants of Uri, Unterwald, and Schwitz, from the Habsburg rule, and placed them under the immediate jurisdiction of the crown; an act completely contrary to the policy of the Habsburgs, but strictly just and in accordance with the prerogative and duty of the sovereign, who alone possessed the right of nominating the governors, and was in duty bound to remove those who gave just cause of complaint to the people. The Habsburgs exercised hereditary jurisdiction over their vassals and serfs, but not over free subjects of the empire, whom they merely governed in the name and at the pleasure of the emperor. Henry, with equal justice, put the murderers of the late emperor out of the bann of the empire, and offered

peace and friendship to his sons. A great and solemn funeral service was performed at Henry's command at Spires, where the remains of the emperors, Adolf of Nassau, and Albert of Habsburg, were deposited in the old imperial vault. Both of their widows and Albert's daughter were present, A. D. 1309; Elisabeth of Nassau, who had once vainly pleaded on her knees to Albert for her son; Elisabeth of Habsburg, who sat weeping at the foot of the same Albert's coffin. The empress, Margaretha, sought to comfort the widowed mourners, and, with a misgiving heart, entreated Heaven to guard her from a similar calamity. Frederick the Handsome was also in Spires with a numerous retinue, and a reconciliation was assiduously attempted between the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg. After a long dispute, the two parties agreed to certain terms, and reciprocally guaranteed to each other the quiet possession of their several territories.

Elisabeth fearfully revenged the murder of her husband. Johannes had fled to Italy; his accomplices, Ulric von Palm, and Walter von Eschilbach, secreted themselves, one in a penitentiary at Basle, the other for several years as a cowherd in Swabia; Rudolf von Wart fell into the hands of his pursuers, and was condemned by Agnes to be bound alive to the wheel. He lived in this state for three days, during which his faithful wife, Gertrude, sat at his feet weeping and praying until he expired. Elisabeth's vengeance even overtook the innocent; all the relations and vassals of the murderers were killed, to the number of a thousand men, and with their confiscated property she built the convent of Kœnigsfelden, (now a mad-house,) in which her daughter Agnes took the veil, in order to pass the remainder of her days in mourning for her father.

The emperor also attempted to persuade Count Eberhard* of Wurtemberg to desist from further violence, and represented to him at the diet at Spires the ruinous consequences of internal feuds. "Enemies multiply abroad, when those

* This Eberhard was usually surnamed "the Enlightened." Peter von Kœnigssaal (cron. aulæ regiæ) terms him more properly "fomes perfidiæ, vas perditionis, pacis destructor." This wild knight had an extremely beautiful daughter, who lies buried at Rottenburg:

"Hic jacet ecce Rosa quondam nimium speciosa,
Irmengard grata de Wirtemberg generata."

before whom they were wont to tremble are engaged in dissension at home, and the bitter feelings roused by feuds between the different races in Germany, will, ere many years elapse, become deeply and ineradicably rooted." Eberhard, who had been escorted to the diet by two hundred knights, unmoved by the emperor's persuasions, openly set him at defiance, and, saying that he owned no master, rode away. Henry instantly put him out of the bann of the empire, and carried the sentence into effect with the aid of the Count Conrad von Weinsperg, A. D. 1311, and of the Swabian cities, which, since 1307, had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against Eberhard. Esslingen, the most powerful of the allied cities, had the insolence to receive the homage of the whole county of Wurtemberg. The ancient castle of Wurtemberg was destroyed, Stuttgard taken, and Eberhard, chased from one robber castle to another, was at length compelled to lie concealed in the castle of Besigheim until the death of the emperor.

The Ghibellines earnestly desired the emperor's arrival in Italy,* and assembled under Visconti, the Milan exile, in order to bid him welcome. The majority among them, nevertheless, were simply desirous of making use of the emperor, for the purpose of lowering the power of the Guelphs; very

* Dante places the emperor Albert in purgatory, and thus reproaches him:

"Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,
Nave senza nocchiero in gran tempesta;
Non donna di provincie, ma bordello!
Ahi gente che dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cesar ne la sella,
Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota!
Guarda com' esta fiera è fatta fella,
Per non esser corretta dagli sproni,
Poichè ponesti mano a la predella.
O Alberto Tedesco, c' abbandoni
Costei ch' e fatta indomita e selvaggia,
E dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni;
Giusto giudicio da le stelle caggia
Sovra 'l tuo sangue, e sia nuovo e aperto,
Tal che 'l tuo successor temenza n' aggia:
C' avete, tu e 'l tuo padre, sofferto,
Per cupidigia di costà distretti,
Che 'l giardin dello 'mperio sia diserto.

Del Purgatorio, Canto vi.

few among them still cherished a wish for the restoration of the ancient empire. Among the latter was Dante, who immortalized Arrigo (Henry) the Pious as the shepherd of his people, as the restorer of justice, and in his work "de Monarchia," again exhausts all the arguments with which Frederick II. had defended his temporal dominions against papal tyranny.——When [A. D. 1310] Henry, at the head of a petty German force, and solely accompanied by Duke Leopold of Austria and Count Amadeus of Savoy, crossed the Alps, the Ghibellines flocked beneath his standard. The Milanese Guelphs, panic-struck, opened the city gates, and the emperor, entering the ancient capital of Lombardy, caused the lost iron crown to be replaced by a new one, which he placed upon his head, and marched in triumph through the streets with his empress Margaretha, on whose long flowing golden locks a diadem also shone, on an ambling palfrey at his side. The Guelphic chiefs della Torre, meanwhile, encouraged by the discontent raised in Milan by the promulgation of the strict imperial edicts, the imposition of a tax and the expense caused by the emperor's prolonged stay, set a conspiracy on foot, which was, however, discovered, and the Germans, under Leopold of Habsburg, drove the Torres from the city. Guido della Torre fled to Cremona, whither he was pursued by the emperor, who took the city and levelled it with the ground, A. D. 1311.

Dante complained in a public letter of the emperor's trifling in Upper Italy, instead of hastening to Rome to crush his enemies at a blow. Henry, by his over-cautious and temporizing policy, merely allowed the Guelphs time to recover from their first surprise. Tibaldo de Brussati, whom he had greatly favoured, faithlessly deserted him, and armed the city of Brescia against him. Enraged at this act of treachery, the emperor resolved to make of him a fearful example, and, on taking him prisoner during a sally, sentenced him to be dragged to death round the walls. The death of Henry's brother, Count Walram, who fell before this city, roused his vengeance, and he vowed to deprive every inhabitant of Brescia of his nose; his camp was, however, devastated by a pestilence, and Brescia yielded on condition that the noses of the statues with which the city was adorned should be sacrificed, instead of those of the inhabitants, to the emperor's revenge.

His stay in Upper Italy was lengthened for the sake of reducing the whole country to subjection. The citizens of Pavia came to meet him, and delivered to him the golden imperial crown, lost there by Frederick II. In the winter he visited Genoa, which still remained true to her allegiance. During his stay in this city, he lost his empress, Margaretha. It was either here or at Pavia that Johannes, the murderer of the emperor Albert, presented himself in the garb of a monk before him when sitting at table, and fell at his feet to beg for pardon, but was angrily repulsed and thrown into prison, where he shortly afterwards expired, [A. D. 1313,] and was buried in the Augustin monastery at Pisa.

Robert, king of Naples, favoured by the delay on the part of the emperor, despatched his brother, John of Achaja, with a body of picked troops to Rome, for the purpose of defending that city in the name of France and of the pope against the German invader. He was also strongly upheld by the powerful Guelphic faction of the Orsini. Henry, leaving the gallant knight and Minnesinger, Count Werner von Homburg, governor over Lombardy with Philip, the nephew of the earl of Savoy, whose alliance he sought to fortify, as a colleague, set off instantly, at the head of merely two thousand men, for Rome, A. D. 1312. The Roman nobility came, with feigned professions of friendship, to meet him, but, already fully acquainted with Italian perfidy, he ordered them, with a contempt unusual to him, to be thrown into chains, forced his way into the city and stormed the Capitol, whence he was repulsed with serious loss. St. Peter's church also proving impregnable, he was compelled to solemnize his coronation in the Lateran. The ceremony was disturbed by the arrows and shouts of the Guelphs.

The abandonment of Rome was now his only alternative. With unshaken spirit he, nevertheless, repulsed the Tuscans, who attempted to cut off his retreat near Ancisa, laid waste their beautiful country, which refused to own his sway, and at length fixed his camp in a lonely spot, near Poggibonzi, which he named the Kaisersberg, where he wished to found a city. Whilst here, he put Robert, king of Naples, out of the bann of the empire as a faithless vassal, and sentenced him to death. The pope, Clement V., however, imposed his commands upon him from France to keep peace with Robert,

whom the Tuscan league, on perceiving the weakness of the emperor, proclaimed their protector. Henry also divided, as if in peace and security, the Italian imperial offices and possessions among the faithful Ghibellines, sued for the hand of the beautiful Catherine von Habsburg, a daughter of the emperor Albert, and made great preparations in Sicily, Genoa, and Germany, for the renewal of the war on all sides. His son John, king of Bohemia, was on the point of escorting his father's bride, and of conducting a fresh body of German troops across the Alps, and Henry's hopes seemed on the point of being fulfilled, when, after an unsuccessful attack upon Siena, he was poisoned at Buonconvento during supper by a monk, August 24th, 1313. With his expiring breath he said to his murderer, "You have given me death in the cup of life, but fly, ere my followers seize you!" At Pisa, Catherine received a corpse instead of an imperial bridegroom.

Philip playing the traitor in Lombardy was seized by the throat by Werner von Homburg, who was wounded in the scuffle by Philip's attendants. The Ghibelline Visconti, nevertheless, maintained their authority in Milan, and that faction gained the upper hand in Tuscany. Robert of Naples, on the other hand, retained possession of Naples, and even succeeded in winning the favour of the Habsburgs, and Henry's luckless bride, Catherine, again crossed the Alps in order to wed Charles, the son of Robert. She died a few years after of sorrow and disappointment, leaving no issue.

Whilst these events were passing in the South, Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, vied with the Hansa in subjugating the North. The noble Ascanian family had merged in the lines of Stendal and Salzwedel, and been greatly weakened by the powerful archbishops of Magdeburg. Otto with the Arrow, the Minnesinger, died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew, Waldemar the Bold, [A. D. 1308,] who also placed himself at the head of the Stendal family, by poisoning his youthful relative, John, the rightful heir. Sole master over the mere, he speedily gained great power, and pursued the plan of conquering the whole of the coast of the Baltic. In 1309, he had already gained possession of Pomerelia, Dantzig, and the mouths of the Vistula, which he made over provisionally to the German order, in order to gain them on his side against the Hansa, against which he instantly turned his arms.

Under pretext of solemnizing his nuptials at Rostock with his cousin, Agnes, he perfidiously attempted to take that city by surprise; but the wary citizens closed the gates against him, and he and his ally, Eric Menved of Denmark, with some petty princes and bishops, hostile to the Hansa, vainly sought to reduce it to submission, A. D. 1310. The city communes, suspecting the lower council of treasonable correspondence with the enemy, revolted under Henry Runge, and deposed the members of the council, of whom they murdered several; but, being unexpectedly attacked by Henry of Mecklenburg, a bloody skirmish took place in the streets, and their leader was taken and beheaded, A. D. 1314. During this year, the citizens of Magdeburg revolted against their tyrannical archbishop, Burkhard. The allied princes of Northern Germany seized this as a pretext for attacking the city, but the citizens made such a brave defence, so warmly pressed the hungry princes to leave their camp and partake of their banquets, and received the Margrave, Frederick with the bitten cheek, who ventured to accept their invitation, so graciously, that the siege was discontinued. A reconciliation took place; but the archbishop becoming still more despotic, confiscating all heritages in the name of St. Maurice, the city patron, he was finally [A. D. 1329] taken prisoner by the citizens, and put to death by four men selected for that purpose from the cities of Magdeburg, Halle, Calbe, and Burg.

Frederick the Bitten, taking advantage of Waldemar's absence in the North, invaded his territory from the South in the hope of regaining possession of the Lausitz, but was defeated by Waldemar at Grossenhayn and taken prisoner. Waldemar then [A. D. 1312] attacked Witzlav, the Wendian duke of Pomerania, who attempted to seize Stralsund, and, assisted by the dukes of Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Saxon-Lauenburg, by the counts of Schwerin, and by the united Poles, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, resolved to humble the proud Margrave of Brandenburg, A. D. 1316. Waldemar, unable to cope with this overwhelming force, was defeated in Mecklenburg, and solely enabled to save himself from utter destruction by raising a rebellion in Denmark, and entreating the aid of the Hansa. The allied princes attacked Stralsund, but were repulsed by the brave citizens, who took Eric, duke of Saxony, captive in a sally, and raised their fine

town-house with his ransom. The league was broken up, [A. D. 1318,] and Waldemar died suddenly, leaving no issue. Frederick with the bitten cheek also expired, [A. D. 1319,] worn out with toil and laden with years, after having succeeded in restoring his family to their rights. He was succeeded in Meissen by his son, Frederick the Stern. Brandenburg, now a vacant fief, became an apple of discord between the factions contending for the imperial throne. A side-branch of the Ascanian family still reigned in Anhalt. The Lausitz submitted to John of Bohemia.

About this time the free Ditmarses were at violent feud with the counts of Holstein, who incessantly sought to reduce them to submission. The peasants insolently invaded Holstein, revelled in plunder, and bathed in the immense beer vats. Count Gerhard defeated them by stratagem; his soldiers were ordered to break off the boughs of trees, under cover of which they surprised the enemy, who mistook them for a wood. Emboldened by this success, Gerhard invaded their country, and again taking them by surprise by the rapidity of his movements, once more defeated them. A small number of men still defending themselves in the church of Oldenwærden, he ordered the building to be set on fire, but the melted lead no sooner began to pour upon the heads of the besieged peasants, than, making a furious sally, they repulsed the superior forces of the enemy, and, rallying their scattered countrymen, fell upon the Holsteiners, who suffered a defeat as shameful as it was unexpected, and long afterwards left them unmolested [A. D. 1319]. On the nomination of the Dane, John Fursat, to the archbishopric of Bremen by the pope, he was mocked by the Ditmarses, beaten with sticks by the East Friscians, and compelled to flee to Avignon. The East Friscians were nominally given by Rudolf of Habsburg, the hereditary foe to liberty, to Reinhold the Warlike of Gueldres, but that count never ventured to demand their homage. His son, Reinhold the Black, who had the temerity to make the attempt, was signally defeated in the battle of Vollenhoven, A. D. 1323.

CLXXVI. *Louis the Bavarian, and Frederick of Austria.*

On the death of the noble-hearted emperor, the empire again fell a prey to the adverse factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The rancour of the Papal-French party had been again excited by Henry's expedition to Rome, and the Habsburgs once more appeared on the scene as its supporters and tools. Frederick the Handsome was, consequently, zealously recommended by the pope as the successor to the crown, for which a competitor also appeared in the person of John of Bohemia, the son of the late emperor, whose pretensions were warmly upheld by his uncles, Baldwin of Treves and Peter of Mayence; his youth, however, proved the chief obstacle, and, after some consideration, he ceded his rights in favour of Louis of Bavaria.——Frederick was remarkable for the beauty of his person, but was inferior in mental energy to his brother, Leopold, whose diminutive person enclosed a bold and hardy spirit. Fate had, at an early age, brought Louis of Bavaria and Frederick together. Their childhood had been spent together, and a strong affection had subsisted between them. Political events produced a separation. The possessions of the house of Wittelsbach, united under Otto, the friend of the last of the Hohenstaufen, had been divided between his sons Louis and Henry, the former of whom succeeded to the Rhenish Pfalz and Upper Bavaria, the latter to Lower Bavaria. A fresh subdivision took place between the sons of Louis, Rudolf receiving the Pfalz, and Louis, who mounted the imperial throne, Upper Bavaria. Otto, the son of Henry, the ex-king of Hungary, died in Lower Bavaria, leaving several children still minors. Otto, who had been reduced to poverty by the Hungarian war, had replenished his treasury by the grant [A. D. 1311] of great privileges to his Estates, which now interfered, the cities demanding Louis, the nobility, Frederick, as guardian over the children. Both the guardians met at Landau as early friends. Louis maintained his right, but Frederick refused to let the opportunity for extending his sway over Bavaria slip, and the conference terminated by their drawing their swords upon each other, and being forcibly separated to meet again on the battle-field. Louis, favoured by the justice of his cause and the bravery of

the citizens, gained a complete victory at Gamelsdorf over the Bavarian nobility and the arrier-bann of Austria, led by Ulric of Wallsee, beneath whom the bridge over the Isar gave way, and thousands were drowned, A. D. 1313. This victory rendered Louis highly popular among the people, and particularly among the citizens. He, nevertheless, brought about a reconciliation with Frederick, their ancient friendship revived, and at Salzburg they shared the same bed.

The election of an emperor was canvassed. Louis, unsuspicious of his own elevation, promised his vote to Frederick, but, when unexpectedly elected by the Luxemburg party instead of John, forgot his promise, and allowed himself to be elected emperor by the majority of the princes in Francfurt on the Maine, whilst Frederick was merely proclaimed emperor outside of the city gates by the archbishop of Cologne, a papal partisan, by Henry of Carinthia, who was jealous of John on account of Bohemia, by the Pfalzgrave, Rudolf, who was also jealous of his brother, and by the Saxons. Waldemar of Brandenburg favoured Frederick. His ambassador, Nicolas Bock, however, voted for Louis, and was sentenced on his return to be chained fasting to the wall of his master's banquetting-room, and compelled to look on whilst he feasted. Every other vote was in favour of Louis, whose coronation was solemnized with ancient splendour at Aix-la-Chapelle, whilst Frederick was crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne, Henry von Virneburg. The Colognese, who favoured Louis, expelled their archbishop from the city, to which he was permitted to return in 1321, for the purpose of reading the first mass in the chancel (then first completed) of the cathedral. Louis was compelled to reward the services of John of Bohemia by the cession of the imperial free town of Eger, and to bestow Boppard Alzey, (the knight, Henry von Alzey, had attempted Louis's life and been put to the rack,) etc. in pledge on Baldwin.

The long war that ensued between the emperors is remarkable for procrastination and indecision, the consequence of their want of confidence in their allies. Leopold opened the first campaign, in the summer of 1315, by surprising Louis in Augsburg, and compelling him to flee by night from the city. In his anger at the escape of his antagonist he fired all the neighbouring villages, and then proceeded to Basle in

order to celebrate the nuptials of his brother Frederick with Elisabeth of Arragon, and his own with a countess of Savoy. In the autumn of the same year he led his troops against the Swiss, who favoured Louis.

War had long been fomenting in the mountains. As early as 1313, the Habsburg vassals of Lucerne had undertaken an unsuccessful expedition against Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, and the peasants of Schwytz had attacked the monastery of Einsiedeln and taken the monks captive. The murdered and disconcerted governors were still unrevenged, and the confederates, confident of imperial favour, and proud of the success of their first attempts, openly stood up in defence of their liberties. Leopold, resolved to quell their insolence, assembled his troops in the Argau and called a council of war to deliberate on the mode of crossing the Alps. His court fool, Jenni von Stocken, gravely remarked on this occasion, "It is more advisable to deliberate upon the means of getting out of them again." On reaching the Engpass, Leopold was opposed by fifty men of Schwytz, who had been banished their country for debt, and who, rolling stones down the mountain sides, crushed both men and horses; they were speedily reinforced by thirteen hundred of their countrymen, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and Leopold was compelled to seek safety in flight. This success was followed by another on the same day over the count of Strassburg, who had crossed the Brünig and entered Unterwald. The confederates afterwards entered into an eternal league, [A. D. 1315,] and nominated a Landamman or chief magistrate.

Louis, meanwhile, remained undisturbed, and succeeded in overcoming his brother Rudolf, and other malcontents. In 1317, a skirmish took place between Frederick, Leopold, and Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who had ventured from retirement, on one side, and Louis and John on the other, in which the victory remained undecided. John was called into Bohemia, where the nobles were in full revolt, but were pacified by the mediation of the emperor, 1318. Disturbances continued rife in Switzerland. The power of the Habsburgs, meanwhile, increased. The Visconti, the emperor's Italian partisans, were hard pushed by the pope, John XXII., and by Henry of Habsburg. In 1321, Frederick, aided by the wild Hungarians and Cumans, laid the whole of Bavaria waste; and John

of Bohemia, ever fickle and restless, was at length induced to join his forces with those of Louis. The cities also contributed both money and troops, and [A. D. 1322] Frederick was overtaken at Mühldorf in Lower Bavaria, before Leopold was able to join him with a body of fresh troops. The battle was rashly commenced by Frederick, who, at the onset, drove back the Bohemians, but was quickly surrounded and taken prisoner. The flower of the Austrian nobility, among others three-and-twenty of the family of Trautmannsdorf, strewed the field. After the battle, Louis gratefully acknowledged the services of his commander-in-chief, Schweppermann, to whose skill he entirely owed his success. A basketful of eggs being all that could be found for the imperial table, the emperor distributed them among his officers, saying, "To each of you one egg, to our gallant Schweppermann two!" Schweppermann was of diminutive stature, old and lame, but skilled in the tactics of the day. The emperor's words on this occasion may still be read on this officer's tombstone at Castel, near Amberg. Frederick was imprisoned in the castle of Trausnitz, near Landshut.

Thus freed from his most dangerous opponent, and victorious in Switzerland, Louis was enabled to despatch eight hundred lances to the aid of the Visconti, now sorely pressed by the Guelphs. Eberhard of Wurtemberg also declared in his favour, and was rewarded with the government of Swabia and Alsace. The investment of the young prince, Louis, with the vacant electorate of Brandenburg, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. John of Bohemia, roused to jealousy, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Habsburgs, and set Henry the Amiable, Frederick's younger brother, who had fallen into his hands at Mühldorf, at liberty. France, Naples, Hungary, and the Guelphic faction implored the pope to shatter the power of an emperor inclined to pursue the dreaded policy of the Hohenstaufen; and, in 1323, John XXII. insolently summoned the emperor to appear before him at Avignon, the focus of French intrigue, and on being disobeyed, solemnly placed him under an interdict, A. D. 1324. The schism between the Franciscans, part of whom opposed the luxury and vices of the clergy, nevertheless, raised friends for the emperor even in the church, who defended him in their sermons and writings, and, in open defiance of the papal in-

terdict, performed the church service for him and his adherents. Among others, Occam, an Englishman, the greatest scholar of the age, demanded Louis's protection, exclaiming, "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with my words!" The Dominicans, the pope's faithful servants, were, consequently, persecuted throughout Germany.

The pope, maddened with rage, incited the Poles [A. D. 1325] and the pagan Lithuanians to invade Brandenburg, where they burnt one hundred and fifty villages, and practised the most horrid atrocities. The pope, at this time at the summit of his power, asserted in his extravagant bulls his supremacy in the empire. Barnim of Pomerania acknowledged him as his liege. The pope again acted in unison with Charles IV. of France, whose hopes of gaining the crown of Germany once more revived on the imprisonment of Frederick and the interdiction of Louis. Leopold, who gave his brother up as lost, held a conference with Charles at Bar-sur-Aube, in which he assured to him the imperial crown, on condition of his aiding the emperor's overthrow. An alliance was also formed between John of Bohemia, France, and Naples, on whose sovereigns he bestowed his sisters in marriage. His intention, however, was, not to sell himself to, but to make use of Charles in case of a fresh election. The princes of the empire were also induced to listen to the proposals of the pope and his allies, and the election of Charles by the diet held at Rense, was solely controverted by the representations of Count Berthold von Bucheck. The majority of the nation, in fact, favoured Louis, and compelled the priests to perform service in the churches.

Louis, convinced that a reconciliation with Frederick offered the only means of salvation for Germany, visited him in his prison in the Trausnitz, and sued for reconciliation in the name of their youthful affection and the weal of the empire; and Frederick, swearing on the holy wafer to own him as his sovereign, and to bring his brother Leopold to his feet, returned to his own castle, where his wife, Elizabeth, had wept herself blind during his absence, and, cutting off his beard, which had grown an immense length during his captivity, sent it by way of memorial to John of Bohemia. Leopold, instigated by the pope, refused to do homage to Louis, and Frederick, although publicly released from his oath by the pontiff,

remained true to his plighted faith, and voluntarily presented himself as a prisoner before Louis; the two friends, now rivals alone in generosity, secretly agreed to share the imperial throne. Louis, once more freed from difficulty, nominated the Margrave, Frederick of Meissen, to whom he had given his daughter, Matilda, in marriage, governor of Brandenburg, in the name of his son Louis, for the purpose of freeing that unfortunate country from the depredations of the Poles, whose deeds of cruelty were countenanced by the pope.—— In the ensuing year, Leopold died mad, and was shortly after followed by his brother, Henry the Amiable. The fourth brother, Otto the Joyous, accompanied Frederick to Munich, [A. D. 1326,] and wedded the princess Elisabeth of Bavaria, whilst Henry of Lower Bavaria, then a youth, married one of Frederick's daughters. John of Bohemia was appeased by the possession of Silesia.

Tranquillity being thus secured in Germany, Louis ventured to undertake an expedition to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown from the hands of a pope elected by him in opposition to the pontiff at Avignon. The first opposition he encountered was at Milan, where he seized and imprisoned the Visconti whose fidelity he suspected. He was also compelled to carry Pisa, where the gates were closed against him, by storm. After declaring Robert of Naples out of the bann of the empire, and creating Castruccio, the gallant Ghibelline leader, duke of Lucca, he proceeded to Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed in the capitol lord of the eternal city, to be crowned with his wife Margaretha of Holland in St. Peter's by two bishops, deposed the pope, John XXII. of Avignon, who was burnt in effigy, and placed a loyal Franciscan, under the name of Martin V., on the pontifical throne. Margaretha shortly afterwards gave birth to a son, Louis, surnamed the Roman. Robert, meanwhile, prepared for war; Castruccio died, and the Germans became so unpopular on account of the expense of their maintenance, that Louis was compelled to retrace his steps. Milan closed her gates against him, and he was constrained to restore the Visconti to liberty in order to procure money for the payment of his troops. Martin V. was deposed and carried to Avignon, where he was, with feigned compassion, pardoned by the pope, who thus sought to evince his superiority over the emperor.

Louis the elder was, meanwhile, defeated on the Cremmer Damm in Brandenburg by the papal partisan Barnim of Pomerania. John of Bohemia had also been engaged in Lithuania with his allies, the German Hospitallers. Frederick the Handsome, deeply wounded by the refusal of the princes to recognise him as the emperor's colleague on the throne, expired four weeks before Louis's arrival in Munich from his Italian expedition.——About the same time, [A. D. 1328,] Charles IV. of France, the last of the Capetian dynasty, also expired, and was succeeded by his relative, Philip of Valois, who pursued a similar policy in regard to Germany, and entered into a close alliance with the pope.

CLXXVII. *The electoral diet at Rense.*

Difficulties seemed to gather around the path of Louis, now sole emperor, and he again found it necessary to renew his alliance with John of Bohemia, to whom he craftily offered the vice-regency of Italy, which was greedily accepted, and John, ever enamoured of adventure, instantly crossed the Alps. Otto the Joyous, on the other hand, jealous of the emperor's popularity in Switzerland and in the cities, renewed the Habsburg feud, and a battle was on the point of taking place at Colmar between him and the imperial forces, when Albert the Lame, his elder brother, interposed, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Habsburgs were to hold Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, Breisach, the bulwarks of the Upper Rhine, in fee of the empire, and Otto to receive the empty title of vicegerent of the empire. John of Bohemia, enraged at these conditions, instantly joined the Italian Guelphs.

The emperor, upon this, convoked a great diet at Nuremberg, in which he urgently pointed out to the princes the necessity of union. John, who speedily found himself deserted by his Italian allies, and in want of money and troops, also appeared, dexterously excused his conduct, and drew the Habsburgs, whom he found on friendly terms with the emperor, over to his side, giving his daughter, Anna, in marriage to Otto the Joyous, whilst he himself wedded Elisabeth, the daughter of the emperor Albert, whom he had ever bitterly hated and opposed. Louis attempted to make use of John as a mediator

between him and the pope, who refused to come to terms, and John, placing himself at the head of the French chivalry, re-crossed the Alps and defeated the Ghibellines at Felice, where his son Wenzel (afterwards the emperor Charles IV.) gained his first spurs; after which he returned to Germany, to carry on feuds with the petty counts.

The emperor, in the hope of inducing the pope to release him from the interdict, now offered to perform public penance, to sacrifice the faithful Minorites, and to abdicate in favour of his cousin, Henry of Lower Bavaria. These undignified concessions and the folly of Henry, who, in the hope of securing his succession to the throne, entered into a base alliance with France, merely served to furnish the pope with fresh weapons, to raise the suspicions of the electoral princes, and to increase his unpopularity.

John XXII., after declaring Italy for ever independent of the empire, expired, [A. D. 1334,] at Avignon, leaving immense wealth, most of which had found its way into his coffers from Germany, whence he had also drawn the enormous sums lavished by him upon France.——Louis was, meanwhile, favoured in Germany by public opinion, averse to the papal intrigues at Avignon, by Albert the Lame, whose love of peace counterbalanced the restlessness of John of Bohemia, and by a quarrel that again broke out between the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg.

Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol, ex-king of Bohemia, died, 1335, leaving a daughter, the celebrated Margaretha Maultasche, (with pouting lips, a name she received either on account of her large mouth, or from her residence, the castle of Maultasch, between Botzen and Meran,) whom John of Bohemia instantly wedded to his son John Henry, then in his eighth year, with the intention of extending his sway over the territories of her late father. The emperor and the Habsburgs, jealous of this addition to the power of the Luxemburg family, instantly leagued against him, and the Habsburgs were declared Henry's successors. Margaretha chiefly distinguished herself by laying siege to the castles of the opposite party during this feud, which was put an end to in 1336, by the division of the disputed inheritance between the rival houses, to which the emperor was forced to give his assent. Dreading lest the union of the late rivals might be turned against

himself, he entered into negotiation with the pope, Benedict XII., the tool of France, who compelled him to refuse the emperor's petition, upon which Louis degraded himself so far as to address the French monarch personally, and to promise not to ally himself with any of that king's enemies. Philip, notwithstanding these concessions, still refusing his assent to Louis's release from the interdict, the emperor broke off the negotiation, and offered to aid the pretensions of Edward, king of England, to the throne of France. War was declared between the empire and France, and the restoration of the Arelat was demanded; and so powerful was the force of public opinion among the citizens and the lower orders throughout the empire in favour of the emperor, that the princes at length took the part of their long-neglected sovereign, and, following the example of the bishops, who had met at Spires under the presidency of Henry of Mayence, until now a zealous Guelph, and had agreed to effect his release from the interdict, assembled at Rense, where, moved by the emperor's remonstrances against their base submission to a pope, a creature of France, they declared that the supremacy of the German emperor above all other sovereigns of the earth was exclusively bestowed by the election of the German princes, without its being ratified or the emperor being crowned by the pope; that the emperor was not the vassal, but the protector of the church; that, on the demise of the emperor, the pope should no longer usurp the vicegerency of the empire; and finally, prohibited the publication of the papal bulls within the empire without the previous consent of the German bishops. These resolutions of the electoral princes were supported by the cities; and the priests, who refused to uphold the emperor, were expelled. The hopes of the people, raised by the conference that took place between the emperor and the English monarch at Coblentz, were, however, deceived; the princes, lately so energetic, were devoid of sincerity, and Louis greatly diminished his popularity by his acceptance of a sum of money from the British king, whose alliance he was shortly afterwards, to the extreme discontent of the people, induced to abandon by John of Bohemia, in the vain hope of a reconciliation with France, and of a release from the papal interdict.

The discord that prevailed among the princes had, mean-

while, encouraged the free spirit of the Swiss. The confederated peasantry had gained skill and discipline in the incessant warfare with their noble and ecclesiastical neighbours, and strength by their union with the inhabitants of other cantons and towns, which had, like them, thrown off the yoke. Berne joined the confederation, A. D. 1339.

The emperor, whilst carrying on his wretched negotiations with the pope, had withdrawn to Bavaria, on which he bestowed an excellent code of laws. Lower Bavaria also fell to him on the extinction of the reigning house on the death of Henry, and the conduct of Margaretha Maultasch, who, dissatisfied with her youthful husband, John Henry, had divorced herself from him, and wedded Louis the Elder, brought the Tyrol into the imperial family. John of Bohemia, at that time engaged in opposing the Polish party in Silesia, in which he was aided by his son Wenzel, (surnamed Charles after the French king, at whose court he had been educated,) no sooner learned the defection of the Tyrol, than, hastening to Albert the Lame, he entreated him to unite with him against the house of Wittelsbach. Albert consented, and the confederates were naturally joined by France and by the pope, Clement V., who dwelt at Avignon, like a Turk in his harem, surrounded by his mistresses. A fearful anathema was hurled against the emperor, whose courage again sank, and he yielded to every condition prescribed by the pope, namely, to lay the crown at his feet, to place the whole of his possessions at his disposal, to perform every penance he thought fit to impose, and to make every concession he chose to demand for France; notwithstanding which, the pope still refused to raise the interdict, on account of the disinclination of the French monarch. Louis, nevertheless, succeeded in pacifying John of Bohemia, by indemnifying him for the loss of the Tyrol by the possession of the Lausitz, which, in point of fact, belonged to Brandenburg. The death of William IV., earl of Holland and Hennegau, who was drowned together with two hundred and fifty knights and ten thousand men, [A. D. 1345,] during an expedition against the West Friscians, brought Holland and Hennegau to the emperor in right of his wife, Margaretha, the late earl's sister; and he accordingly sent his son, William, to Holland, where he gained great popularity among the people by the grant of great privileges, and the friendship of his

neighbours, the counts of Juliers and of Gueldres, whom he created dukes of the empire.

This accession of wealth and influence greatly enraged the anti-imperial party, more particularly John of Bohemia, who, moreover, suspecting that Louis had been the instigator of a conspiracy formed against him by Casimir of Poland during his absence in Prussia, set up his son Charles, in revenge, as a competitor for the throne, and the pope, delighted with the scheme, raised Prague to an archbishopric. The assent of Louis's numerous enemies was quickly gained. His cousin, Rupert of the Pfalz, surnamed the Red, attempted to seize Bavaria, but was repulsed; and Charles, who had laid siege to the Maultasche in her castle in the Tyrol, was also speedily compelled to retreat before Louis the Elder. John of Bohemia, who had, meanwhile, received permission from the pope, who merely acted in the name of France, for his son's election, in return for which he promised to aid France against England, now canvassed the German princes, and convoked them to Rense, where shortly before they had so energetically supported Louis, but where they now proclaimed Charles emperor, A. D. 1346. The people, however, rebelled. Frankfurt and Aix-la-Chapelle closed their gates against the usurper, and, notwithstanding the aid given by the archbishops, the defeat of his opponents near Coblentz, and the power of his Guelphic partisans in Austria, Hungary, and Italy, he was unable to gain possession of the Tyrol, whence he and his mercenary troops were expelled by Margaretha Maultasche.

Whilst these events were passing, Louis expired during a bear hunt at Fürstenfeld, in the vicinity of Munich, in the arms of a peasant, A. D. 1347.

CLXXVIII. *The battle of Crecy.—The black death.—The Flagellants.—The murder of the Jews.*

FRANCE and the pope regarded the emperor given by them to Germany as their tool. Their whole power, however, failed in reducing the Flemish citizens, although abandoned by the rest of Germany, and on ill terms with their nobility and rulers, to subjection. Brugge, unaided by the neighbouring towns, was [A. D. 1328] compelled to yield to the allied

forces of France and Bohemia; but the French did not long triumph. Jacob von Artevelde, a wealthy brewer of Ghent, but a man of noble birth, opposed the attempts made by Louis of Nevers, earl of Flanders, to humble the pride of the citizens, and, in unison with Siger von Kortryk, concluded a commercial treaty in the name of the Flemish cities with Edward, king of England. Siger fell into the hands of Louis, who ordered him to execution, upon which a general insurrection, headed by Artevelde, ensued, and this popular leader speedily acquired greater influence in Flanders than had ever been enjoyed by her earls.

Charles IV., the tool of Papal and French policy, now found himself constrained, owing to his dependence upon his father, to serve the French monarch against England, although, as will hereafter be seen, he was too prudent a politician and too sensible of his dignity to allow himself to be long enchained to the petty interest of a French king. Lothringia had long favoured France. The duke, Frederick, had fallen in Philip's cause in Flanders, and his son, Rudolf, was also that monarch's ally. Edward of England, on landing in Flanders, was, notwithstanding the death of Artevelde, who, falsely suspected of a design of selling Flanders to England, had been assassinated by his countrymen, received with open arms by the citizens, and joined by Henry the Iron, of Holstein. The French suffered a total defeat at Crecy, August 26th, 1346. The emperor, uninterested in the fate of the battle, fled, whilst his brave father, King John of Bohemia, who had been blind for many years,* bound between two men-at-arms, plunged headlong into the thickest of the fight, in the vain hope of turning the battle. With him fell Rudolf of Lothringia, Louis of Nevers, and all the Germans who had so uselessly ventured their honour and their lives in a stranger's cause, in that of their hereditary foe. When the death of the German princes was told to the English king, he exclaimed, "O ye Germans! how could ye die for a French king!" The sword of the blind Bohemian king bore the inscription, "*Ich dien*," "I serve," that is, "God, the ladies, and right," which was on this occasion assumed by the Prince of Wales as his motto.

* John had lost one of his eyes during his Polish expedition, the other through the ignorance of his medical attendants.

The alliance between the English and Flemish proved but of short duration, and Louis II. of Male, the son of Louis of Nevers, was raised to the earldom on solemnly swearing to respect the liberties of the citizens. France was compelled to restore Ryssel, Douai, and Bethune. Lothringia, and Henry, bishop of Verdun, who had made a formal cession of his bishopric to France, returned to their allegiance to the empire. The Hansa greatly distinguished itself, [A. D. 1344,] under Henry von Lacken, whom Louis had sent to command its troops, by sea and by land, against the Swedes. Thuringia was a prey to intestine feuds, A. D. 1342.

Fearful natural visitations and signs now filled all Europe with alarm. In 1337, appeared a great comet; during the three ensuing years, an enormous multitude of locusts; in 1348, the end of the world seemed at hand; an earthquake of extraordinary violence devastated Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and the Alpine valleys as far as Basle. Mountains were swallowed up. In Carinthia, thirty villages and the tower of Villach were reduced to heaps of ruins. The air was thick, pestilential, and stifling. Wine fermented in the casks. Fiery meteors appeared in the heavens. A gigantic pillar of flame was seen exactly over the papal palace at Avignon. A second earthquake, that destroyed almost the whole of Basle, occurred in 1356. These horrors were succeeded by a dreadful pestilence, called the black death, its victims being suddenly covered with black spots like burns, and often instantly dropping down dead. It first appeared in China, whence it traversed Asia and spread over Europe. At Basle fourteen thousand people fell victims to it, at Strassburg and Erfurt sixteen thousand, and so on in proportion throughout Germany; and yet, according to the historians of that period, Germany suffered less than other countries. In Osnabruck, only seven married couples remained unseparated by death. Of the Franciscan Minorites in Germany, without including those in foreign parts, there died 124,434, whence a conclusion may be drawn both of the fury of the pestilence and of the amazing number of this order, in which all took refuge to whom the courtly manners and luxury of the rest of the priesthood were obnoxious. Traces of the moral reformation of the church were, even at that period, perceivable throughout Germany. Besides the fathers and the lay brothers,

there arose a third class of these monks, the Tertiarians, who had no monasteries, but lived freely among the laity, and practised the severest penance. Their number was without doubt increased by the repeated disturbance of divine service,* which the interdicted laity performed for themselves on the refusal of the priests; and the idea of atoning for sins by the performance of severe penance naturally occurred when absolution was no longer dispensed in the churches. Thus arose the orders of Beguines, who, besides the imposition of penance, attended the sick; the Beghards, probably so termed from their founder, a man from Picardy; Lollards, (*gebete lallende*, prayer-mutterers,) etc., whose sincere piety, which sometimes degenerated to mere enthusiasm, strongly contrasted with the levity, licence, luxury, and pride of the ecclesiastics.

These ideas and sects were already common throughout Germany, when the great pestilence, which swept away a third of the inhabitants of Europe, appeared. The day of judgment was declared to be at hand, and a letter, said to have been addressed from Jerusalem by the Creator of the world to his sinning creatures, was dispersed throughout Europe by a wandering tribe of penitents or Flagellants, who, like their Italian predecessors in the thirteenth century, cruelly lashed themselves as they went along singing penitential songs. They marched in good order under various leaders, and were distinguished by white hats with red crosses. These penitents at first created great enthusiasm, which gradually decreased as the pestilence died away, and [A. D. 1349] Clement VI., who rightly beheld in them the commencement of a great reformation, launched a bull against and persecuted them as heretics. They preached, confessed, and forgave sins, pronounced the absolution granted by the church of no avail, upbraided the priests for their hypocrisy and luxury, and taught that all men were brothers, and equal in the sight of God. Persecution raised their enthusiasm to frenzy, and the truths they at first inculcated were perverted by pride and hatred; some even gave themselves out as the Messiah. The enthusiasm of the Beghards was allied with the greatest licence, which, at a later period, so strikingly reappeared in the Adamites and Rebaptists. In a council held at Vienne, they

* In quibus annis homines plures nati et mortui fuerunt, qui divina officia nunquam celebrari viderunt.—*Malleolus.*

were charged with believing every thing to be right and divine to which their natures inclined them, for instance, community of wives (an idea resuscitated by the Socialists of modern days). According to Cornerus, they believed God to be neither bad nor good, and, what was termed bad to be divine; that man was God, and that God could not have created the world without him: "homo operatur quod Deus operatur, et creavit una cum Deo cœlum et terram, et est genitor verbi eterni, et Deus sine tali homine nihil facere potest," like the idea of Hegel, of God's first attaining consciousness in man. Man could therefore only act by the inspiration of God, and when man's inclinations led him to sin, it was a divine impulse on which he acted, and real penance consisted in giving way to this impulse, in order not to resist the will of God, "et quia Deus vult me peccasse, ideo nollem ego quod peccata non commisissem, et hæc vera est pœnitentia."

The Flagellants, so long as they possessed the power, greatly tyrannized over the Jews. The hatred of this persecuted race had slumbered since the crusades, but now awoke with redoubled fury in Austria and Bavaria, on account of the desolation caused by the prodigious quantities of locusts, (which spread over a space of three German miles* in breadth, and more miles in length than the most rapid horse could gallop in a day,) which was declared to be a punishment inflicted by Heaven on account of the desecration of the Host by the Jews, and a dreadful massacre ensued in both these countries, A. D. 1337. The severe penalties inflicted upon the murderers by the emperor Louis put a stop to the slaughter. In 1349, the appearance of the pestilence and of the Flagellants was again a signal for massacre; the pestilence was declared the effect of poison administered by this unhappy people; the infatuated populace could no longer be restrained; from Berne, where the city council gave orders for the slaughter to commence, it spread over the whole of Switzerland and Germany; thousands of Jews were slain or burnt alive, and mercy was merely extended to children who were baptized in the presence of their parents, and to young maidens, some of whom escaped from the arms of their ravishers to throw themselves headlong into the flames that consumed their kindred. All who could, took refuge in Poland, where

* Nine English.

Casimir, a second Ahasuerus, protected them from love for Esther, a beautiful Jewess. Poland has, since this period, swarmed with Jews. The persecution, however, no sooner ceased, than they reappeared in Germany.

CLXXIX. *Charles the Fourth.*

CHARLES IV. was the first of the emperors who introduced the foreign policy against which his predecessors on the throne had so manfully and unsuccessfully striven. The Habsburgs had made some weak attempts of a similar nature, but it was not until this reign that modern policy took deep root in Germany. This emperor appeared to think that honour had vanished, leaving caution in its stead.

Louis the Elder had succeeded to the claims of the house of Wittelsbach, which it was Charles's primary object to destroy. The failure of the Hohenstaufen, of his grandfather Henry, and of Louis of Bavaria, clearly proved to him the impossibility of success as emperor, and induced him, like the emperor Albert, to do his utmost to raise his house on the wreck of the empire; instead, however, like that emperor, of increasing his power by open violence, he empoisoned German policy with every hypocritical art, by the practice of courtly treachery and secret murder, in which he had become an adept in France. Primogeniture, first introduced by him into his family, afterwards passed into that of Habsburg, and, at all events, prevented the dismemberment of the empire, whose external power was thereby increased, notwithstanding the moral paralyzation of its effect.

The Ascaniers and the archbishop of Magdeburg, the natural rivals to Brandenburg, instigated by the emperor, raised a pretender, a miller, one Jacob Rehbock, whom they declared to be Waldemar, to whom he bore a great resemblance, in opposition to Louis the Elder, who, unprepared for this attack, lost the whole of Brandenburg with the exception of Briezen, since named, on account of its fidelity, Treuenbriezen, and Frankfort on the Oder, which was unsuccessfully besieged by the emperor.

The Wittelsbacher and their adherents, Brandenburg, Pfalz, Mayence, and Saxony, had offered the imperial crown to the

conqueror of Crecy, which the English parliament, fearing lest an emperor of Germany might forget his duty as king of England, would not permit him to accept. Their choice then fell upon Gunther von Schwarzburg, a knight distinguished for his feats of arms, in whose favour they gained over the Poles, the ancient foes of the house of Luxemburg. Charles IV., however, craftily entered into negotiation with Edward, to whom he proved the necessity of an alliance between them against France, drew the Habsburg army on his side by giving his daughter, Catherine, in marriage to Rudolf the son of Albrecht the Lame; and, with equal skill, dissolved the Wittelsbach confederacy by wedding Anna, the daughter of the Pfalzgrave Rupert, by ceding Brandenburg to Louis the Elder, and declaring Waldemar, whom he had himself invested with that electorate, an impostor; Louis the Elder, with equal perfidy, sacrificing Gunther, who was shortly afterwards poisoned by one of Charles's emissaries, A. D. 1347. Gunther was a bold and energetic man, and had acquired great popularity by a manifesto, in which he had pledged himself to maintain the imperial prerogative and to pursue the policy of the Hohenstaufen.

Charles stood alone at the head of the house of Luxemburg, whilst that of Wittelsbach was weakened and disunited by subdivision, and the rest of the princes of the empire were either intimidated or engaged in family feuds. By his diplomacy, marked as it was by fraud and cunning, he raised not only the power of his own family but also that of the empire, and by means of these petty arts succeeded where the Hohenstaufen with all their valour and magnanimity had failed. He dissolved the alliance between the pope and France, and gained more by this diplomatic stroke than many a campaign could have effected.* His stay during his youth at the French court, and at the papal palace at Avignon, had rendered him acquainted with the jealousy secretly existing between the two allies, with the desire of the pontiff to escape from thraldom and to return to Rome, from which the dread of again falling under the imperial yoke alone withheld him. By the most fawning humility, feigned piety, and genuine patience, Charles at length succeeded in winning his con-

* His motto was, "Optimum, aliena insania frui."

fidence. The dangerous position in which France was gradually placed by England also aided his plans, and he bestowed great favours upon Philip the Bold, the younger son of John king of France, who had inherited Burgundy, and whose ambitious extension of his newly-acquired dominions was ill viewed by France, A. D. 1358.

Charles's views upon Italy, far from extending to the re-annexation of that country to the empire, were circumscribed to the ceremony of coronation at Rome, which he entreated as a favour in order to prove to the pope his little respect for the electoral assembly at Rense, and his profound reverence for the papal sanction. With this intention, he visited Rome in a private capacity, without heeding the Italian factions, and submitted to every command sent by the pope from Avignon, even to the degrading condition of quitting the city immediately on the conclusion of the ceremony.——During the absence of the pope, the Romans had rebelled against the tyranny of the nobility, and had formed a republic, at the head of which stood Cola di Rienzi, who, on the emperor's arrival, hastened to his presence in the hope of bringing about the restoration of the ancient Roman empire; but Charles, taking advantage of the confidence with which this enthusiast had placed himself within his power, instantly threw him into chains and delivered him to the pope, Innocent VI., who sent him back again to Rome, there to work as his tool; the Romans, however, speedily perceived that Cola, instead of fostering the ancient rights of the people, was a mere papal instrument, and an insurrection ensued, in which he was assassinated. The Ghibelline faction gained an unexpected accession of strength; weary of the wretched state of disunion, their hopes centred in Charles as the restorer of the national unity of Italy, whilst the pope, in order to retain his supremacy in that country, incessantly promoted dissension and division. In the same spirit with which Dante had formerly addressed Henry VII., did Petrarch now implore Charles IV. to restore Italy to the empire; a step that would solely have produced a re-alliance between the pope and France; the fate of his predecessors had, moreover, taught Charles but too well the measure of Ghibelline faith. He therefore contented himself with bestowing great marks of distinction upon Petrarch, and with publicly saluting the beautiful and celebrated Laura, im-

mortalized in his sonnets. He even fomented the disputes between the petty Italian princes and states, by the free sale of privileges and declarations of independence, and collected a vast number of relics in order to flatter the pope, and to adorn the churches in Bohemia. The Ghibellines, enraged at his conduct, set fire to the house in which he lodged at Pisa, and he narrowly escaped with his life. On reaching Rome, he was received with great demonstrations of friendship and respect by the papal legates, and, the day after the coronation, secretly quitted Rome, under pretext of following the chase, in order to avoid being proclaimed her temporal sovereign.—Ten years later, he reaped the fruit of this policy in the favour of Urban V., whom he visited at Avignon, and who, even more than his predecessor, strove to free himself from the trammels in which he was held by France. When [A. D. 1365] Charles was crowned king of Burgundy (Arelat) at Arles, he pacified France by ceding the hereditary possession of that country to the Dauphin, so called from the Delphinat, which fell to the crown prince of France, in 1348. Two years after, [A. D. 1367,] Urban V. re-entered Rome, and, in the following year, was visited by Charles, whom he met at Viterbo. The emperor afterwards conducted him to St. Peter's, holding the bridle of his horse. Success had attended his schemes. The disunion between the pope and France, and his own reconciliation with the former, had been effected. The next pontiff, Gregory XI., resided at Rome, and was universally recognised as the successor of St. Peter, whilst the antipope at Avignon, elected by the French cardinals, was merely acknowledged in France.

With the same skill with which he had disunited the pope and France, Charles now strove to reintegrate the empire, and to quell her internal dissensions; but he degraded his object by the means by which he sought its attainment. His policy towards the house of Wittelsbach was truly diabolical. The Habsburgs and some other princely houses escaped by retiring into obscurity. Several of the petty princes, as, for instance, Luxemburg and Bar, received an accession of dignity. He also contrived to place the ecclesiastical princes under his influence, and to remain on good terms with the pope by means of his legate, Cardinal Talleyrand.

The golden bull drawn up A. D. 1356, is a circumstantial

proof of the power to which Charles had, at that period, attained. By it the number of electoral princes was definitively reduced to seven, including the three spiritual electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, and the four temporal ones selected by Charles for political purposes, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxon-Wittenberg, and Rhenish Pfalz. Charles already possessed Bohemia, and was on the point of taking possession of Brandenburg, whilst the weak and servile side-branches of Wittelsbach and of Ascan reigned in the Pfalz and in Wittenberg. The electors were also declared almost independent sovereign princes, and exercised the *jus de non evocando*, which deprived their subjects of the right of appeal to the emperor; privileges bestowed by Charles, not as personal favours, but with the intention of enlarging his hereditary possessions, and by intermarriage, heritage, purchase, etc., of re-establishing the unity of the empire, which explains the exclusion of the house of Habsburg, to which Charles was unwilling to grant the same advantage, from the number of electoral princes. This bull is silent in respect to the supremacy of the emperor in Italy. It was in great part drawn up by Cardinal Talleyrand.

Charles was named (falsely, for he did more for the empire than any emperor since the Hohenstaufen) the step-father of the empire, but the father of Bohemia. His person discovered his Bohemian descent, his resemblance to his mother being stronger than that to his father. He was of diminutive stature, but thickset, carried his head ill and drooping forwards, had high cheek-bones and coal-black hair. His Slavonian appearance curiously contrasted with his sumptuous attire, for he seldom laid aside the imperial crown and mantle, and with his French manners and education. He spoke five languages, and was deeply versed in all the learning of the times. Part of his biography, written by himself, is still extant. He also drew out the plan for the new part of the cities of Prague and Breslau.

In 1348, he bestowed a new code of laws upon Bohemia, and, in 1355, declared Moravia, Silesia, and the Lausitz inseparable from that country. He also granted the greatest privileges to the aristocracy and to the cities, encouraged mining and agriculture, rendered the Moldau navigable as far as the Elbe, brought German artificers into the country, and

converted the whole of Bohemia into a garden. In the midst of the smiling country stood the noble city of Prague, whose fine public edifices, the regal Hradschin, etc.; the celebrated bridges, are his work. Carlsbad was also discovered by and named after him. He bestowed equal care upon Silesia, where he introduced the cloth manufactures of Flanders, and laid the foundation of the linen manufacture for which it became noted. German privileges and the German language quickly spread throughout Lower Silesia. In order to preserve his amicable relations with Poland, he wedded, on the death of Anna, a daughter of the house of Piast, Elisabeth, the niece of Casimir of Poland, a woman of such extraordinary strength that she could wrench a horse-shoe in two. In the other provinces of his empire he gave a great impulse to agriculture, manufacture, and trade, and Balbin remarks of him, that his age was that of masons and architects. Nor were the moral interests of his subjects neglected. He founded the first German university at Prague, April 6th, 1348. The Habsburgs followed his example, and [A. D. 1365] founded an university at Vienna, and the Pfalzgrave founded another [A. D. 1386] at Heidelberg. The ecclesiastical princes emulated their example, and Cologne also received an university in 1388; Erfurt, in 1392.———The instruction was divided into four faculties, the three first of which were the sciences, theology, jurisprudence, and medicine, the professors of these sciences received the title of doctor. The fourth faculty comprehended the liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, music, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, whose professors were termed magistri. Numbers of the aristocracy, and still greater numbers of the citizens, crowded the new lecture-rooms. The university of Prague ere long contained seven thousand students.

The spirit of the new universities was, in consequence of Charles's policy, at first wavering and undecided. Numbers of Minorites still, as in the time of Louis of Bavaria, impatient for the reformation of the church, crowded to them. The school-divines of Oxford, and even those of Paris, since the escape of the pope from the shackles imposed by France, had declared against popery. The terms on which the emperor stood with the pontiff, however, rendered the first teachers in the German universities, notwithstanding their

ardent desire for reformation in the church, fearful of promulgating their doctrines. Henry of Hesse, and Marsilius ab Inghen, the heads of the universities of Vienna and Heidelberg, by whom scholasticism was spread throughout Germany, acquired great note; but the moderation for which they were distinguished was not long imitated. Hierarchical power still strove for the ascendency; the universities were gradually filled with papal adherents, and, in the ecclesiastical provinces, were merely founded as ultramontane schools. Roman sophistry quickly spread throughout Germany, but was opposed [A. D. 1391] by John Tauler, a monk of Strassburg, who, struck with horror at the lies beneath which the pure doctrines of the Christian faith lay concealed, attempted to introduce purer tenets among the people. This popular preacher of German mysticism was, however, too mild, and his followers were too much wrapped up in ecstatic devotion, to effect the slightest reformation in the church.

CLXXX. *Contests between the citizens and the aristocracy.—Wars of the Hansa.*

ALBERT the Lame [A. D. 1358] had four sons, Rudolf the Handsome or the Founder, who succeeded to the Tyrol, Leopold the Pious, who fell at Sempach, Albert with the Tuft, (so named from the tuft of hair he bore on his helm in memory of his wife, in whose honour he founded an order of knighthood,) and Frederick. This family no longer ventured to contest for the throne, but sought to extend and to maintain its possessions by means less likely to attract attention. Its authority was supported by the pope and by the nobility, and it, consequently, suppressed every heretical tendency among the people, persecuted the Waldenses, and deprived the cities of their privileges. Vienna lost her ancient constitution and corporative regulations, and was raised to higher importance by becoming the ducal residence. The university, founded by Rudolf, had a papal tendency. The nobility, meanwhile, acquired greater power by their support of the ducal family, and the peasantry were gradually reduced to deeper servility.

In Switzerland, where liberty had made rapid progress, a fresh contest broke out between the confederated cities and

the Habsburgs. Zurich, Glaris, and Zug joined the confederation. Peace was, however, at length restored by the intervention of the emperor. The confederation retained the freedom and privileges it had gained, which were recognised by the emperor, to whom it swore fealty. No injustice was committed; the Habsburgs were paid their due, and the ancient right of the free peasantry to be under the jurisdiction of the crown, without infringing their peculiar obligations to the monasteries or their governors, was confirmed. Rudolf built, in expiation of his conduct, the long bridge across the lake of Zurich near Rapperschwyl, for the convenience of pilgrims to Einsiedeln.

Hostilities between England and France meanwhile ceased, and the emperor, during his stay at Strassburg, on his return from his second visit to Rome, was offered by the knight de Cervola a body of forty thousand mercenaries freshly dismissed from the service of the English king. These mercenaries were termed *Guglers*, from their *Gugel* hats or pointed helmets. The emperor refusing to take them into his pay, they began to plunder the country, but were defeated and dispersed by the imperial troops, by Wenzel of Luxemburg and the duke of Brabant. Nine years later a fresh and numerous body of Guglers under Ingelram de Coucy, who claimed part of Alsace in right of his mother, Catherine of Habsburg, besieged Leopold in his castle of Breisach, and laid waste the country, in which they were unopposed by Leopold, probably from the hope of their attacking the Swiss confederation, for which purpose John de Vienne, bishop of Basle, invited them into the Bernese territory. The pass of the Hauenstein was left open by the Count Rudolf von Nidau, who fled on their approach, and forty thousand men, including six thousand English knights, the wildest of whom was Jevan ap Eynion ap Griffith "with the golden hat," poured across the Jura, and laid the country waste by fire and sword as far as the Büttisholz, near Lucerne, where three thousand of them were slain by six hundred peasants; the rest were cut to pieces in two engagements by the Bernese, A. D. 1376. Coucy escaped back to France. The bishop of Basle was punished by the defection of Biel, which he had caused to be set on fire, and which now joined the confederation. Leopold was afterwards expelled Basle, on account of his insolence, by the citizens.

Freiburg in the Briesgau was illegally sold to the Habsburgs by the imperial governor, A. D. 1366; a transaction unnoticed by the emperor, who desired to keep on good terms with that house.

The Habsburgs were more fortunate in the East, where they had gained Carinthia and the Tyrol, and entered into alliance with the counts of Görz (Goritzia *) and the Visconti. The citizens of Trieste [A. D. 1369] implored the aid of Austria against Venice, and [A. D. 1380] that splendid city and harbour fell into the hands of the Habsburgs. Whilst in Upper Germany the Habsburgs opposed the confederated peasantry and the cities, the aristocracy and the cities contested for superiority in the central and northern provinces, and a struggle took place equally great and important in its results as that between the church and the empire.

Had all the cities in Germany confederated against the nobility, they might easily have overturned the empire, but they were scattered too far apart, and were, moreover, too jealous of each other's prosperity to tolerate such a concentration of power or the pre-eminence of any single city. Lubeck might have become the Venice of the North, had not the other Hanse towns been blinded by petty jealousy to their political interest.

The power of the cities was, nevertheless, very great. The citizens, proud of their newly-gained liberties, emulated the knights in skill and bravery, and far surpassed them in military knowledge; fighting in serried ranks, etc. New tactics and improvements in the art of siege were introduced by the burghers, and the well-disciplined city regiments, each distinguished by an uniform in the colours of their city, first founded the fame of the German infantry. The use of fire-arms, destined to destroy chivalry by rendering personal strength unavailing against art, was first introduced by the citizens. In 1354, Berthold Schwarz, a monk at Freiburg in the Breisgau, by chance discovered gunpowder, and was killed by the explosion. The first powder-mill was erected at Lubeck, A. D. 1360. John of Aarau was the first celebrated cannon-founder, and founded his first cannon [A. D. 1372] for the city of Augsburg. Stones

* Now famous as the retreat of the Bourbon dynasty and the burial-place of Charles X., ex-king of France, A. D. 1837.—TRANSLATOR.

were at first made use of instead of balls, which came into use A. D. 1387.

The contest was carried on with the greatest obstinacy in Swabia, where Eberhard the Riotous, who equalled his father in wild independence, had been confirmed by Charles in the government of Lower Swabia. His tyranny roused the cities to open rebellion, and Charles came in person to Esslingen for the purpose of restoring peace; the publication of the golden bull, and its prohibition of the reception of fresh Pfahlbürger, (suburbans,) however, raised a suspicion of his intention to deprive the cities of their corporative privileges, and to reinstate the great burgher families, and the citizens of Esslingen rose in open insurrection. Charles was compelled to seek safety in flight, but was revenged by Eberhard, who reduced the city, A. D. 1360. For this service he was rewarded with the government of Upper Swabia, and the debts he had contracted with the Jews were declared null by the emperor. Notwithstanding these favours, he leagued with Habsburg and refused obedience to his liege, upon which he was put out of the bann of the empire, but being defeated at Scharndorf, [A. D. 1360,] and imploring the emperor to allow him to retain his possessions in Bohemia as his vassal, he was, consequently, not only pardoned, but restored to his government and permitted to demand reparation from the cities, whose power the emperor willingly saw humbled.

The tyranny of the Swabian governor at length incited the nobility against him, and, in 1367, the Margrave of Baden and the Rhenish Pfalzgrave leagued with the count of Eberstein against him; whilst in Upper Swabia two orders of knighthood conspired against the cities, which renewed their confederation in 1370, and vainly sought to persuade Eberhard, who was now sorely pressed, to join their alliance. The nobles, seeing their danger, made peace with their foe, and the citizens suffered a signal defeat, A. D. 1372. Charles once more favoured the victor, and empowered him to levy an imperial tax upon the humbled cities, which again revolted. Ulm was unsuccessfully besieged by the emperor in person, and a fresh and more extensive confederation was formed between the cities. It was in vain that the emperor pronounced them out of the bann of the empire; they refused to lay down their arms, and the troops of Wurtemberg were de-

feated in a bloody engagement, in which eighty-six noble knights fell, at Reutlingen, A. D. 1377. The citizens were again victorious at Kaufbeuren, and those of Ulm levelled all the neighbouring castles with the ground.

In the ensuing year, [A. D. 1378,] the emperor expired, and the contest between the cities and the aristocracy burst out with redoubled fury in every part of the empire. The Hansa had, meanwhile, greatly distinguished itself, and had forced Waldemar III. of Denmark, and Hakon of Norway, to sue for the most disgraceful terms of peace. The princes of Holstein and of Lower Germany, at strife among themselves, vainly sought to humble the cities. Magdeburg, the most powerful city of central Germany, withstood the repeated attacks of the nobility, until the city-council, erroneously imagining that a system of defence would put a stop to all further attempts, inscribed upon the city-flag, "We fight not, but defend," and foolishly followed that maxim. Had the cities of Germany imitated the example set them by those of Italy, they must, like them, have ruled the whole country. Charles IV., unable to check the disorder prevalent throughout the empire, meditated the future restoration of order by means of an alliance with the Hansa, and in order to gain a firm footing in the North, made the valuable acquisition of Brandenburg, and fixed his royal residence at Tangermünde, whence he commanded the entrance to the Northern Ocean. It was his desire to be declared the head of the Hansa, and had the Hansa, alive to its true interests, formed this potent alliance at a period when the princes were weakened by intestine broils, the whole of Germany must have presented a far different aspect at the present day. But the cities, proud of the power they had gained by their industry and valour, deemed the emperor's alliance unnecessary, and, although they treated him with the greatest personal respect, refused to make the slightest concession, misunderstood his great political schemes, and rejected his proposals.

CLXXXI. *Wenzel.—Great struggle for freedom.*

CHARLES IV. sought by every means in his power to secure to his sons the possessions he had acquired. The eldest,

Wenzel, was brought up in pomp and luxury, at an early age initiated into the affairs of the empire, and, during his father's life-time, declared his successor on the throne by the bribed electors. The second, Sigmund, was united to Mary, the daughter of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, in the expectation of succeeding to those countries, and received Brandenburg. The third, John, was invested with the Lausitz, and surnamed "Von Görlitz." Charles also bestowed Luxemburg on his brother Wenzel, and Moravia on his younger brother, Jodocus.

Wenzel, called at too early an age to participate in the government of the empire, treated affairs of state with ridicule or entirely neglected them, in order to give himself up to idleness and drunkenness. At one moment he jested, at another burst into the most brutal fits of rage. The Germans, with whom he never interfered beyond occasionally holding a useless diet at Nuremberg, deemed him a fool, whilst the Bohemians, who, on account of his residence at Prague, were continually exposed to his savage caprices, regarded him as a furious tyrant. The possessions with which the Bohemian nobility had formerly been invested by the crown exciting his cupidity, he invited the whole of the aristocracy to meet him at Willamow, where he received them under a black tent, that opened on either side into a white and a red one. The nobles were allowed to enter one by one, and were commanded to declare what lands they possessed as gifts from the crown. Those who voluntarily ceded their lands were conducted to the white tent and feasted, those who refused were instantly beheaded in the red tent. When a number of these nobles had thus been put to death, the rest, perceiving what was going forward, obeyed, A. D. 1389. The massacre of three thousand Jews in Prague, on account of one of that nation having ridiculed the sacrament, gave Wenzel the idea of declaring all debts, owed by Christians to Jews, null and void; thus putting into effect the Jewish law, which enjoined all debts to be forgiven every seven years; a law they had never put into practice towards Christians. The queen, Johanna, being killed by one of the large hounds that ever accompanied her husband, he wedded the princess Sophia of Bavaria, A. D. 1392. It was in the ensuing year that the notorious cruelty with which he treated St. Nepo-

muck was enacted. One of the royal chamberlains having caused two priests to be put to death for the commission of some dreadful crime, the archbishop refused to tolerate this encroachment on the prerogative of the church, and placed the chamberlain under an interdict. Wenzel was roused to fury at this proceeding, and the archbishop sought safety in flight. Several of the lower dignitaries of the church were seized. The dean, Krnowa, dealt the king such a heavy blow on the head with his sword-knot as to draw blood. Two lower ecclesiastics, John von Nepomuck (Pomuk) and Puchnik, were put to the rack in order to force them to confess the designs of the archbishop, and by whom he had been instigated; Wenzel, irritated by their constant refusal, seized a torch, and with his own hand assisted to burn the sufferers. They still persisted in silence. John von Nepomuck was cast, during the night, headlong from the great bridge over the Moldau (where his statue now stands) into the stream. He was afterwards canonized by the church as a martyr, and made the patron saint of all bridges. Puchnik escaped with his life, and was led by the king, now filled with remorse for his horrid cruelty, to the royal treasury, where he aided him to fill his pockets, and even his boots, so heavily with gold, as to render him unable to stir.

Sigmund, at length conscious of the ruin into which the folly of the king's conduct was hurrying his family, concerted measures with Jodocus, Albert of Austria, and William of Meissen, and suddenly seizing his brother at Znaym, [A. D. 1393,] carried him prisoner to the castle of Wiltberg in Austria. John von Görlitz, however, induced the princes to set him at liberty on account of the scandal raised by such a transaction. Wenzel was no sooner free, than, inviting the Bohemian nobles, who had assisted at his incarceration, to a banquet, he caused them to be beheaded, and poisoned his brother John, who had undertaken the control of his affairs in Bohemia.

The foreign relations of the empire were at this period extremely favourable, and merely required a skilful statesman at the head of affairs to turn them to advantage. The dangerous alliance between the pope and France had become gradually weaker, and when, on the demise of Gregory in 1378, the Italians and Germans placed Urban VI. on the pon-

tifical throne in Rome, the French raised an antipope, Clement VII., at Avignon, a great schism arose in the church herself. The popes thundered their anathemas against each other, and an opportunity was now afforded for temporal sovereigns to intervene between them, as the pope had formerly mediated between rival princes. France was fully occupied with England, and the views of Naples upon the succession to the throne of Hungary had failed. On the death of Louis of Hungary and Poland, [A. D. 1382,] Sigmund hastened into Poland in order to lay claim to the throne of that country in right of his wife, Maria, Louis's eldest daughter. The Poles, however, expelled him the country, and compelled him to deliver up to them Hedwig, Louis's younger daughter. Maria and her mother, Elisabeth, Louis's widow, were, meanwhile, exposed to great danger in Hungary, where Charles the Little of Naples had arrived in person, laid claim to the throne as nearest of kin on the male side, and seized the crown. Elisabeth, a Bosmian by birth, and habituated to scenes of blood, feigned submission, and, during a confidential interview, caused him to be seized by two Hungarian nobles, Niclas Gara and Forgacz. His cowardly Italian retinue fled, and he was assassinated in prison, A. D. 1386. Elisabeth now grasped the sceptre, and induced Maria, who regarded her husband with antipathy, to give him a cold reception on his arrival from Poland, and he was shortly after sent back to his brother in Bohemia. Horwathy, in the hope of gaining possession of the two queens, placed himself at the head of the Neapolitan faction, and, suddenly attacking their retinue when on a journey near Diakovar, slew Forgacz and Gara after a brave resistance, caused all their women to be cruelly tortured and put to death, and Elisabeth to be strangled in the presence of Maria, whom he imprisoned at Novigrad on the Adriatic, with the intention of delivering her up to the vengeance of Margaretha, the widow of Charles the Little; this project was, however, contravened by the Venetians, who, dreading the union of Naples with Hungary, instantly shut up Novigrad. Jagello of Lithuania, meanwhile, wedded Hedwig, between whom and William the Courteous of Austria a mutual attachment subsisted. But the Poles, bribed by Jagello's promise to embrace Christianity and to unite Lithuania with Poland, gave him the preference, and William, whom Hedwig

had secreted in the castle of Cracow, was expelled the country. Dalwitz, a Polish knight, who had been William's bosom friend and counsellor, afterwards accused the wretched Hedwig of having carried on too intimate a correspondence with that prince. Hedwig swore that she was innocent, and Dalwitz was condemned to creep under a table and to bark like a dog. The Hungarians, in order not to fall into the power of Jagello, who counted upon Maria's condemnation in order to unite Hungary with Poland, induced Horwathy to restore her to her husband, Sigmund, on a solemn assurance of security from vengeance on her part. Maria was no sooner restored to liberty than Sigmund quarrelled with her, shut her up and treated her with great severity, on account of her refusal to cede to him the sole sovereignty, and her indignation at his licentious conduct. She possessed, nevertheless, sufficient nobility of mind to frustrate a conspiracy against his life, and he gratefully restored her to liberty. She expired shortly afterwards, A. D. 1392. Dalmatia, Bosnia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, meanwhile declared themselves independent of Hungary, to which they had hitherto belonged, and were encouraged in their rebellion by Horwathy, who was at length taken prisoner and put to a cruel death. Sigmund, in order to devote his undivided attention to Bohemia, mortgaged the mere of Brandenburg to his Moravian cousins, Procop and Jobst, the sons of his uncle Jodocus.

An enormous Turkish army under Sultan Bajazet now suddenly appeared on the frontiers of Hungary, after reducing almost every province in Greece to subjection, although Constantinople had been besieged in vain. In 1365, Bajazet had been opposed by Louis of Hungary, who was defeated on the Marizza.* The enthusiasm caused by the crusades had long died away, and it was with difficulty that Sigmund raised sixty thousand men, among whom were six thousand Burgundians and French, for the siege of Nicopolis, A. D. 1396. Bajazet advanced at the head of two hundred thousand men to the relief of that city, and after a long and terrible engagement, in which sixty thousand Turks fell, gained the victory by his enormous numerical superiority. Enraged at the loss he had suffered, and at the cruelty with which the Christians

* In gratitude for his preservation he founded the shrine of Mariazell in Styria, to which crowds of pilgrims still annually flock.—TRANSLATOR.

murdered their Turkish prisoners, he caused ten thousand of the Christian captives to be executed in his presence. The bloody scene had lasted four hours when the pachas, struck with horror, cast themselves at his feet and sued for the lives of the remainder. Coucy, one of the number, died in captivity. Sigmund escaped. The Turks did not follow up their victory. Hungary again became a prey to intestine factions. Ladislaw of Naples renewed his pretensions to that country, A. D. 1399. Sigmund was thrown into prison, whence he was liberated by Hermann von Cilly, on condition of accepting his daughter Barbara in marriage.

One of the first mistakes committed by Wenzel, was the conferment of the government of Swabia [A. D. 1382] on Leopold, duke of Austria, by which the hatred of the cities to the house of Habsburg was still further imbittered. Both parties flew to arms. Eberhard of Wurtemburg, with the intent of preventing the Habsburgs from gaining possession of Swabia, prudently intervened, and conciliated himself with the knights, the cities, and the princes; Leopold also attempted to negotiate terms with the cities, in order to strike with greater security at the Swiss peasantry. The cities, notwithstanding the proposals of peace and amity made to them in 1382 and 1384, regarded them with suspicion, and, in 1385, thirty-one of the cities of Switzerland and Swabia formed a confederation, which they invited the peasantry and petty nobility to join for the purpose of making head against the Habsburg; the confederated peasantry, however, discovered great lukewarmness, replying that it was harvest and they had no time, upon which the cities accepted the alliance proposed to them by the German princes and left the Swiss peasantry, who were instantly attacked by Leopold, unassisted in the hour of need. The battle of Sempach, in which the peasants owed the victory to the patriotic valour of Arnold von Winkelried, a peasant of Unterwald, (who made a path with his body over the lances of the enemy,) and in which Leopold fell, with six hundred and fifty-six of the nobility, took place, A. D. 1386. This success was followed by the battle of Næfels, during which the peasants of Glarus rolled stones on the Austrian squadrons, [A. D. 1388,] and setting fire to the bridges across which they fled, two thousand five hundred of the enemy, including one hundred and eighty-three of the

nobility, were killed. The Swiss confederation gained a great accession of strength by the adhesion of other cities. The peasants of Valais also defeated the earl of Savoy at Visp, during this year, and put four thousand of his men to the sword....

In 1380, the Swabian cities, which, after the battle of Sempach, had become aware of the impolicy of petty jealousy, gained courage to break off their alliance with the princes, and again sued for that of the Swiss peasantry, which being refused, they formed a great league with their sister cities on the Rhine. Innumerable feuds ensued between them and the nobility, until the defeat of the citizens of Frankfurt at Eschborn [A. D. 1388] by the Pfalzgrave Rupert, when most of the cities concluded peace with their opponents. By an imperial edict, [A. D. 1389,] they were forbidden to form a fresh confederation, but neither their ancient hatred of the nobility was allayed nor their strength broken, and frequent outbreaks continued to take place.

Peace was scarcely restored, [A. D. 1392,] when the Alpine herdsmen again, and with renovated vigour, arose in defence of their liberties.——The little hut built by St. Gall had, in course of time, sprung up into a stately monastery, whose proud abbot, Cuno, ruled the whole of the Alpine country under the high Säntis, and allowed his governors to tyrannize over the people. The governor of Appenzell ordered a corpse to be disinterred for the sake of its good coat. That of Schwendi hunted all the peasants, who could not pay their dues, with his dogs. One day, meeting the little son of a miller, he asked him "what his father and mother were doing?" "He bakes bread that is already eaten; she adds bad to worse," answered the boy; "that is, my father lives on his debts, my mother mends rags with rags." "Why so?" again inquired his interrogator. "Because," said the boy, "you take all our money from us;" and when the governor set his dogs upon him, he raised a milk-can, under which he had hidden a cat, which instantly flew out, and drew off the dogs. The boy took refuge in his father's cabin, where he was killed by the irritated governor.

The peasants, attracted by the cries of the unfortunate father, raised a tumult, attacked the castle of Schwendi, and burnt it to the ground. The governor contrived to escape. All the other castles in the vicinity were speedily levelled

with the ground, and the whole country was freed from its oppressors. The citizens of St. Gall also joined the peasants against the abbot, A. D. 1400. The Swabian cities were called upon to decide the matter, and decreed that St. Gall could only confederate with cities, not with peasants, upon which the Appenzellers were abandoned to their fate. The brave herdsmen now resolved to fight their own battle, and, aided by those of Glarus, defeated both the abbot and the citizens of St. Gall, A. D. 1402. Delighted with their success, they summoned the neighbouring peasantry to join the banner of liberty, and Rudolf, Count von Werdenberg, Austria's foe, voluntarily laid aside his mantle to take the herdsmen's dress and join their ranks. Frederick of Austria was again repulsed; but the Appenzellers, imboldened by success, ventured too far from their country, and laid siege to Bregenz, whence, after suffering great loss, they were compelled by the nobility to retreat. They afterwards joined the confederation, A. D. 1407.

CLXXXII. *Rupert.—The Netherlands.*

THE incapacity of the emperor Wenzel was regarded with indifference by the princes of the empire, who were, consequently, unrestrained by his authority, but when his folly extended to a visit to Paris, where, in a drunken frolic, he ceded Genoa to France and recognised the antipope at Avignon as pope, instead of Boniface IX., who then wore the tiara at Rome, John, archbishop of Mayence, a zealous papal adherent, began to tremble for his mitre, and urged the princes to depose him. The Pfalzgrave Rupert, ambitious of restoring the faded glories of the house of Wittelsbach, offered himself as a competitor for the throne, and was supported by the princes of the upper country and of the Rhine, whilst those of Northern Germany favoured Frederick of Wolfenbüttel, the only man of note in the family of Welf. Wenzel was cited to appear before the tribunal of the princes of the empire at Oberlahnstein, and, on refusing to appear, was formally deposed, and Rupert was proclaimed emperor. His rival, Frederick, was, at the same time, [A. D. 1400,] also proclaimed emperor by the Saxons, at Fritzlar. This noble prince, who was beheld with great enmity by the nobility, was, with the

consent of John of Mayence, whose object it was to avoid every species of schism, attacked and murdered by a Count von Waldeck when on his way to Fritzlar. Rupert was so great a favourite with the nobility, that the citizens, on his election, instantly offered to uphold the deposed emperor, who, nevertheless, remained in complete inactivity at Prague. Aix-la-Chapelle closed her gates against Rupert, who was, consequently, crowned at Cologne. Wenzel was counselled to bring about a reconciliation with Boniface, but treated the matter with indifference. He was now disturbed by his Bohemian subjects, and the nobles took advantage of the disrespect into which he had fallen to wrest from him the greatest privileges. Procop and Jobst of Moravia declared in Rupert's favour, in the expectation of gaining possession of Bohemia. Procop, who was on bad terms with his brother, however, quickly returned to his allegiance. During this confusion, Sigmund unexpectedly appeared, and made Wenzel and Procop prisoners. Whilst occupied in restoring Bohemia to tranquillity, he incautiously intrusted Wenzel to the keeping of the Habsburgs, who, delighted with the disunion prevailing in the house of Luxemburg, instantly set him at liberty, and the Bohemians, with whom he was, notwithstanding his cruelty and folly, more popular than Sigmund, replaced him on the throne. His madness increased from this period.

Rupert no sooner mounted the imperial throne than he declared against France, and sought to win the favour of the cities by the abolition of the customs on the Rhine, which had merely the effect of turning from him the affection of the nobility. The princes were, moreover, faithless to him, and he was viewed with jealousy by his Bavarian cousins. Unaided by his own family and at enmity with the house of Luxemburg, he naturally sought an ally in that of Habsburg; and in the expectation of being warmly welcomed by Boniface IX., who still smarted under the insults heaped upon him by Wenzel, undertook an expedition to Rome for the purpose of receiving the crown from the hands of that pontiff. Leopold the Proud, whose father, Leopold, had fallen at Sempach, accompanied him across the Alps with the intention of attacking the Visconti, who had rendered themselves greatly obnoxious to him as neighbours. Leopold was, in this

expedition, assisted with Florentine gold. The Visconti, however, who had been created dukes of the empire by Wenzel, were victorious at Brescia, [A. D. 1401,] Leopold was taken prisoner, and Rupert was compelled to retrace his steps after vainly suing the Venetians for aid.

Rupert expired, A. D. 1411, deserted by all his partisans and treated with universal disrespect; his acceptance of Offenbach and the Ortenau from William, bishop of Strassburg, as a bribe for his aid against the citizens, had rendered him utterly contemptible; the citizens were victorious, the bishop was compelled to flee, and his allies were taken prisoners. Sigmund had, meanwhile, made peace with the Habsburgs, and, assisted by Albert of Austria, laid siege to Znaym, which was defended by some robber-knights, Procop's partisans. Wenzel, trembling for the Bohemian crown in case of his brother's success, went to Breslau, and formed an alliance with Jagello, who had received the Christian name of Wladislaw on his accession to the throne of Poland, A. D. 1404. Sigmund and Albert were, at the same time, poisoned in the camp before Znaym. Sigmund escaped death by being suspended for twenty-four hours by his feet, so that the poison ran out of his mouth. Being deserted by William the Courteous, he was forced to give up Bohemia, after poisoning Procop in his prison. The German faction being, meanwhile, victorious over the Neapolitan party in Hungary, Sigmund regained that country; and the Turks, having been defeated by Timur in Asia, Bosnia and Dalmatia once more sought the protection of Hungary. The order of the dragon and the university at Ofen were founded by Sigmund in memory of these events.

Ernst the Iron of Styria, the youngest of the four sons of Leopold of Austria, had confederated with his brother Leopold against his infant nephew Albert, afterwards the emperor Albert II., whom they sought to deprive of his inheritance, but who was successfully defended by Sigmund and the Viennese. Ernst, independent of his perfidy towards his nearest relatives, was a man of no mean intellect. He wedded Cymburga, a Polish princess, a woman of great beauty and wit, and of such extraordinary strength as to be able to break horse-shoes in sunder and to knock nails into the wall with her bare hand. She was remarkable for the large

underlip that, even at the present day, characterizes the family of Habsburg.

In the Netherlands, family feuds had been carried on with great virulence. Gueldres fell [A. D. 1361] to the countess of Blois, the daughter of Duke Reinhold, and Brabant was inherited by Johanna, who married Wenzel, duke of Luxemburg, who dying [A. D. 1383] without issue, Brabant and Luxemburg fell to Antony of Burgundy. Thus the house of Luxemburg lost its ancient ancestral possessions, without any opposition on the part of the emperor Wenzel, Rupert alone protesting against the encroachment of Burgundy upon the empire.

Flanders had become a scene of still wilder disorder, and a furious contest was carried on between Ghent, her allies, and the cities that favoured the earl, Louis II., of Male. Peace was made, A. D. 1381, but Louis, incited by the Child of Edinghen, (Enghien,) attempting to take vengeance, Ghent again revolted. Grammont was reduced to ashes by the Child, who shortly afterwards fell before Ghent. That city being reduced to great straits by the coalition of the citizens of Brugge, her rival city, with the earl, Philip von Artevelde, the son of the celebrated brewer, was placed, with unlimited power, at the head of the citizens. Famine raged within the walls, and the women were insisting upon a surrender, when Artevelde returned from an unsuccessful parley with the besiegers, and thus addressed the people: "Shut yourselves up in the churches, recommend your souls to God and die of hunger, or bind yourselves with chains and yield to the cruel earl, or—seize your arms and drive back the foe! "Choose one of these three!"——"Choose for us," was the reply; and Artevelde, placing himself at the head of the citizens, made a desperate sally, defeated the troops of the earl and the citizens of Brugge, who were pursued into their city, where a terrible slaughter took place, A. D. 1382. Louis was concealed by an old woman, and escaped; nine thousand of the citizens of Brugge were slain, and the city was plundered. Artevelde became lord over the whole of Flanders.

Louis, whose daughter, Margaretha, had married Philip of Burgundy, uncle to Charles VI. of France, now turned to that country for aid, and a numerous French army was despatched against Artevelde, who, although successful at Co-

mines, was defeated and fell with twenty thousand of the Flemish at Rosebecke, A. D. 1382. The English afterwards aided Ghent, and the war was carried on with such fury, that numbers of the Flemish migrated to England and Holland. It was continued on the death of Louis, who was stabbed in a broil at Artois by the duke de Berry, [A. D. 1384,] by Philip of Burgundy, the French and the nobles against the citizens and the English. Peace was at length concluded, A. D. 1385. Flanders retained her ancient liberties, but henceforward appertained to Burgundy.

Two extraordinary women were mixed up with the intrigues of this period, Jacobea of Holland and Johanna of Naples. Jacobea, the only child of William of Wittelsbach, the heiress to Holland and the Hennegau, married John, the son of Charles VI. of France, who, dying early, she wedded John of Brabant, the imbecile son of Antony. Her uncle, John the Merciless, however, leagued with the pope, who, at his request, dissolved Jacobea's second marriage on the plea of too near a relationship, with Philip of Burgundy, England, and the reigning faction of the Kabeljaus in Holland, with the design of depriving her of her rich inheritance. Abandoned on almost every side, and with a husband brutal and incapable, this beautiful young woman, already deprived of part of her possessions, now sought the protection of the English, in the hope of receiving aid from one of their princes, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, to whom she offered her hand. Philip of Burgundy interposed, and Gloucester had scarcely landed in Holland when he again retreated to England. Jacobea was betrayed into Philip's hands and carried prisoner to Ghent, whence she escaped in man's attire. During the same year [A. D. 1425] John the Merciless expired, and bequeathed his claims upon Holland to Philip, who, already in possession of Flanders and heir presumptive to Brabant and Luxemburg, spared no means, by fraud or violence, to gain possession of the rest of the Netherlands, in which he was solely opposed by the unfortunate Jacobea. Gloucester remained in England, and merely sent some troops to her aid, who were joined by the city faction of the Hæcks, and defeated by the Burgundians at Brouwershaven, A. D. 1425. John the Imbecile, of Brabant, died in the ensuing year, and was succeeded by Philip. Gloucester married an Englishwoman, and Jacobea's

Dutch partisans being again defeated in a naval engagement near Wieringen, she was compelled to resign the government of Holland to Philip, and to promise not to contract another marriage without his consent. An annual pension was allowed her, A. D. 1436. In this necessity, she found a faithful friend and prudent counsellor in a handsome knight, Frank von Borselen, whom she secretly married. Philip, who had surrounded her with spies, gained intelligence of the conspiracy, threw the knight into prison, and compelled Jacobea to purchase her husband's liberty with the renunciation of her claims in Philip's favour. Frank was appointed head forester, and Jacobea, after living some years with him in that station, died at the early age of thirty-six, A. D. 1439.

Not long before this, Otto the Welf, of Brunswick, a handsome young prince, had been, whilst on a visit to Italy, chosen by Johanna of Naples for her fourth husband; and by this means implicated in the bloody intrigues of the house of Anjou. Otto was wounded and imprisoned by Charles of Durazzo, whom the pope had raised as his rival, and Johanna was strangled. Otto was afterwards permitted to return to Brunswick. His daughter by Johanna married a king of Cyprus. The crown of Naples fell to René of Anjou, who was driven from his throne by Philip of Arragon, who had long been in possession of Sicily, A. D. 1442.

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were declared inseparable under the queen, Margaretha, the daughter of Waldemar III. of Denmark, by the Calmar Union, A. D. 1397.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

May God now help us, and give us one of the trumpets with which the walls of Jericho were thrown down, that we may also blow round these paper walls and loosen the Christian rods for the punishment of sins, in order that we may correct ourselves by chastisement.—LUTHER.

PART XIV. THE HUSSITE WARS.

CLXXXIII. *Sigmund.*

WE have now arrived at that stormy period when the worn-out empire of the middle ages, shaken from within and without, fell in ruins, when the degenerate church waded through crime, and Heaven, in anger, emptied the viol of wrath over Germany, until, after centuries of sorrow and destruction, a new era, with a new faith, a new constitution, new manners and men, rose from the ruins of the past.

Physical strength and love of adventure had, in the earlier ages, given rise to the German migrations, and, at a later period, had given place to lofty aspirations of chivalry, faith, and love, which, carried to excess and abused, now yielded in their turn to the sovereignty of reason. The pious simplicity and confidence of the people, more and more practised upon by the popes and their scholastics, were at length so shamefully abused for purposes of the meanest ambition and avarice that reason finally revolted against the chains of habitual belief. The ideas inculcated by Arnold of Brescia and by Petrus Waldus had annually spread; men saw that the church had gone astray, and demanded that, cleansed from her temporal lust of power and luxury, from her scholastic lies and deceit, she should return to her primitive simplicity and truth. The learned Englishman, Wycliffe, was,

at that period, the soul of the reforming party. Heresy had spread throughout Germany. Two hundred heretics were burnt at Augsburg.

The circumstances of the times were far from unfavourable for a reformation in the church. The pontifical chair had been deprived of much of its supremacy by the schism in the church, consequent on the election of the antipopes at Avignon by France, in opposition to the successor of St. Peter at Rome, and the popes were reduced to the necessity of creating a party in their favour among the clergy and in the universities, by which means the papal despotism, introduced by Innocent IV., yielded to an ecclesiastical democracy, which now assumed a right to settle the dispute between the popes, and [A. D. 1410] the council of Pisa, composed of bishops and doctors of the universities, boldly deposed the antipopes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected another pope, Alexander V., who, shortly afterwards dying, was succeeded by John XXIII. Respect for the pontiff had, however, become so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that the deposed popes were able to maintain their authority, and the world was scandalized by beholding three popes at once, as if in mockery of the Trinity. The youngest of the three, John XXIII., who had formerly been a pirate, a man sunk in guilt and the lowest debauchery, was the most detestable, but the clergy were too deeply depraved to feel any repugnance at his election, and the cardinal, Peter d'Ailly, said openly, that the church had become so bad that a good pope would be out of his sphere, and that she could only be ruled by miscreants.

On the death of the emperor Rupert, the house of Wittelsbach, weakened by division, remained in a state of inactivity, and the powerful one of Luxemburg continued to occupy the throne, Sigmund being elected in preference to Wenzel, who contented himself with Bohemia, A. D. 1412.

Vain, arrogant, deceitful, and ever undertaking more than he had power to perform, Sigmund discovered his true character from the very onset. In the electoral assembly he voted for himself, with these words, "There is no prince in the empire whom I know better than myself. No one surpasses me in power, or in the art of governing, whether in prosperity or adversity. I, therefore, as elector of Brandenburg, give Sigmund, king of Hungary, my vote, and herewith

elect myself emperor." He united in his person many of the qualities for which his relations were noted, possessing the subtlety of Charles IV., the thoughtlessness of king John, the licence of his brother Wenzel, with this difference, that, whilst Wenzel was a worshipper of Bacchus, he was a votary of Venus. Endowed with beauty, eloquence, and energy, he was totally devoid of real power or of reflection. He ever pursued a temporizing policy, and for a present advantage would thoughtlessly sacrifice a greater future gain.——At first he discovered a praise-worthy zeal for the church and state, and, in order to devote himself entirely to the regulation of public affairs, even sacrificed his private interests. The Turks, fortunately, made no further attempt upon Hungary, and Ladislaw of Naples, the competitor for that crown, died. Sigmund, anxious to secure himself to the rear, concluded peace with Wladislaw of Poland, whom he entertained with great splendour at Ofen. Annoyed by the successes of the Venetians in Dalmatia, Frioul, and on the frontiers of Lombardy, he despatched against them a small number of troops under Pippo of Hungary, who being defeated, he deemed it more advantageous to make peace, and to cede Zara in Dalmatia to Venice for 200,000 ducats. He then passed through the Tyrol, and visited the duke, Frederick, at Innsbruck, which he quitted in great displeasure, and, proceeding to Italy, held a conference at Lodi with the pope, whom he persuaded to convoke a new council. His attempt to reduce the Visconti to submission failed, but at Turin he secured the allegiance of Amadeus, earl of Savoy, after which he flattered the Swiss with a visit.

Having thus settled the affairs of the state, and having replenished his treasury by mortgaging Brandenburg to Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burggrave of Nuremberg, he resolved to become the reformer of the church, a scheme in which he had the sympathies of Europe, and for this purpose convoked a great council at Constance. The necessity of a reformation was universally felt, and was even participated in by the clergy, who desired the termination of the schism in the church, and, moreover, hoped to extend their power by means of a great council. Sigmund, fearing the party-spirit of the clergy, sought to attract the laity, and to give to the council more the appearance and authority of a general European

congress, in which the votes were regulated, not by classes but by nations, and voluntarily ceded his prerogative, now a mere delusion, as Roman emperor, and placed the Romish-German nation no longer above, but on an equality with the rest of those represented in this council. After incessant efforts, he at length succeeded in uniting all the temporal and spiritual sovereigns and princes of Europe for this purpose, without being himself qualified to take the lead in such an assembly, where his undignified conduct drew upon him, and upon the church, the well-merited contempt of his brother sovereigns.

CLXXXIV. *The Council of Constance.*

A. D. 1414, the spiritual and temporal powers of Catholic Europe held a great general congress at Constance, either in person or by their representatives. The temporal powers consisted of the emperor,* of almost all the electors, of most of the great vassals of the empire, of members of the nobility, of the ambassadors of all the catholic sovereigns, and even of those of Greece and Russia in their strange attire. Of the spiritual dignitaries, there were three patriarchs, thirty-three cardinals, forty-seven archbishops, one hundred and forty-five bishops, one hundred and twenty-four abbots, eighteen hundred priests, seven hundred and fifty doctors, and a crowd of monks. Gregory and Benedict merely sent their legates, John XXIII. alone appearing in person. The Spaniards at first absenting themselves on account of their holding with Benedict XIII., the council was merely composed of four nations; the Germans, including the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Hungarians; the Italians, French, and English, who formed two opposing parties, that of the Italians under Pope John, supported by Frederick of Austria, John

* Sigmund entered Constance on Christmas eve, and rode by torch-light to the church, where, with the imperial crown on his head, he served as deacon to the pope whilst reading mass. He showed himself more vain than efficient in the council. When, addressing the assembly, he said, "Date operam, ut illa nefanda schisma eradicetur," a cardinal remarking to him, "Domine, schisma est generis neutrius," he replied, "Ego sum rex Romanus et super grammaticam." In this council he lowered his dignity in matters of far greater importance.

of Burgundy, John, archbishop of Mayence, and Bernard, Margrave of Baden; and that of the Germans, French, and English. The French, unable to forget the subserviency of the pope to their rule, still secretly set up Avignon in opposition to Rome; the Germans and English favoured the French party for the purpose of deposing the notorious pope, John, and some among them sincerely wished for a reformation in the church; whilst all the northern nations, without exception, jealous of the preference ever given to Italians in the appointment to ecclesiastical benefices, unanimously resolved to lower their pride on the present occasion; accordingly, when the northern party, headed by the French cardinal, Peter d'Ailly, and Gerson, the celebrated chancellor of the university of Paris, actively seconded by the German clergy under the influence of the emperor, had carried the question of voting according to nations, (which deprived the majority of the Italian cardinals and bishops of their power of influencing the number of votes,) it advanced a step further, and declared that the popes were subservient to the council, and that each of the three must either voluntarily resign the tiara or be deposed. It was in vain that Rœder, a German by birth, a Parisian doctor, implored the council to take the question of the reformation first into consideration. The spiritual lords, who ruled the assembly, solely intent upon putting an end to the scandal of a papal trinity, and upon restoring the external dignity of the church, were by no means inclined to meet the demands of the people by reforming her internal abuses.

Pope John, threatened with a public trial for the crimes he had committed, dissimulated his rage, and resigned the pontifical tiara. A statement of his misdemeanors had already been made public. His attempt to bribe the emperor failing, he confederated with Frederick of Austria, who held a tournament outside of the city walls, and the pope, favoured by the crowd, fled, disguised as a groom, with a cross-bow on his shoulder, and merely accompanied by a page, to Schaffhausen, where he was speedily joined by Frederick. John now solemnly protested against his enforced abdication, and dissolved the council. The terror caused by this step, however, quickly subsided. Frederick was, in return, declared out of the bann of the empire, and Sigmund, summoning the Swiss

to his aid, bestowed the Austrian possessions upon them, on condition of their invading that territory, and thus satisfied his rancour as a Luxemburg against the house of Habsburg. The Waldstætte had made peace with Austria, and refused, but Berne, ever greedy of gain, instantly infringed the treaty and began the attack; upon which the citizens of Zurich and the Alpine peasantry, filled with envy of the promised booty, also invaded the Habsburg territory, which was speedily reduced to submission, and partitioned among the confederates. Sigmund shortly afterwards visited Zwitzerland, and received the oath of fealty from the confederation. Frederick was taken prisoner at Freiburg by the Pfalzgrave, Louis, who commanded the imperial troops. On being carried to Constance, he fell at the emperor's feet to sue for pardon; Sigmund said to him, "We regret that you have committed these offences;" and, turning to the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, observed, "You know how powerful the dukes of Austria are, see what a German king can do!" The Tyrolese attempted, when too late, to rise in favour of their duke. Frederick was compelled to resign the territory of which he had been deprived, and to pay a heavy fine. Pope John was also taken prisoner at Freiburg, and carried back to Constance, where he was publicly brought to trial before the council, and his profligacy and irreligion were fully divulged. He remained in imprisonment in the castle of Heidelberg until 1418, when he again took his place among the cardinals. Gregory XII. submitted to the council, and retained his cardinal's hat. Benedict XIII. still bade his opponents defiance from Spain.

The insolence of the popes was no sooner humbled than the council attempted to stifle the popular zeal for reform, for which the heresy, kindled by John Huss in Bohemia, offered a good opportunity. The Bohemians, an intuitively lively and intelligent people, had gained a rapid advance in civilization over the Germans, since the reign of Charles IV. The university of Prague, endowed with the most valuable privileges, had become noted for the learning of its professors. The marriage of Anna, Wenzel's sister, with Richard, king of England, rendered the Bohemians acquainted with the writings of Wickliffe, who, since 1360, had boldly ventured to attack the abuses of the church in England. John, who, al-

though a serf by birth, had raised himself by his talent to a professor's chair at Prague, and had been chosen confessor to the queen, roused by these writings, zealously preached against papal depravity in Prague. The dispute between the emperor Wenzel and the pope aided his efforts, and the Bohemian students quickly adopted his tenets, whilst those from Saxony, Bavaria, and Poland as sturdily opposed them. A violent opposition arose, and was terminated by the new constitution given to the university by the emperor Wenzel, by which the votes of the Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles, on all public acts, were combined into one, and those of the Bohemians tripled. All the foreigners, professors, and students, amounting to several thousand, instantly quitted the university and returned to their several countries, where the Saxons founded [A. D. 1408] the university at Leipsic, the Bavarians enlarged that of Ingolstadt, and the Poles that of Cracow. Huss was triumphantly proclaimed Rector of Prague.

Emboldened by success, and confident that inquiry into the abuses of the church once roused would continue to be prosecuted, Huss now denounced from the pulpit the anti-biblical dogmas promulgated as Christian doctrine, and the temporal usurpations of the church, in open defiance of the archbishop, Sbinco, who virulently persecuted him. Some Englishmen painted on the wall of an inn a picture, in which Christ was on one side represented, meek and poor, entering Jerusalem mounted on an ass; on the other, the pope, proudly mounted on horseback, glittering with purple and gold. The people came in crowds to see this picture. Sbinco revenged himself by committing all the heretical books that he could discover to the flames, upon which the students shouted in the streets, "The A B C protector burns the books he does not understand." Three students were arrested, and, notwithstanding the promise of their safety given to Huss by the town-council, were beheaded in prison. Not long afterwards, Hieronymus Faulfisch, or "of Prague," a bold friend of the reformer, seized a wretched man, who, accompanied by two dissolute females, publicly sold the papal dispensation, hung the letters of dispensation on the bare bosoms of the women, whom he drove in this plight through the streets of Prague, and finally burnt the papal bull under the gallows. The wrath of the papists at this insult became so violent, that Wenzel withdrew his pro-

tection from the reformers, and banished them from the city. Huss found an asylum with Hussinez, his feudal liege.

The preaching and writings of the freethinking Bohemian had excited such universal attention that John XXIII. cited him to Rome. Huss refused to obey, but appeared before the council, whose authority he alone recognised, and from which he apprehended no danger, Sigmund having promised him a safe-conduct, A. D. 1414. On his way to Constance, he disputed at Nuremberg, where he elicited great applause, but had scarcely reached Constance, than by a sermon he heedlessly afforded to his opponents an excuse, eagerly sought for, for seizing his person, and was imprisoned in a narrow dungeon on the banks of the Rhine, where the common sewers emptied themselves. The pestilential atmosphere speedily engendered a fever. His noble friend, von Chlum, enraged at the ill faith of the prelates and princes, vainly appealed to the safe-conduct; the repeated addresses of the estates of Bohemia to the council in behalf of their protégé, and their demands for his restoration, proved equally futile; Huss was, for greater security, carried to the castle of Gottlieben in the Thurgau, where, by command of the bishop of Constance, he was chained hand and foot to the wall of his dungeon; in this state he remained whilst the council were engaged in settling the papal and Austrian affairs, which were no sooner concluded than Huss was remanded before it., The unfortunate reformer could hardly expect lenity from an assembly that had just bidden defiance to the popes. The emperor, justly proud of standing at the head of the council independent of the pope, was at that time endeavouring to win over the Spaniards, whose king, Ferdinand of Arragon, fanatically insisted upon the condemnation of the heretics. The affair of Huss was, consequently, regarded as an interruption, and his case was hurried over. Sigmund refused the petitions of the Bohemian Estates, and excused his want of faith by saying, that he had merely promised Huss a safe-conduct until his arrival at Constance, when his promise was of no further avail, owing to his inability to protect a heretic. As Huss entered the assembly-room a solar eclipse darkened the air. Addressing the emperor, he thanked him for the safe-conduct he had granted; the blood rushed to the face of the emperor, who made no reply. Huss then attempted to defend his doctrine, but was silenced;

the articles of accusation were read aloud, and he was ordered to recant. The most irrational charges were made against him, such as that of his having maintained the existence of four gods, at which he could not suppress a smile. The cardinals and bishops laughed loudly in concert whenever passages commenting upon their criminal mode of life were read, and as often as Huss, in the midst of this scandalous uproar, rose to speak in his own defence, the tumult increased, and he was condemned unheard, on his stedfast refusal to recant, to the stake. The noble-minded Chlum said to him, "Be comforted, teacher of virtue, truth is of higher value than life!"

Independent of the false charges brought against him, Huss had, in fact, promulgated doctrines condemned as heretical by the church; as, for instance, that laymen, as well as priests, could freely participate in the Lord's supper; that a priest unworthy of his office could not dispense the sacrament; that the Holy Ghost rested upon the whole congregation, and not merely upon the priesthood; that every pious layman was fitted, without receiving ordination, to act as a spiritual teacher and guide; that the authority of the bishop of Rome did not extend over foreign nations. He had, moreover, greatly offended the temporal lords, by teaching that obedience was as little due to a wicked prince as to a wicked pope.

In the midst of the solemn council, over which the emperor, seated on his throne, presided, Huss was deprived of his priestly office, and crowned with a paper cap, an ell in height, on which three devils were painted, with this inscription, "the arch-heretic." He simply observed, "Christ wore the crown of thorns." The elector of the Pfalz headed the procession to the place of execution. Huss, when bound to the stake, on seeing a peasant zealously heaping on wood, exclaimed, "O sacred simplicity!" The pile was kindled, and the martyr's voice was heard singing a psalm until he was stifled by the flames. He is said to have prophesied on the day of his death, "To-day you will roast a goose, (the meaning of the word 'Huss,') but a hundred years hence a swan, that you will not be able to kill, will appear." He suffered on his forty-second birthday, A. D. 1415.

Hieronymus of Prague, who had also come to Constance, terrified at the fate of his friend, fled, but was retaken and

thrown into prison, where he was induced by hunger, torture, and sickness, to recant. This momentary weakness was, however, nobly expiated: "I will not recant," said he to the council, with such unexpected firmness, that the Italian, Poggio, struck with admiration, named him a second Cato; "I will not recant, for my blessed master has, with perfect justice, written against your shameful and depraved mode of life, and with truth attacked your false ordinances and your evil customs. I will not deny this belief, although you will kill me." He was condemned to the stake; the weak attempt made to save him by Caspar Schlick, Sigmund's chancellor, who advised greater lenity on account of Bohemia, was unlistened to. When the executioner was about to set fire to the pile from behind, Hieronymus ordered him to set fire to it in front, "for," said he, "had I dreaded fire, I should not have been here," A. D. 1416.

The emperor, after the execution of Huss, projected a visit to Spain for the purpose of personally persuading Benedict XIII. to submit, and, in order to meet the expense of this extraordinary journey, sold the whole of Brandenburg, together with the electorship, to Frederick of Zollern for 300,000 ducats, and, for a smaller sum, created the Truchsesses of Waldburg governors of Swabia. At Perpignan he was met by Ferdinand of Arragon, and there finally succeeded in effecting the deposition of Pope Benedict. At Chambery he raised Amadeus VIII., earl of Savoy, to the ducal dignity. At Paris, where he was sumptuously entertained as the highest potentate on earth, he vainly endeavoured to make peace between France and England, at that time engaged in bloody warfare, and, for this purpose, visited England, where he was received with distrust, the English imagining that he intended to set himself up as umpire between the sovereigns of Europe, and to assert his supremacy over England. On his arrival on the English coast, the Duke of Gloucester, advancing into the water with his sword drawn, demanded "whether he intended to exercise any sort of jurisdiction in England," and, on receiving an answer in the negative, permitted him to land. His proposals for peace were ill received and refused. William of Bavaria, count of Holland, came to London, in order to be invested with his dignity by Sigmund, who refused, and the Wittelsbacher returned to Holland, taking with

him the whole of his fleet, so that until it pleased Henry of England to furnish the emperor with the means of transport, he was in some sort retained a prisoner in London, whence the insolence of the mob, on one occasion, compelled him to flee to Canterbury, where he was detained until he had signed a treaty with England against France, upon which he never afterwards acted.

On his return to Constance, he had at least the gratification of adding the fifth vote, that of Spain, to the council; harmony, however, was thereby unrestored, and the emperor's authority had deeply fallen. A fresh and violent dispute arose in the council, one party advocating the reform of the abuses that had crept into the church, the other as eagerly evading the question, and insisting on the election of a fresh pope. Frederick von Zollern and the majority of the Germans and English strongly advocated reform, although far from agreeing in their ideas how far reform ought to extend. Peter d'Ailly placed himself at the head of the papal party, which consisted of the higher church dignitaries, the French, Italians, and Spanish, who, after some time, being joined by the English, the Germans were compelled, after making an energetic protest, to yield, Peter d'Ailly saying with his habitual and open sarcasm to the German clergy, "Ye want to reform others, although ye well know how good for nothing ye are yourselves." What expectation more futile than the correction of the abuses of power by its possessors! It was a folly of the age to expect reformation from a council.

An Italian cardinal was elected pope, [A. D. 1417,] under the name of Martin V., and scarcely felt the weight of the tiara on his brow before he concerted measures for the prevention of every degree of reform, and, by concluding separate concordats with the different nations of which the council was composed, succeeded in dissolving it, and in reinstating the papal authority. The question of reform was no longer agitated; the Germans formally renounced their connexion with the Bohemians; popular opinion was treated with contempt; the emperor was no longer energetic in the cause; the bishops and doctors alone acted; the former were won by the pope's amicable proposals, whilst the courage of the latter had been visibly cooled by the fate of Huss, and thus miserably termin-

ated the council of Constance, on which so many hopes had rested.*

CLXXXV. *Disturbances in Bohemia:—Zizka.*

POPULAR opinion had been disregarded by the council of Constance, which vainly deemed that the name of Huss had been swept from the earth when his ashes were borne away by the rapid waters of the Rhine. But his doctrines had taken deep root in Bohemia, and would undoubtedly have also spread into Germany had not the jealousy of the Germans been roused by the favour with which the emperors, Charles IV. and Wenzel, had distinguished the Bohemians, who had, moreover, often treated them with haughty insolence, and had Huss preached not in the Bohemian but in the German tongue. Germany was, perhaps, at that period, unfitted to receive his doctrines; the grossest ignorance still prevailed, and the German universities, far from spreading enlightenment among the people, were the abodes of papal superstition.

The Bohemian estates, influenced by Ulric von Rosenberg, after vainly protesting against the faithless and illegal manner in which Huss had been condemned, passed a resolution, [A. D. 1416,] authorizing every manorial lord to have the doctrines of the murdered reformer preached within his demesnes. The numerous adherents of the martyr of Constance took the name of Hussites, and the preacher, Jacob of Miesz, gave them the distinctive sign of the cup, by teaching, that as the Spirit of God rested not on the priesthood alone but also on the whole community, the people ought to partake, as in the early Christian times, of the Lord's supper, in both forms, (*sub utraque,*) not merely of the bread, but also of the wine in the chalice, until now partaken of by the priest alone. The Hussites were hence termed Utraquists or Calixtines, brethren of the cup. The people were at first pacified by the freedom of preaching granted by the Estates. The plunder of some monasteries by robber bands alone demonstrated their secret hatred of the Roman clergy.

On the conclusion of the council of Constance, Martin V.,

* The city of Constance was ruined by the council, the emperor meanly refusing to pay a farthing of his personal debts, and the murder of Huss lay like a curse upon the city, which never after flourished.

in the vain hope of crushing the heresy with spiritual weapons, hurled his fulminations against the Hussites. This was, however, merely the signal for strife. In the spring of 1419, the cardinal-legate, Dominici, having condemned a Hussite preacher, whose cup he cast to the ground, to the stake, the Hussites, now in great numbers, secretly brooded over revenge. There lived at that time in Wenzel's court an experienced officer, named John Zizka (Tschischka) von Trocznow, who had lost one of his eyes during his childhood, had long served against the German Hospitallers in Poland, and was now the chamberlain and favourite of the aged emperor. The seduction of one of his sisters, a nun, by a priest, had inspired him with the deepest hatred towards the whole of the priesthood, and he viewed the Germans with national dislike. Since the death of Huss, he had remained plunged in deep and silent dejection, and on being asked by Wenzel why he was so sad, replied, "Huss is burnt, and we have not yet avenged him!" Wenzel carelessly observing that he could do nothing but that Zizka might attempt it himself, he took the jest in earnest, and, seconded by Niclas von Hussinez, Huss's former lord and zealous partisan, roused the people. Wenzel, in great alarm, ordered the whole body of citizens to bring their arms to the royal castle of Wisherad that commanded the city of Prague, but Zizka, instead of the arms, brought the armed citizens in long files to the fortress, and said to the emperor, "My gracious and mighty sovereign, here we are, and await your commands; against what enemy are we to fight?" Wenzel, upon this, took a more cheerful countenance, and dismissed the citizens. All restraint was now at an end. Hussinez was banished the city, but, instead of obeying, assembled forty thousand men on the mountain of Hradistie in the district of Bechin, which henceforward received the biblical name of Mount Tabor, where several hundred tables were spread for the celebration of the Lord's supper, July 22, 1419. An attempt made by Wenzel to depose the Hussite city-council in the Neustadt, where the chief excitement prevailed, and to replace it by another devoted to his interests, created, at the same time, the greatest discontent throughout Prague; and on the imprisonment of two clamorous Hussites by this new council, Zizka assembled the people, marched, on the 30th of July, in procession, and bearing the cup, through

the streets, and, on arriving in front of the council-house of the Neustadt, demanded the liberation of his partisans. The council hesitated; a stone fell out of one of the windows, and the mob instantly stormed the building and flung thirteen of the councillors, Germans by birth, out of the windows. The dwelling of a priest, supposed to have been that of his sister's seducer, was, by Zizka's order, destroyed, its owner hanged, the Carthusian monks, crowned with thorns, were dragged through the streets, etc. A few days afterwards, the emperor, Wenzel, was suffocated in his palace by his own attendants, Aug. 16th, 1419. His death was the signal for a general outbreak. On the ensuing day, every monastery and church in Prague was plundered, the pictures they contained were destroyed, and the priests' robes converted into flags and dresses. It is impossible at this day to form an idea of the splendour of these buildings, and of that of the royal palaces, on which Charles IV. and Wenzel had lavished every art. Æneas Sylvius mentions a garden belonging to the royal palace destroyed during this period of terror, on whose walls the whole of the Bible was written. Whilst the work of destruction proceeded, a priest, Matthias Toczenicze, formed an altar of three tubs and a broad table-top in the streets, and, during the whole day, dispensed the sacrament in both forms. The zeal of the wealthy citizens, however, was speedily cooled by the dread of being deprived of their riches, and they entered into negotiation with Sophia, Wenzel's widow, who still defended the Wisherad, and even sent a deputation to Sigmund with terms of peace, to which Sigmund replied by swearing to take the most fearful revenge. Zizka, finding the citizens of Prague too moderate for his purposes, now invited into the city the peasants, who were advised by his most active partisan, the priest Coranda, to arm themselves with their flails. In October, they plundered the Kleine Seite of Prague and besieged the castle, whence the queen fled. Zizka being, nevertheless, forced by the moderate party to quit the city, fortified Mount Tabor and placed himself at the head of the peasantry, who took the name of "the people of God," and termed their Catholic neighbours, "Moabites, Amalekites," etc., whom they deemed it their duty to extirpate, whilst their leader entitled himself "John Zizka of the cup, captain, in the hope of God, of the Taborites."

The Bohemian Estates, anxious for the restoration of tranquillity, now had recourse to the emperor, who, on the conclusion of the council of Constance, had made terms with the Habsburgs in order to make head against the Turks, who had invaded Hungary and Styria, and whom he had successfully repulsed at Radkersburg in 1416, and at Nissa in 1419. He received the Bohemian deputation at Brünn, and had the folly, on their earnestly petitioning him to secure to them free communion, and submissively representing the great danger with which the country was threatened, and their desire, in unison with him, to restore tranquillity by means of moderate concessions, to allow them to remain for a length of time on their knees, and to refuse their proposals. Instead of joining the moderate party, the nobility and citizens, against the fanatical peasantry, he insulted them all; and, although he intended to use violence, neglected the opportune moment, in order, according to his usual policy, to secure himself to the rear, for which purpose he visited Poland, where he made terms with Wladislaw and the German Hospitallers, Jan. 6th, 1420. Symptoms of reaction, meantime, appeared on the frontiers. Hussite preachers, who ventured to cross from Bohemia, were burnt as heretics.

These acts of cruelty excited reprisals on Zizka's part, and, after swearing publicly with Coranda, at Pilsen, never to recognise Sigmund as king of Bohemia, he began to destroy all the monasteries in the country, and to burn all the priests alive, generally in barrels of pitch, in open retaliation of the burning of the heretics. He is said to have exclaimed on hearing the agonizing cries of his victims, "They are singing my sister's wedding song!" Sophia, who had garrisoned all the royal castles and assembled a strong body of troops, despatched the lord of Schwamberg against him in the hope of seizing him before he was joined by still greater multitudes. Schwamberg came up with him near Pilsen, and surrounded the multitude, great part of which consisted of women and children, on the open plain. Zizka instantly ordered the women to strew the ground with their gowns and veils, in which the horses' feet becoming entangled, numbers of their riders were thrown, and Zizka, taking advantage of the confusion, attacked and defeated them. The superior numbers of the imperial troops, however, compelled him to shut himself

in Pilsen, whence he was allowed free egress to Tabor, and he gained another advantage over an army commanded by Peter von Sternberg, by whom he was attacked on his march thither. The citizens of Prague still closed their gates against him, but admitted another body of peasantry, collected by Hinko Crussina, on the newly-named Mount Horeb, near Trzebechowicz, and thence denominated Horebites, for the purpose of storming the castle of Prague, it being their custom to make use of the peasantry in cases where negotiation failed. The attack was unsuccessful, and the citizens, after a second time vainly attempting to mollify the emperor, found themselves compelled to recall Zizka, and to confederate with him.

Sigmund assembled an army in Silesia, whither Sophia also went, whilst a body of imperial troops was slowly raised. The citizens of Breslau had joined those of Prague, thrown their ancient councillors out of the windows of the town-house, [A. D. 1420,] and permitted the priest, Krasa of Prague, to preach in their city. Sigmund condemned Krasa to the stake, and twenty-three of the new councillors to be beheaded. Inspirited by his vicinity, the Bohemian Catholics inflicted great cruelties upon the Hussites dwelling among them. At Kuttenberg, the German miners flung sixteen hundred of the Hussite inhabitants down the mines.——The Taborites, meanwhile, entered Prague, May the 20th, and rebuilt the fortifications, although the castle was still occupied by the imperial garrison. Sigmund awaited the arrival of the German troops. A convoy, sent by him to the garrison at Prague, was captured by the Hussites; Tabor, besieged by Ulrick von Rosenberg, who had gone over to the emperor, was relieved by Hussinetz. Königingratz fell into the hands of the Hussites, and Slan was burnt to the ground. Both sides treated their prisoners with equal cruelty, the Imperialists cutting a cup, the Hussites a cross, on their foreheads, etc. In June, the imperial army at length made its appearance, commanded by the electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Brandenburg, etc., one hundred thousand men strong, and joined the Silesians and Hungarians, already assembled by the emperor. On the 30th, the emperor reached Prague, and took up his abode in the castle. Zizka instantly threw up fortifications on the mountain of Witkow, since named the Zizkaberg, which commands the city, and the Imperialists found when too late that

the city was impregnable, unless this post was first gained. An attack made upon it by the Meissners failing, Sigmund made no further attempt, and, in the hope of coming to terms with the moderate party, who were greatly obnoxious to the wild peasantry, and of thus gaining a bloodless victory, solemnized his coronation, on the 28th July, in the castle of Prague, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Bohemia, and paid his Slavonian and Hungarian troops with the jewels taken from the imperial palaces and churches. The German troops remained unrewarded, and, in August, quitted Bohemia in discontent. Sigmund followed.

The emperor's hopes were speedily gratified. Strife broke out between the citizens, the nobility of Prague, and Zizka and his adherents. The Taborites ruled the city with a rod of iron, destroying not only all that remained of the former magnificence of the churches, but also prohibiting every symptom of wealth or pleasure among the laity. Rich attire, gambling, and dancing, were declared punishable by death, and the wine-cellars were closed. The peasants and their preacher harboured the fearful belief of their being the destined exterminators of sin from the earth. All church property was declared public property, and the possessions of the wealthy seemed on the point of sharing the same fate. The citizens and nobility rising in self-defence, Zizka deemed it advisable to withdraw, and to form an encampment in the open country, and accordingly, quitting the city on the 22nd of August, destroyed the celebrated monastery of Kœnigsaal, and the tombs of the Bohemian kings. Sigmund, who had impatiently awaited this event, now sought to conciliate the faction he had so lately insulted, by seizing the monasteries, and bestowing their lands on the nobility. Emboldened by Zizka's departure, he again approached Prague, but Hussinez, who coveted the Bohemian crown, and had placed himself at the head of the Horebites, who preferred his rule to that of the strict and republican Taborites, guarded the city, and, aided by Crussina, laid siege to the Wisherad. Sigmund attempted to surprise them on the 18th October, but suffered a shameful defeat and fled into Hungary. The Wisherad capitulated, and its palace and church, splendid works of art, were destroyed.

This blow put a reconciliation between the moderate party

and Sigmund out of the question, and the former once more made terms with the wild peasantry, whose leaders were at variance. The most deadly abhorrence of every existing institution had taken deep root within Zizka's breast, and he at once condemned the ancient church, royalty, and inequality of rank. A fraternity, composed of the children of God, formed his ideal of perfection, and he expected to bear down all opposition with the strokes of the iron flail. Hussinez was, on the contrary, tormented by ambition, and his late success had emboldened his pretensions to the crown. The moderate party now skilfully opposed him to Zizka, whom they hastily recalled. The city of Prachaticz, which had mocked that leader, had meanwhile been burnt, together with the whole of the inhabitants, and the bishop of Nicopolis, who by chance fell into his hands, was drowned. On his return to Prague, he joined the moderate party in the great national assembly, in order to hinder the usurpation of Hussinez; Ulric von Rosenberg was also present. The nobility, clearly perceiving that Sigmund would never be tolerated by the people, proposed to offer the crown to Wladislaw of Poland; but Zizka's republican spirit refused to do homage to any monarch, and Wladislaw was, moreover, far from aspiring to a throne entailing heavy cares and the hatred of the whole of Christendom. Hussinez, deeply wounded by these proceedings, quitted the city, fell from horseback, broke his leg, and died.

In the ensuing spring, Zizka prosecuted his war of extermination against sinners, that is, against all who refused to join his banner. Every city that ventured to resist was carried by storm and laid in ashes, its inhabitants were murdered, and the priests burnt alive. Taborite virtue also induced another species of excess. Whilst Martin Loquis taught that all the enemies of Christ were to be exterminated, that Christ would appear and found the millennium exclusively for them, some enthusiasts thought proper to anticipate that blessed season by the introduction of the innocence of paradise, by going naked like Adam and Eve, and giving way to the maddest excesses. These Adamites, however, stood in great terror of Zizka, by whom they were cruelly persecuted for the ridicule they brought upon his system.

The moderate party was no less active, and persuaded the majority of the adverse or wavering nobles, and even the Bo-

hemian ecclesiastics, to coalesce. A new and great diet was held at Czaslau, in which the nobility and clergy again declared in favour of Huss's doctrines, and completely renounced Sigmund as their king. This diet ratified four of the "articles of Prague," free preaching; the communion in both forms; the evangelical poverty of the priests and the secularization of all ecclesiastical property; the extirpation of sins. Without the last article, the Taborites could not have been gained, July 7th, 1421.

Sigmund, enraged at the defection of the moderate party, incited the Silesians to invade Bohemia, and twenty thousand men poured into that unhappy country; even women and children fell victims to their cruelty. The rumoured approach of Zizka, however, struck them with terror, and they retreated, after acceding to the articles of Prague. Shortly after this, Zizka was deprived of his remaining eye by the splinter of a tree struck by a cannon-ball, during the siege of the castle of Raby. Notwithstanding this misfortune, his knowledge of the whole of Bohemia was so accurate, that he continued to lead his army, to draw his men up in battle order, and to command the siege. He always rode in a carriage near the great standard. His war regulations were extremely severe. Although blind, he insisted upon being implicitly obeyed. On one occasion, having compelled his troops, as was often his wont, to march day and night, they murmured and said to him, "That although day and night were the same to him, as he could not see, they were not so to them:" "How! you cannot see!" said he, "well! set fire to a couple of villages." ——In September, 1421, the imperial army at length took the field, and vainly besieged Saatz, whilst Sigmund assembled reinforcements in Hungary. The army, meanwhile, became discontented at his prolonged absence, and, on the news of Zizka's approach, dispersed. In November, Sigmund entered the country at the head of a horde of eighty thousand savage Cumans and Servians, and inspired the moderate party with such terror that its chiefs threw themselves on his mercy. Zizka was surrounded and shut up near Kuttenberg, but broke his way through the enemy during the night. On new-year's day, 1422, Zizka, drawing up his army in battle-array near Kollin, awaited the onset of the foe, when the Hungarians, seized with sudden panic, fled without a stroke.

They were overtaken by their unrelenting pursuers on the 8th of January near Deutschbrod, where numbers of them were drowned whilst crossing the Sazawa, by the breaking of the ice. Deutschbrod was burnt down, and its inhabitants were put to the sword.

Bohemia remained for some years after this unharassed save by intestine disturbances. Loquis the prophet was condemned to the stake by the archbishop. One of his secret adherents, John, a Prænonstratenser monk, had, however, gradually acquired such influence in Prague as to cause a nobleman, Sadlo von Kostenberg, to be beheaded, and the moderate party, dreading his power over the people, had him secretly seized and put to death, A. D. 1422. The town-house was instantly attacked by the populace; the judge and five councillors were murdered, and John's head was borne in mournful procession through the city. The great college and the valuable library, founded by Charles IV., were destroyed. Prince Coribut, the nephew of Witold of Lithuania, aspired to the crown, placed himself at the head of the moderate party, and laid siege to the imperial castle of Carlstein; but the fickle nobles and Zizka refused to recognise him, and, on his departure from Prague, the former leagued with the citizens against Zizka, who, disgusted with their half-measures, no longer spared them, and laid their lands waste. In 1423, he discomfited the confederates at Horzicz, and gained possession of Königingratz, where, notwithstanding his blindness, he killed the priest, who bore the host in front of the enemy's ranks, with a blow of his club. His next step was the invasion of Moravia and Austria in order to keep his troops employed, and to strike Albert, Sigmund's son-in-law, with terror; he suffered great losses before Iglau and Kremsin. In the ensuing year, [A. D. 1424,] the moderate party once more took up arms against him, and pursued him to Kuttenberg, upon which he feigned a retreat, and, suddenly turning, ordered his battle-chariot to be rolled down the mountain side upon the advancing foe, and, attacking them during the confusion that ensued, captured their artillery, and, in sign of triumph, set Kuttenberg in flames. Coribut now re-visited Prague, and found the discomfited nobility more inclined in his favour, but was in his turn defeated at Kosteletz on the Elbe by Zizka, who followed up his victory by marching

directly upon Prague, which he threatened to level with the ground; but sedition broke out in his own army. Procop, Zizka's bravest associate, clearly perceiving the disastrous consequences of civil warfare, confederated with the young and highly-gifted priest, Rokizana, who had attained great consideration in Prague. Peace was unanimously demanded, and alone opposed by Zizka, who, mounting upon a cask, thus addressed his followers: "Fear internal more than external foes! It is easier for a few, when united, than for many, when disunited, to conquer! Snares are laid for you; you will be entrapped, but without my fault!" Peace was concluded, and a large monument was raised on the Spitelfeld, in commemoration of the event, with stones heaped up by the opposing parties. Zizka entered the city in solemn procession; Coribut came to meet him, embraced and called him father. Sigmund now sought to mollify the aged warrior, and entered into negotiation with him. Zizka, however, remained immovable, planned a fresh attack upon Moravia, and died en route, the 12th of October, 1424.*

CLXXXVI. *The Reign of Terror.—The Council of Basle.—End of the Hussite war.*

On the death of Zizka, the republican Hussites separated into three bodies, the Taborites under Procop Holy, the Orphans, or the orphan children of Zizka, who dwelt in their waggon camp in the open country, vowed never again to sleep beneath a roof, and elected as their leader Procop the Little, and the ancient Horebites. Coribut and Rokizana headed the imperial Hussites in Prague.

The emperor had, meanwhile, vainly implored the aid of the great vassals against them. In 1425, Procop gained a signal victory in Meissen; fifteen thousand of the Meissners strewed the field, and twenty-four nobles, who were overtaken in the pursuit, knelt in a circle round their banner and surrendered, but were mercilessly struck down with the iron

* Zizka was short and broad-shouldered, with a large, round, bald head; his forehead was deeply furrowed, and he wore long fiery-red moustaches. His tomb was destroyed by order of Ferdinand II., the Jesuitical hyæna, who raged against both the dead and living.

flails of the peasantry. Procop Holy, inspirited by this success, re-entered Moravia, where he laid siege to the castle of Kemnitz, which was valiantly defended by Agnes, the youthful daughter of Zezima von Rosenberg, who had bequeathed it to her. Unmoved by the fearful shouts of the Hussites, who enclosed the keep on every side, and by the failure of the attempt made by her uncle, Meinhart von Neuhausz, to relieve the garrison, she undauntedly persevered in the defence, and so greatly excited the admiration of the enemy, that Procop granted her free egress with all her people, and sent her in safety to her uncle, von Neuhausz.—After devastating Austria, [A. D. 1427,] whilst the Orphans and the Taborites invaded the Lausitz, and laid villages and monasteries in ashes, Procop besieged Prague, whence Rokizana had expelled a Taborite preacher, but was conciliated by the promised sacrifice of Coribut, who was seized by the populace and treated with great ignominy, notwithstanding the attempt of the nobility, in which Himko von Waldstein was killed, to liberate him; and Coribut, after solemnly renouncing the crown of Bohemia, returned to Poland. Martin V., on the failure of this plan, again preached a crusade against the Hussites, and sent Henry de Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, to stir up the Germans. Sigmund also implored the princes to ward off the increasing danger, and a large army was reassembled, to which Swabia, the Rhenish provinces, and even the Hanse towns, sent troops. But the Bohemians also reunited; the nobility laid aside their animosity, and joined Procop's army. The Saxons, at that time besieging Mies, fled on his approach, but were overtaken, and ten thousand of their number slain, July, 1427.

On new-year's day, 1428, the Hussite factions held a religious meeting at Beraun, where Procop Holy distinguished himself as a theologian. The people of Prague, desirous of a reconciliation with the church, proposed the recognition of the priesthood, as such, on condition of its reformation, which Procop and the republican party stedfastly rejected, maintaining the right of every individual to read the Mass. They also rejected the sacraments. Procop, finding unanimity impossible, and fearing fresh disturbances, wisely led his warlike followers across the frontiers, and spread the terror of the Hussite name throughout Silesia and Austria.

Sigmund, weary of the war, now offered the government of Bohemia to Procop, as he had formerly done to Zizka, on condition of the restoration of order. In the spring of 1429, the Bohemian estates again met at Prague, and openly negotiated with Sigmund, who had come as far as Presburg. All parties sighed for tranquillity, and Procop, at the head of a deputation, waited upon him, and again tendered to him the crown of Bohemia, on condition of the free exercise of their religion being conceded to the nation. The emperor hesitated. The ancient feelings of hatred, meanwhile, revived; the Taborites and Orphans decided the matter by refusing obedience to any sovereign, and the negotiation was broken off.

The weakness of the German potentates in the adjoining provinces, the egotism and listlessness of those in the more distant parts of the empire, the discouragement and voluptuous habits of the emperor, and the unwillingness of the Germans to fight in a cause they deemed unjust, had left the Hussites without an opponent, and had enabled them to execute their revenge on a systematic plan. Saxony was invaded, the cities were sacked and burnt, every inhabitant, generally speaking, was murdered. On the burning of Altenburg, the Hussites said, "That was the answer to the death of Huss," and when they bathed in torrents of German blood, exclaimed, "Here is the sauce for the goose (Huss) you roasted!" Silesia, Hungary, and Austria were invaded. A fresh negotiation opened between Sigmund and Procop at Eger, and a new intrigue of the nobility, who offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederick of Habsburg, proved equally futile.

About this time the pope, Martin V., expired. His successor, Eugenius IV., spared no means for the termination of this fearful war. On the 19th of July, A. D. 1431, a great council was convoked at Basle, and negotiations were opened with the Hussites, whilst the cardinal, Julian, preached a fresh crusade against them, and Sigmund persuaded the princes and estates of the empire at Nuremberg to use every effort in the cause. The Maid of Orleans, who had just driven the English out of France, and who was revered as a saint throughout Europe, also sent an admonitory epistle, written in the spirit of popery, to the Hussites, who replied to the friendly propositions of the pope and of the princes, "You well know what separates us from you, you preach the gospel

with your mouths, we practise it in our actions;" and when threatened, thus admonished the nations gathered against them, "If you submit to the deceitful priests, know that we submit to God alone, and fight with his arm; the power of the flesh will be on your side, on ours that of the Spirit of God!"

The imperial army, one hundred and thirty thousand men strong, paid with the common penny, which, in 1428, was fixed by the diet at Nuremberg as the first general tax throughout the empire, commanded by Frederick of Brandenburg, entered Bohemia, burnt two hundred villages, and committed the most horrid excesses. The Hussites came up with it near Tauss, the 14th of August, 1431, but scarcely was their banner seen in the distance than the Germans, notwithstanding their enormous numerical superiority, were seized with sudden panic; the Bavarians, under their duke, Henry, took to flight, and were followed by all the rest. Frederick of Brandenburg and his troops took refuge in a wood. The cardinal alone stood his ground, and, for a moment, succeeded in rallying the fugitives, who at the first onset of the enemy again fled, and, in their terror, allowed themselves to be unresistingly slaughtered. One hundred and fifty cannons were taken. The free knights of the empire, filled with shame at this cowardly discomfiture, vowed to restore the honour of the empire, and to march against the Hussites, on condition of no prince being permitted to join their ranks. The nobility cast all the blame on the cowardly or egotistical policy pursued by the princes; the flight, however, chiefly arose from the disinclination of the common soldiers to serve against the Hussites, whose cause was deemed by them both glorious and just.

These dreadful disasters drew a declaration from Sigmund that the Bohemians could only subdue themselves, that peace must be concluded with them at any price, and that in time they would destroy each other. In consequence of these deliberations he assumed a supplicating attitude, and hypocritically assured them in writing of his good will and of his present inclination to come to terms; to which they replied, that his real intention was to lead them from the truth. He then committed to the council of Basle the task of carrying on the negotiations, and withdrew.

The council, led by the spiritual and temporal lords, who

were fully aware of the importance of the cause at stake, shared his opinion, and were, consequently, far more inclined to make concessions than was the pope, who refused to yield to any terms, preferring to throw the onus of the peace on others. The council therefore acted without reference to the pontiff, who in the mean time amused himself with solemnizing a farcical coronation of the emperor at Rome. The emperor remained, during the sitting of the council in Italy, engaged with love affairs, although already sixty-three years of age. After openly procrastinating the ceremony, the pope at length gave full vent to his displeasure, [A. D. 1433,] by causing the crown to be placed awry on Sigmund's head by another ecclesiastic, and then pushing it straight with his foot as the emperor knelt before him.

Whilst these ridiculous scenes were enacting in Italy, negotiations were actively carried on at Basle. The cardinal, Julian, well versed in Bohemian politics, led the council, in which Frederick of Brandenburg exerted his influence in favour of the Hussites. The Bohemians were invited to Basle with every mark of respect, and all their proud conditions were ceded. They were granted a safe-conduct, the free exercise of their religion on their way to and even in the council, no terms of ridicule or reproach were to be permitted, all deliberations were to be suspended until their arrival, and the pope was to be treated as subordinate to the council. These concessions appear to have been intended to flatter the pride of Procop and of the republicans in order to induce them to negotiate terms of peace. Rokizana appears to have entered into the projects of the council, and, possibly, owing to a belief that the favourable moment had arrived for securing religious freedom to Bohemia by an honourable peace, for he certainly knew that that country began to sigh for peace, and that the moderate party had secretly gained strength. Procop was secured by being placed at the head of the embassy to Basle, and the republican brethren were wearied and dispersed by being sent upon fresh predatory incursions; a number of the Orphans were even sent into Poland to aid the Poles against the German Hospitallers, in return for which the Poles zealously upheld the Hussite cause at Basle.

On the 9th of January, 1433, three hundred Hungarians, mounted on horseback and accompanied by an immense mul-

titude, entered Basle. Procop Holy, distinguished by his hawk nose, his dark and ominous-looking countenance, accompanied by John Rokizana, the head of the Bohemian clergy; Nicolas Peldrzimowski, surnamed Biscupek, the little bishop, the head of the Taborite preachers; Ulric, the head of the Orphan preachers; and Peter Peyne, surnamed the Englishman, headed the procession, and were graciously received by the council, which patiently listened to their rough truths. Procop, being reproached with having said that the monks were an invention of the devil, replied, "Whose else can they be? for they were instituted neither by Moses, nor by the prophets, nor by Christ." The dispute was carried on for fifty days with the unbending spirit common to theologians; neither side yielded, and the Bohemians, weary of the futile debate, turned their steps homewards. A solemn embassy was instantly sent after them, and the terms of the Hussites were conceded, but with reservations, which, it was trusted, would eventually undermine their cause. By this compact, the four articles of Prague were modified as follows: 1st, That the communion should be tolerated under both, but also under one form; 2nd, That preaching was certainly free, but that regular priests were only to exercise that office; 3rd, That the clergy, although forbidden to possess lands, might administer property; 4th, And that sins were to be extirpated, but only by those possessing legal authority. On the acceptance of these articles by the Hussites, the council hypocritically styled them the "first children of the church," such gross deceit did the fear inspired by these wild upholders of religious freedom prompt.

The proclamation of peace, and on such honourable terms, after such long and terrible commotions, exercised a magic influence on the crowd, and, added to the ill success and predatory incursions of the republican Hussites during Procop's absence, raised a general feeling against them; and Procop, on his return from Basle, found the other Hussite leaders either suspicious of his conduct or rebellious against his authority. Dissensions broke out in the camp, and, during a wild carouse, the plates were hurled at Procop's head. He returned moodily to Prague, but afterwards yielded to the supplications of his soldiers, and returned to the camp before Pilsen. The moderate party in Prague under Rokizana, and

the nobility under Meinhart von Neuhauss, now boldly attempted to gain the upper hand. Procop the Little was driven from the Neustadt, after losing fifteen thousand men, and fled to the camp before Pilsen; Procop Holy instantly raised the siege and marched upon Prague. Neuhauss advanced to his rencontre, and a decisive battle was fought at Lippan, four miles from Prague, May 28th, 1434. The two Procops fell, fighting side by side. Neuhauss, unmindful of Procop's generosity towards his niece, Agnes, caused all the prisoners, to whom he had promised safety, to be locked into barns and burnt to death, two days after the battle. The fugitives rallied at Comnicze, and were again defeated.

The nobility now placed themselves at the head of affairs, supported by Rokizana, who thoughtlessly sacrificed political freedom in order, as he imagined, to confirm that of religion. Caspar Schlick, Sigmund's crafty chancellor, managed the rest, and, by means of these two a treaty was concluded, [A. D. 1435,] which bestowed the Bohemian crown upon Sigmund, freed Bohemia from the papal interdict, ratified the compact entered into by the Hussites and the council of Basle, nominated John Rokizana archbishop of Prague, and declared the Catholic religion subordinate to that of Huss, by compelling Sigmund to have Hussite preachers in his court. The emperor, with his wonted hypocrisy, accepted the conditions, but had scarcely entered Prague [A. D. 1436] with a large concourse of followers, than he threw off the mask, reinstated the Catholic religion, and ungratefully deposed and banished John Rokizana, to whom he owed the crown. The fanatics, notwithstanding their weak number, again flew to arms, and, after a desperate struggle, were completely annihilated. The last of the Taborites, Pardo von Czorka, was hunted down like a wild beast, found under a rock, and hanged.

The nobility, freed from their fanatical opponents, turned their attention homewards, and resolved to curb the violence of the emperor and to secure the maintenance of peace by a system of moderation. Sigmund was old, and his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg, pursued an uncompromising policy. They therefore conspired with Rokizana and the empress, Barbara, to proclaim Wladislaw of Poland successor to the throne. Sigmund, on learning their intentions, perceived the false step he had taken, again made concessions, and, sud-

denly entering Moravia, seized the person of the faithless empress. He shortly afterwards expired at Znaim, sitting in state "as lord of the world," as he vaingloriously boasted, A. D. 1437. Albert, aided by the subtlety of Caspar Schlick, secured the succession, on condition of protecting the religious freedom of the Utraquists.

CLXXXVII. *Disturbances in the Hanse Towns.—Albert the Second.—Frustration of the Reformation.*

GERMANY, occupied with her own internal affairs, took little interest in those of Bohemia. The princes and cities were every where at feud. In Lübeck, the metropolis of the Hansa, dissensions broke out between the artisans and the merchants, and spread to Hamburg, Stade, Rostock, and Stettin. The pirates and Friscians regained courage and recommenced their depredations. In 1418, the people of Bremen captured two Friscians, Gerold Lübben, and his brother Didde, and condemned them to execution. Gerold kissed the fallen head of his brother. The citizens, touched at the scene, offered him his life on condition of his marrying one of the citizens' daughters, to which he replied, "I am a noble Friscian, and despise your shoemakers' and furriers' daughters." His head was struck off.

The defeat of the Hanseatic fleet in the Sound by the Danes, [A. D. 1427,] was a signal for fresh disturbances, the artisans laying the blame on the petty jealousy of the rich merchants. The town-councillors were murdered in almost all the cities, and the people, maddened with revenge, attacked the Danish king, Eric, whom they signally defeated. Had the Hansa leagued with the numerous and powerful cities of Upper and Lower Germany, the power of the princes, at that time weakened by dissension, must inevitably have sunk. Sigmund, although well aware of this, supported Denmark against the Hansa, instead of aiding the cities, which, misled by petty commercial jealousies, were ever engaged with internal dissensions, instead of acting in concert.

Elisabeth, the daughter of Sigmund, brought in dower to her husband, Albert of Austria, the whole of the Luxemburg inheritance, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Lausitz, and

Hungary. The wealth and great possessions of the house of Habsburg had ever been chiefly acquired by marriage, hence the proverb, "Tu felix Austria nube!"——Albert was elected as Sigmund's successor on the throne of Germany. He was extremely dignified in his demeanour, tall and stout, grave and reserved. At the diet held at Nuremberg, [A. D. 1438,] he divided the provinces, with the exception of the imperial and electoral hereditary possessions, into four circles, Franconian-Bavaria, Rhenish-Swabia, Westphalian-Netherlands, and Saxony, whose representatives swore to maintain peace.

Albert found, meanwhile, no adherents in his newly-acquired territory. Fresh dissensions broke out in Bohemia. Albert did not disguise his Catholic fanaticism. In 1420, one hundred and ten heretics were burnt in Vienna alone, and thirteen hundred Jews in Austria, for having aided the Hussites. The efforts made by Caspar Schlick, Albert's negotiator, to pacify the Bohemians, were almost contravened by this false policy. The Utraquists elected Wladislaw of Poland king, and intrenched themselves under Ptaczek von Rattay on Mount Tabor, where they were besieged by Albert, who was compelled to raise the siege by George von Podiebrad. The Poles also making an inroad into Silesia, Albert hastened to make terms with Wladislaw, and, for that purpose, held a conference with him at Breslau, where he fell down some steps and broke his leg. Affairs also wore a serious aspect in Hungary. Shortly after the death of Sigmund, every German in Ofen was murdered by the Hungarians. The danger with which they were threatened by the Turks, however, rendered a union with the now powerful house of Habsburg necessary. As early as 1431, the Turks had recrossed the Kulpa and invaded Croatia. The irruption of the Turks under Sultan Murad caused still greater devastation; the Hungarians were defeated near Semendria, and such a vast number of people were reduced to slavery, that a pretty girl was sold for a boot. Albert marched into Hungary, [A. D. 1438,] but his troops fled the moment the Turks came in sight. This emperor died [A. D. 1439] of eating melons.

The empress, Elisabeth, gave birth to a posthumous son, Ladislaw, who was placed under the guardianship of his cousin of Habsburg, Frederick of Styria, the son of Earnest and Cimburga, of whom little was known beyond his having made

a quiet pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and his having carried on a feud with the insolent count of Cilly, nor was it until he had been raised to the throne as the head of the most powerful family in the empire, that his incapacity was fully discovered. His influence was null, even in Austria, that country swarming with robbers.

Frederick III. considered eleven weeks before accepting the crown. He was a slow, grave man, with a large protruding under-lip, moderate and sedate on every occasion, averse to great actions of every description, and a stranger to the passions of the human heart; he delighted in scientific follies, such as dabbling in astrology and alchymy, in cultivating his garden, and in playing upon words. This emperor, nevertheless, reigned for fifty-three years over Germany during a period fraught with fate. Like his two predecessors, he was certainly aided by Caspar Schlick, a doctor who rose from among the ranks of the citizens to be chancellor of the empire; but this man, whose desert lies far beneath his fame, never performed one great deed, never understood the spirit of his times nor the duty of the crown, but solely occupied himself with decently veiling the incapacity of his three successive masters, and with deferring by his plausible negotiations the decision of the great questions that agitated the age.

Germany, during the long and almost undisturbed peace, indubitably gained time for the development of internal improvement in respect to her social welfare, art, and industry, and even for the partial regulation of the empire by the federative system, by the union of the lesser and greater estates of the empire in the circles, that of the ecclesiastical orders with those of knighthood and of the citizens in the provincial diets, by the government of the electorates and duchies, by the new method of judicature, and finally, by the corporative system in the cities; it is, nevertheless, impossible to speak in terms of admiration of an age, during which so many unnatural circumstances became second nature to the German, and during which the empire was transformed into a helpless and often a motionless machine, incapable of improvement save by destruction. So long as the estates of the empire held an undecided position in respect to each other, so long as it still appeared possible for this enormous mass of spiritual and temporal, great, less, and petty members of the empire, to con-

glomerate, so as finally to form one mass, or, at all events, to confederate, according to their original nationalities, in less compact masses, the wildest of the feudal times was not without a ray of hope, but, when the members of the state, great and petty, petrified as they stood, in varied disorder, the disease under which the empire laboured turned from acute to chronic, a passing evil was transformed into a stationary, apparently natural one, and the holy empire, like the incurable paralytic, had merely dissolution left to hope for.

The council at Basle still sat. On the settlement of the Bohemian question, that for the introduction of the long-sighed for reform in the other parts of the empire, and for the abolition of the most glaring of the church abuses, was agitated. The example of the Hussites had rendered the assembled heads of the church sensible of the necessity of measures being taken for the prevention of a more general outbreak. The open immorality of the priests (the chief charge made against them by the Hussites, who had undertaken to extirpate the sins protected by the church) was, consequently, restrained, besides the desecration of churches by revels, fairs, and licentious festivals, and the most notorious of the papal methods of extracting money, such as annates, etc. These resolutions were adopted by the council in 1435, and ratified by the imperial diet held at Mayence, A. D. 1439. Eugenius IV. openly opposed them, and was, in consequence, deposed by the council, and Amadeus, earl of Savoy, was elected in his stead, as Felix V.* An able sovereign at this period, by taking advantage of the favourable disposition of the council, might have produced a bloodless reformation in the church, but the imperial crown was on a slumberer's brow, Roman wiles were again triumphant, and the horrors of the Hussite war seemed scarcely to have left a trace.

The emperor, during his first diet held at Frankfurt on the Maine, solemnly placed the poet's wreath with his own hand on the brow of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the private secretary of the council, a witty Tuscan, whose poems had brought him into note. He was a friend of Caspar Schlick. When commissioned by the council to act as their negotiator with

* A dreadful pestilence raged at that time in Basle, and carried off five thousand persons. The celebrated picture of the Dance of Death, afterwards renewed by Holbein, was painted in memory of this calamity.

Frederick III., he quitted their service in order to become his private secretary and biographer, and being sent by him to Rome for the purpose of inducing Eugenius IV. to submit to the council of Basle, abandoned his imperial master, became private secretary to the pope, entered the church, and ever afterwards exerted his talents in defence of the tiara against both the council and the emperor, and endeavoured to win the latter, who was extremely bigoted, over to the papal cause. In this plan he was aided by Caspar Schlick, and the consequent union between the pope and the emperor speedily disarmed the council, whose zeal in the cause of reform, never very sincere, had gradually become more lukewarm. The defection of the once energetic cardinal, Julian, was followed by that of almost all the rest, with the exception of the temporal princes of Germany, who still insisted upon the maintenance of the former resolutions passed by the council and accepted by the imperial diet at Mayence, and earnestly pointed out the danger of fresh disturbances on the part of the people in case the old abuses were again tolerated. The archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who sided with them, being arbitrarily deprived of their mitres by Eugenius, [A. D. 1445,] the electors convoked a fresh assembly at Frankfurt on the Maine, [A. D. 1446,] and despatched George von Heimburg at the head of an embassy to Rome, where he boldly addressed the pope in terms inspired by his sense of the insults offered to the dignity of the empire, and the injuries inflicted upon her by the hypocritical Roman. Æneas Sylvius, who had preceded him to Rome, however, found means to pacify the pope, and craftily counselled him to dissemble his wrath and to amuse the infuriated Germans, whilst he worked upon the council by means of the apostate Nicolas of Cusa. Terms had already been made with the emperor, and nothing more was wanting for the success of their plans than to instigate the people against the princes. The jealousy of the citizens of Frankfurt was aroused, and they formally declared themselves subservient to the emperor alone. Æneas Sylvius finally succeeded in bribing John von Lisura, the chief counsellor of the electors of Mayence, one of the principal founders of the federation, (*fœderis auctor et defensor,*) the counsellors of Brandenburg, the archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg, etc. The false

step taken by the remaining electors of Cologne, Treves, Pfalz, and Saxony, who sought the support of France, and to conclude a treaty with that power at Bourges, [A. D. 1447,] naturally rendered the originally just and national cause of the electoral assembly extremely unpopular, and placed the victory in the hands of the papal party. The four electors were compelled to submit, and declared their determination to maintain the resolutions ratified at Mayence with the reservation of an indemnity to the pope. Eugenius expired at this conjuncture, and Felix was compelled to abdicate. His successor, Nicolas V., emboldened by these precedents, concluded a separate Concordat, that of Vienna, with the emperor, [A. D. 1448,] to which the princes gave their assent, not publicly in the diet, but singly as they were gradually won over, and by which every resolution of the council of Basle, relating to the restriction of papal abuses, was simply retracted.

Thus by an impious diplomacy were the people deceived, and thus was the warning voice of history, the great lesson taught by the Hussite war, despised. But, at the moment when the hopes of the people for a reformation in the church by its heads fell, a new power rose from among themselves, John Guttenberg discovered the art of printing.

PART XV.

THE AGE OF MAXIMILIAN.

CLXXXVIII. *The Swiss wars.—The Armagnacs.—George von Podiebrad.*

DURING the century that elapsed from the first unsuccessful attempt of the Bohemian reformers to the great and signal triumph of those of Saxony, history merely presents a succession of petty and isolated facts. The emperor slumbered on his throne; the princes and cities were solely occupied in pro-

moting their individual interests, and popular outbreaks had become rare, the people finding a vent for their fanatical rage in combating the French and Turks. The insolence of the pope, now totally unopposed, overstepped all bounds, and the hierarchy, far from gaining wisdom or learning caution from the past, fondly deemed their strength invincible, and shamelessly pursued their former course the moment the storm had passed away.

War was carried on with various success, between the free cantons of Switzerland, the French and Italians, from 1402 to 1428. The peasants in the Rhætian Alps also asserted their independence at this period, and [A. D. 1396] formed a confederacy against the nobility and clergy at Truns; this confederacy, denominated the *grau* or grey *Bund*, from the grey frocks worn by the peasants, gave name to the whole country of the Grisons, or *Graubündten*. This was followed by the war between Schwytz and Zurich, occasioned by the refusal of the latter to join the confederation and the maintenance of its claims on the country of Toggenburg. The emperor, Frederick III., in the hope of regaining the Habsburg possessions, invited [A. D. 1439] a body of French mercenaries, the Armagnacs, so named from their leader, to invade Switzerland. The pope, who thought this a good opportunity for dispersing the council at Basle, also countenanced the scheme, but, instead of four thousand mercenaries, an army of thirty thousand men, headed by Louis, the French Dauphin, crossed the German frontier, for the purpose, not of aiding, but of conquering Germany. Shortly before this, Charles VII. of France had mulcted the city of Metz without any resistance being offered on the part of the emperor. The Armagnacs, the majority of whom consisted of the dregs of the populace, of escaped and branded criminals, met with a friendly reception from the nobility of the upper country, who even condescended to gamble and carouse with them on an equal footing, but they no sooner approached Basle than the confederated peasantry, at that time besieging Zurich, despatched fifteen thousand men to Basle, where the citizens manfully protected their walls. An unexpected rencontre taking place on the Birs between this small troop and the whole of the French army, a dreadful struggle ensued; the Swiss were overpowered, and the remnant, five hundred in number, taking refuge

in the hospital of St. Jacop, withstood the siege for a whole day. Six thousand of the French were slain. The Swiss were at length cut to pieces by the Austrian cavalry; ninety-nine were suffocated in the hospital, which had been set on fire by the besiegers; one only of the fifteen thousand, Æbli of Glarus, escaped death. On recovering from his wounds, he was chosen Landamman by his fellow-countrymen. Sixteen Swiss, who had escaped by flight, were branded and banished. The red wine produced from the vineyards on the Birs has since borne the name of *Schweizerblut*, Swiss blood. The Dauphin, dispirited by his dearly-won victory, hastily retreated on learning the advance of the main body of the confederated army, and retraced his steps down the Rhine, pillaging and burning on his route. One hundred and ten villages were reduced to ashes, and several thousands of the peasantry inhumanly butchered. The emperor's ambassadors were contemptuously dismissed. The citizens of Strassburg sallied forth, defeated the Armagnacs, and regained the banner taken from the Swiss at St. Jacob. The Rhenish princes were, nevertheless, so imbittered against the cities as even to prohibit their serfs to furnish the citizens with the necessary provisions, and to allow the enemy, unopposed, to lay the country waste. In the Weilerthal, five hundred peasants rolled great stones upon the heads of the foe as they wound through the pass. Metz was besieged by the Armagnacs, who were at length induced by a bribe to recross the frontiers.

The Austrians again attempted to aid Zurich, but being defeated at Ragaz, Zurich concluded peace, and renounced her alliance with the emperor, A. D. 1446. Toggenburg passed by inheritance into the family of Raron, by whom it was sold [A. D. 1469] to St. Gall. The confederates destroyed several castles belonging to the Austrian nobility, particularly Falkenstein, and [A. D. 1471] the three confederated cantons entered into a treaty of mutual defence with the Grisons.

In Hungary, the new-born prince, Ladislaw, had been crowned king by the German faction. His mother, Elisabeth, according to Æneas Sylvius, had fostered a wish to wed Wladislaw of Poland for the greater safety of her son. She is said to have been poisoned at the emperor's instigation, A. D. 1442. The Hungarians, ever harassed by the Turks, shortly afterwards elected Wladislaw king. This monarch

was killed during the same year, [A. D. 1444,] at Varna, where his army was defeated by the overwhelming forces of the Turks, who afterwards turned towards Austria, where they contented themselves with pillaging and devastating the country, and carrying off the inhabitants. Frederick III., peaceably occupied with his garden, left them unopposed, nor once dreamt of seconding the efforts of the noble John Hunyadi, who, unaided, made head with the Hungarians against the barbarian invader.

In Bohemia, Ladislaw was universally recognised king, but the estates, between whom a reconciliation had taken place in a great diet held at Prague, A. D. 1440, governed in his stead. The chiefs of the two factions, Meinhard von Neuhauss and Ptaczek, divided the government. The Utraquists, however, gradually regained the upper hand; Rokizana was reinstated in the see of Prague, and George von Podiebrad, a descendant of the German house of Bernegg and Nidda, which had migrated to Bohemia, ruled in the field. On the death of Ptaczek, he placed himself at the head of the free-thinkers, and, on the refusal of the Pope to recognise the articles of Prague, and the theft of the original documents by Cardinal Carvajel, suppressed the rising power of the Catholic faction, took Prague by surprise, threw Meinhard von Neuhauss into prison, where he expired, [A. D. 1448,] and seized the sole government. The example of Hunyadi and George found an imitator in Austria, in one Eitzinger, a Bavarian by birth, who ruled in that province at the head of the estates.

The emperor, incapable of wielding the sceptre, and jealous of his youthful competitor, Ladislaw, kept him under strict surveillance, and, in the hope of transmitting the crown to a descendant of his own, wedded Eleonora of Portugal, a princess of great beauty and wit. The bridal pair met at Siena, were crowned at Rome, and celebrated their wedding at Naples, where the fountains were made to flow with wine, and thirty thousand guests were feasted, A. D. 1452. The successful attempt of the Tyrolean estates to release their duke, Sigmund, then a minor, from the hands of Frederick, inspired Eitzinger, and the Count von Cilly, with a similar design in favour of Ladislaw, and Frederick no sooner reached Neustadt, his usual place of residence, than he was compelled to deliver him into their hands. Ladislaw was instantly proclaimed king of Hun-

gary and Bohemia, where he was received with the greatest manifestations of delight, but, misled by the Count Ulric von Cilly, he speedily acquired a disinclination for grave affairs, and having the folly to act as a zealous upholder of Catholicism in Bohemia, where he publicly treated the Utraquist faction, and their archbishop, Rokizana, with contempt, he quickly lost the confidence of the people, who once more turned to their ancient favourite, George von Podiebrad. This leader had, meanwhile, defeated the sons of Meinhard von Neuhaüss with their allies of Meissner, and had carried his victorious arms into the heart of Saxony. Disturbances also took place in Silesia, where the petty princes of the race of Piast refused to do homage to Ladislaw and besieged the city of Liegnitz, which was, in reward for its fidelity, chartered by Ladislaw, A. D. 1453. Austria also became a scene of intrigue. Ulric von Cilly was deprived of his power by Eitzinger, whom he had treated with great ingratitude, and by the Austrian estates. Ladislaw was compelled to part with his favourite, who was driven by the mob out of Vienna, but shortly afterwards found means to regain his former station, and Eitzinger was exiled.

Hungary was equally misgoverned. The people, however, possessed in John Hunyadi a powerful leader, equal to the exigencies of the times. In 1453, the capture of Constantinople and the consequent destruction of the Grecian empire by the sultan, Mohammed III., struck Christendom with terror. Nicolas V., Æneas Sylvius, and their chief tool, an Italian monk, John Capistrano, general of the Capuchins, preached a crusade, and attempted to rouse the fanaticism of the people against the Turks, Capistrano travelling for that purpose through the greater part of Germany; but his eloquence, although it influenced the bigotry, failed to rouse the military ardour of the people. In Silesia, where he preached with great vehemence against the Jews, every individual belonging to that hapless race was burnt alive. The princes, instead of joining the crusade at his summons, contented themselves with praying and ringing the Turkish bells, as they were called. A force of 3000 peasants, armed with flails and pitchforks, whom he inspired with extraordinary enthusiasm, was all he succeeded in mustering in Germany, and with this he saved Belgrade, already given up as lost by

Hunyadi, as if by miracle; the Turks were repulsed from the walls, their entrenchments carried, twenty-four thousand of them slain, their camp and three hundred cannon taken, and the sultan was wounded. Capistrano, in the one hand a stick, in the other a crucifix, was seen in the thickest of the fight, A. D. 1455. Hunyadi expired, and was shortly afterwards followed by Capistrano. Ladislaw and Matthias Corvinus, Hunyadi's two sons, now became the objects of their sovereign's jealousy. A letter sent by Ulric von Cilly to the despot of Servia, in which he promised to send him ere long two balls to play with, (the heads of the youthful Hunyadi,) becoming known to them, Ladislaw Hunyadi slew Ulric, and was in revenge beheaded by the king; Matthias, who lay in prison in expectation of a similar fate, was liberated by the death of the king, Ladislaw, who fell a victim to excess at the age of eighteen, and was placed by the Hungarians on the throne, [A. D. 1457,] the emperor displaying his usual indifference on the occasion.

The Bohemians now raised their favourite, George von Podiebrad, to the throne, and an alliance was formed between him and Matthias of Hungary, to whom he gave his daughter Caterina in marriage. The loss of both these kingdoms was peaceably submitted to by the emperor, to whom Matthias had presented 60,000 ducats, whilst George aided him against his brother, Albert the Squanderer. The Austrian nobility treated the emperor with insolence, and Albert intrigued against him. An electoral assembly was even held at Eger, [A. D. 1461,] for the purpose of raising George von Podiebrad to the imperial throne, but the confusion consequent on the war in the Pfalz caused the matter to drop. Vienna, meanwhile, revolted against the emperor; the town-council was thrown out of the windows of the town-house; Wolfgang Holzer, the former instigator of the tumult against Ulric von Cilly, again took the lead, and the emperor degraded himself so far as to flatter the rebellious citizen in order to be permitted to enter his castle. The empress Eleonora, revolted by this conduct, said to her little son, Max, "Could I believe you capable of demeaning yourself like your father, I should lament your being destined to the throne." Some knights firing from the castle upon the citizens, the emperor was, at the instigation of Albert, formally besieged. George von

Podiebrad, however, took the part of the unfortunate emperor, and raised the siege. His son, Victorin, was, in return for this service, created duke of Münsterberg. Peace was concluded, and the emperor consented to cede Vienna to his brother Albert, who, forgetful of the services of the citizens, ruled them with a rod of iron, and condemned Holzer, who now favoured the emperor, to the wheel. Albert died, [A. D. 1463,] leaving Austria in a state of great confusion, and frequented by robbers. Matthias of Hungary, whom the emperor called to his aid against them, caused two hundred and eighty to be hanged, and five hundred (three hundred of whom were women) to be drowned in the Danube; notwithstanding which, the empress was robbed whilst taking the waters at Baden, by the knights von Stein and Puchheim.

George defended the Lausitz against the claims of Saxony, and sought to maintain the alliance anciently subsisting between Silesia and Bohemia. The German citizens of Breslau, whom he had unintentionally offended, alone viewed him with implacable hatred, and defended their town against the whole of his forces, A. D. 1459. The pope, Pius II., who still favoured George, sent his legate, Hieronymus of Crete, to negotiate terms of peace, but the citizens refused to yield. The pope, who had meanwhile succeeded in winning over Matthias of Hungary, and in separating him from George, now threw off the mask, revoked the articles of Prague, and placed George under an interdict. This act of treachery remained at first without result, Matthias being still too powerless to attack Bohemia. Pius expired, A. D. 1465. His successor, Paul II., carried his zeal against the Bohemian heretics to a more violent degree, caused George's ambassadors to be driven with rods out of Rome, and despatched another legate, Rudolf, bishop of Lavant, to Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia, for the purpose of preaching a crusade against the heretical king; and a murderous war consequently sprang up on the frontiers of Bohemia between the Catholics and the Hussites, each party branded their prisoners with the cup or the cross. George was, nevertheless, victorious in every quarter, [A. D. 1467,] but, being ungratefully abandoned by the emperor, his son-in-law, Matthias, attacked him, and caused himself to be proclaimed king in Bohemia by the Catholic faction and by the Silesians. George, however, watched him in the

forests of Wylemow, where he caused the trees, within an enormous circle, to be half sawn through, and the moment Matthias entered the circle, to be suddenly thrown down, and shut him up so closely that he agreed to make peace, and to pay the expenses of the war. Matthias no sooner found himself in safety than he infringed the peace, sent George a chest full of sand instead of the promised gold, every oath taken to a heretic being pronounced disobligatory by the pope, and collected his forces for a fresh attack, A. D. 1468. George fell sick; excommunicated, surrounded by innumerable foes, and plainly foreseeing that the Bohemian crown could not remain in his family, he entreated the Bohemians to place Wladislaw of Poland, their ablest defender, on the throne. The news of the capture of his son, Victorin, by the Hungarians, reached him shortly before his death, A. D. 1471.

Wladislaw became king of Bohemia, and, in order to conciliate the pope, persecuting the Utraquists, a revolt took place; the citizens of Prague threw their burgomaster out of the window, and deprived several of the town-councillors of their heads. Their most furious attacks were directed against the monks and priests. Tranquillity was at length restored by the sons of the late king, Victorin and Henry, who had regained their liberty; and Wladislaw consented to treat the Utraquists with less rigour, A. D. 1483.

CLXXXIX. *Fritz the Bad.—The German Hospitallers.—The Burgundian wars.—Mary of Burgundy.*

FREDERICK, the Rhenish Pfalzgrave, surnamed by his enemies Fritz the Bad, was a man of an impetuous, decisive character, and sided with the Upper Germans against the emperor and the pope. In 1461, he and George von Heimburg were actively engaged in forwarding the election of George von Podiebrad by the electoral assembly convoked at Eger, which being violently opposed by the pope and the emperor, the war in the Pfalz broke out. Fritz the Bad built a tower at Heidleberg, named by him *Trutz-Kaiser*, in defiance of the emperor. Mayence fell into the hands of the imperialists, and was deprived of her charter, Adolf of Nassau saying to the citizens, as he pointed to a large stone in the market-

place, "Your privileges shall not be restored until this stone shall melt." Ulric of Wurtemberg and Charles of Baden, the emperor's confederates, committed the most terrible depredations in the Pfalz, tying large branches of trees to their horses' tails in order the more effectually to destroy the corn through which they rode. Fritz, seconded by the enraged peasantry, was victorious at Seckenheim, where Ulric, George, bishop of Metz, and Charles fell into his hands, [A. D. 1462,] and Albert Achilles being afterwards defeated by Fritz's ally, Louis of Bavaria, who, on this occasion, took the imperial banner, peace was concluded between the contending parties. Fritz sumptuously entertained the captive princes, but left them unfurnished with bread, saying, on their complaining of this treatment, that they had destroyed all the corn on the ground with their own hands. On their refusal to pay the ransom demanded, he put them, lightly dressed, into an icy-cold room with their feet in the stocks. Ulric and Charles cost their estates 100,000 florins each, whilst the bishop was merely valued at 45,000.

Fritz the Bad rendered himself still further remarkable by his marriage, notwithstanding the prejudices of birth, with Clara Dettin, the daughter of a citizen of Augsburg, renowned for her extraordinary beauty and vocal powers. Their children, compelled to cede the Pfalz to Bavaria, took the title of Lœwenstein, and founded the present princely house of that name.

At the diet held at Ulm, 1466, the pope attempted to persuade the princes to make head against the Turks, now at the summit of their power. War, more especially when foreign, was at this period carried on by means of mercenaries. These mercenaries were, however, well paid, and on the present occasion each estate sought to lay the expense on the other, the princes demanding that the greater part of the necessary supplies should be furnished by the cities, which on their part refused not so much from avarice as from hatred of the princes. The nobility, merely intent upon emancipating themselves, constituted a counts' union as an intermediate power between the princes and the cities, which, in 1512, occupied a separate bench in the diet. A promise of 20,000 mercenaries was all the pope could obtain.

In the ensuing year the emperor performed a pilgrimage

to Rome, not for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Italy, not on account of Venice, which, since 1463, had been at war with Trieste, nor on account of Sforza, the bold mercenary leader, who, since the extinction of the house of Visconti, had seized the duchy of Milan, but solely and simply in performance of a pious vow. By his personal subserviency to the pope he rendered himself ridiculous, and on his return [A. D. 1469] found his empire in a state of general disturbance. Continually in want of money, he had already caused false coin to be struck, and, nevertheless, left the mercenaries, furnished for him by his adherents, unpaid. The murmuring soldiery found an advocate in Andreas Baumkirchner, the emperor's true-hearted servant, but Frederick, instead of satisfying their just claims, invited Andreas to a conference at Grætz, promising him safety until vespers, and detained him in conversation, until Baumkirchner, at length perceiving that the day was drawing to a close, rushed out, and leaping into his saddle, galloped towards the gate; at that moment the vesper bell rang, the portcullis dropped, he was disarmed and beheaded beneath the gate-way. Thus did a Habsburg reward fidelity.

In the same year, [A. D. 1469,] the Turks again invaded Carniola; the aid promised by the diet had been procrastinated, and on their evacuating the country, and the breaking out of dissension between them and Matthias of Hungary, it still continued to be so. The question was again laid before the diet held at Ratisbon, [A. D. 1471,] but the emperor fell asleep during the first debate. The ten thousand men voted on this occasion were never raised.

Frederick indemnified himself for the obloquy he had incurred as emperor, and for the losses of his house, with the new title of archduke, which, in 1453, he bestowed upon the house of Habsburg. A complaint in his feet, the consequence of a bad practice of kicking open every door that happened to be closed, chiefly contributed to his isolated residence at Neustadt. One of his feet having mortified, he was obliged to submit to amputation: "Ah," exclaimed he, "a healthy boor is better than a sick Roman emperor!"

The German Hospitallers in Prussia were, meanwhile, totally deprived of their power. In 1412, a great revolution broke out. The provincial nobility, oppressed by their

tyranny, rebelled and threw off their yoke. In 1440, a league was publicly entered into by the Prussian cities and the provincial nobility, for the purpose of "appeasing the internal dissensions of the order, of protecting the country against the Poles, of securing their persons and their property, and of defending right." This league was vainly prohibited by the order, and invalidated by the pope's bull. The contending parties referred the matter to the emperor, who at first favoured the popular party, and afterwards [A. D. 1453] put the confederates out of the bann of the empire, in consequence of which the Prussians threw off their allegiance to the order, and placed themselves under the protection of Poland. A furious war instantly broke out: Casimir of Poland entered the country, where he was received with acclamations of delight; more particularly by the citizens of Dantzig, who beheld in their union with Poland an increase of commercial prosperity on account of the opening of the Vistula. This city alone furnished fifteen thousand mercenaries towards the war.

The arrival of a body of fifteen thousand German mercenaries in the following year, 1454, to the aid of the order, turned the tide of war. The Poles suffered a signal defeat. The elector of Brandenburg, who dreaded the increasing power of his Polish neighbours, vainly attempted to negotiate terms of peace, in the hope of saving the order from utter destruction. The Bohemian mercenaries, no longer paid by the impoverished grand-master, seized his person, and sold him and the whole of western Prussia to Casimir for 436,000 florins. The German population, however, speedily rebelled against the Polish rule, and a petty war was carried on until 1466, when peace was finally concluded at Thorn, and the grand-master, completely deserted by his German allies, was, besides ceding Western Prussia, compelled to hold Eastern Prussia in fee of the Polish crown.

A war of thirteen years had transformed Prussia into a desert; one thousand and nineteen churches had been destroyed, those that remained standing, plundered and desecrated; out of twenty-one thousand villages but three thousand and thirteen remained, and, as if to render the misery complete, a dreadful pestilence broke out in 1463, which carried off twenty thousand persons in Dantzig alone.

The dukes of Burgundy had, at this period, risen to a great degree of opulence and power; Charles the Bold, who succeeded his father, Philip the Good, [A. D. 1467,] destroyed Liege, whose citizens were encouraged by his mortal foe, Louis XI. of France, [A. D. 1468,] put all the male inhabitants remaining in the city to the sword, and threw several thousand women tied back to back into the Meuse. In 1472, he liberated the duke Arnold of Gueldres, who had been imprisoned by his wife, Catherine of Cleves, and his unnatural son, Adolf, and was in consequence declared heir to Gueldres. Nimwegen, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz were laid under contribution, A. D. 1473.

The emperor, Frederick III., had again lost the whole of the rich Luxemburg inheritance, Bohemia, and Hungary, was despised throughout the empire, had been more than once attacked, and was at length threatened with great danger by the Turks. His hopes now solely centred in his son, Maximilian, a youth of great promise, for whom he aspired to the hand of Mary, the lovely heiress of Charles the Bold. It was on this account that Sigmund of the Tyrol was compelled to hypothecate the government of Alsace to Charles, who was also on this account allowed, unopposed, to destroy Liege, to mulct Aix-la-Chapelle and Metz, and to seize Gueldres. These preliminary civilities over, the crippled emperor went to Treves in order to hold a conference with the bold duke, who far outvied him in magnificence. The negotiation, nevertheless, remained unconcluded. Charles demanded the title of king of Burgundy, but on the emperor's insisting on the marriage being concluded beforehand, procrastinated the matter; Louis XI. of France having also sued for the hand of Mary for his son, and it being to his advantage to keep the rival monarchs in a state of indecision. The pope, who not long afterwards sided with Charles against the emperor, appears to have willingly aided in hindering a marriage by which the power of a German house would receive so considerable an accession. Frederick III., offended at this treatment, suddenly quitted Treves, [A. D. 1473,] without taking leave of or bestowing the royal dignity on Charles, who revenged the insult by attacking Cologne, whence he was repulsed with great loss.

The tyrannical conduct of Peter von Hagenbach, governor of Alsace, had meanwhile rendered the Burgundian rule de-

tested by the Alsacians and their neighbours the Swiss. This circumstance afforded the emperor an opportunity for taking up arms as protector of the empire, and he accordingly took the field against Charles the Bold, who was at that time besieging Neuss, whilst Sigmund of the Tyrol raised a powerful conspiracy against Burgundy in Upper Germany; Basle, Strassburg, and the cities of the Upper Rhine as far as Constance, laying aside their ancient hatred of the Austrian dynasty, in order to repel their common foe. Sigmund released the government of Alsace, the cities furnishing the necessary sum, 80,000 florins. Charles's refusal to accept it was totally disregarded; the whole of Alsace threw off her allegiance to Burgundy, and raised the standard of the Habsburg. Hagenbach was beheaded at Breisach, A. D. 1474.

The emperor had meanwhile encamped before Neuss. The two camps lay in such close vicinity, that balls fell from that of Charles into the emperor's tent and carriage. A truce was agreed to on the intervention of the pope, Charles promising to withdraw without coming to a battle, and the emperor not to follow him; that is, to leave the Swiss, whom Charles was about to attack, to their fate. The execution of Hagenbach, who had been condemned by the confederation, furnished him with a plausible pretext, and he accordingly entered into a close alliance with Iolantha of Savoy, who governed in the name of her infant children, and with Sforza of Milan, who sympathized in his antipathy to the bold Swiss peasantry. His adversaries, René II. of Lothringia, who took refuge in Zwitzerland, and Henry of Wurtemberg, who resided at Mümpelgard, fell into his hands. Mümpelgard, however, refused to surrender. The Swiss rose en masse, slew two thousand five hundred of the Burgundians, whom they totally defeated at Ericourt, [A. D. 1474,] garrisoned the whole of Valais belonging to Savoy, and formed a league with the Vallisers, who guarded the passes towards Lombardy, and defeated two thousand Lombards and Venetians, who were marching to Charles's aid, A. D. 1475.

The Swiss had dispersed to their several cantons, leaving the forts strongly garrisoned, when Charles undertook a second campaign against them, [A. D. 1476,] at the head of an overwhelming force. The emperor, instead of sending aid, permitted Sigmund to seize Engadin, a fort appertaining to

the Grisons. Louis XI. promised them pecuniary assistance. Strassburg was the only city to which the confederation applied that sent effectual aid. The little garrison of Granson was faithlessly butchered by Charles, to whom it had surrendered on a promise of safety. This perfidy was nobly avenged by the confederated Swiss, who gained a signal triumph, completely routed the Burgundians, despoiled their camp, and took their artillery. Charles was, however, speedily reinforced from Savoy and Italy, and laid siege to Murten on the lake, beneath whose walls a furious engagement took place, in which twenty-six thousand of the Burgundians were either slain or driven into the lake, whose waters were dyed with the frightful carnage, A. D. 1476.

Charles, maddened with rage, vented his fury on his ally Iolantha of Savoy, whom he threw into prison together with her children with the intent of depriving them of their inheritance. When attempting to reduce Nancy by famine, he was attacked by the Swiss and Austrians, who, seeing Charles's star on the wane, had joined their former confederates, and was completely routed. His horse fell with him into a morass, where he was suffocated. His frozen corpse was cut out with the hatchet, A. D. 1477. Louis XI. presented the Swiss confederation with 24,000 florins. Engelbert of Nassau, who fell into their hands, was ransomed with 50,000 florins. The Valais was restored to Savoy. Unter Valais joined the confederation.

The duchy of Burgundy was, immediately on the death of Charles, seized by Louis XI., who was only withheld from occupying the county of Burgundy by the Swiss, who refused to tolerate him in their neighbourhood. He was also rejected by the Netherlands. His infamous favourite, Olivier de Dain,* was expelled Ghent, and his field-badge, the white cross, was exposed at Arras on the gallows. Arras was taken and destroyed, but Ghent stoutly bade him defiance. The heads of the Burgundian town-councillors, and of several of the nobility who favoured the French, fell; among others, those of Humbercourt and Hugonet, the chief councillors of the youthful duchess, notwithstanding her passionate entreaties. Adolph of Gueldres, in the hope of regaining the

* His barber, a monster in human form, like his master.

possessions of which he had been so justly deprived, placed himself at the head of the Flemish, who promised to reward his success with the hand of the Duchess, but fell at Doornik opposing the French. His son Charles, then a minor, fell into the hands of the French king, A. D. 1477.

Mary of Burgundy, anxious alike to escape the merciless grasp of this royal monster and the rule of the wild democracy of Ghent, at first endeavoured to conciliate the Dutch by the promulgation of the great charter, in which she vowed neither to marry, nor to levy taxes, nor to make war, without their consent, and conceded to them the right of convoking the estates, of minting, and of freely voting on every question. In the hope of gaining a greater accession of power by a foreign marriage, she skilfully worked upon the dread with which the French were viewed by her subjects, to influence them in favour of Maximilian, the handsomest youth of his day, whom she is said to have seen at an earlier period at Treves, or, as some say, of whose picture she had become enamoured. Max inherited the physical strength of his grandmother, Cimburga of Poland, and the mental qualities of his Portuguese mother, surpassed all other knights in chivalric feats, was modest, gentle, and amiable. Mary confessed to the assembled estates of the Netherlands, that she had already interchanged letters and rings with him, and the marriage was resolved upon. Max hastened to Ghent, and, mounted on a brown steed, clothed in silver gilt armour, his long blond locks crowned with a bridegroom's wreath resplendent with pearls and precious stones, rode into the city, where he was met by Mary. The youthful pair, on beholding one another, knelt in the public street and sank into each other's arms. "Welcome art thou to me, thou noble German," said the young duchess, "whom I have so long desired and now behold with delight!"

This event greatly enraged the French monarch, who at length succeeded in persuading the Swiss to enter into alliance with him, and to cede to him the county of Burgundy, A. D. 1478. Max speedily deprived him of the territory he had seized in the Netherlands, A. D. 1479. Louis, finding other means unsuccessful, now attempted to kindle the flames of civil war, and instigated the faction of the Hoecks against that of the Kabeljaus, which Max favoured. This young

prince, unaccustomed to civil liberty, had recourse to violence, and gave his mercenaries licence to murder and pillage. The heads of the faction were executed at Leyden. The protection granted by him to the young Count von Hoorn, the murderer of John von Dudselle, the popular ringleader at Ghent, increased the wrath of the people. The marriage that had commenced under such happy auspices also found a wretched termination. On the convocation to Herzogenbusch of all the knights of the Golden Fleece, an order instituted by Philip the Good of Burgundy, [A. D. 1430,] a scaffolding fell in and numbers of the spectators were killed. This was regarded as an unlucky omen. Cheerfulness was, however, restored by another and a better omen on the knighting of Mary's little son, Philip, who, during the ceremony, drew his sword to defend himself against the knight who had touched him on the shoulder. Mary had, besides this son, given birth to a daughter, Margaret, and was again pregnant, when she was, whilst hunting, thrown from horseback, and dangerously hurt by the stump of a tree, against which she was squeezed by her fallen horse. From a false feeling of delicacy, she concealed her state until surgical aid was unavailing, and expired in the bloom of life, A. D. 1482. The death of the beauteous duchess was a signal for general revolt, and Max, perceiving his inability to make head both against France and his rebellious subjects, concluded the peace of Arras with the former, and promised his daughter, Margaret, to the Dauphin, with Artois, Boulogne, and the county of Burgundy in dowry, A. D. 1482. Margaret was sent to Paris. Burgundy and the Arelat were united to France.

Peace being thus concluded with his most formidable opponent, Max turned his whole forces against the rebellious Hoecks, who had taken possession of Utrecht. They were defeated, A. D. 1483. The Flemish, nevertheless, refused submission to the Habsburg, by whom their ancient liberties were neither understood nor respected, and seized the person of the young duke Philip, whom they alone recognised as Mary's successor. A revolt took place at Brugge, where Max was taken prisoner by the citizens, his councillors were put to the rack in the public market, and, on the news of the approach of an army to the relief of the Habsburg, beheaded. Maximilian's celebrated jester, Kung von den Rosen, attempted

to release his master, and swam by night across the fosse of the castle where he was confined, but was attacked and driven back by the swans, A. D. 1488.

The emperor summoned the whole of the vassals of the empire to the field in order to liberate his son, and the pope hurled his fulminations against the rebels. The princes, enraged at the temerity of the burgesses to imprison one of their order, assembled in great numbers beneath the imperial banner, and bore all before them. The first burgher of Ghent who fell into the emperor's hands was nailed to a door, with the inscription, "Thus will be treated all who have imprisoned the Roman king," and sent floating down the stream to Ghent. The defeat of the citizens of Brugge struck the rebels with dismay, and their royal captive was set at liberty on binding himself by oath not to take revenge, or to injure their privileges. Max, who had been four months a prisoner, took the oath demanded, and went into the Tyrol, to escape the necessity of breaking it. But his father refused to comply with these terms, and notwithstanding the aid furnished by the French, the Flemish were defeated at Bertborg, A. D. 1489. Nieuport repulsed the attack of the French army. The Hoecks, under Franz von Brederode, secured themselves in Rotterdam, and were supported by Philip of Cleve. Albert of Saxony, the imperial stadtholder, vainly besieged Brussels, until seconded by a pestilence which carried off almost the whole of the inhabitants. The power of the Hoecks now declined. Rotterdam was taken, and Brederode retired to Flanders, where he turned pirate and greatly harassed the imperialists. He was taken in a naval engagement off Brouvershaven, and died a few days after of his mismanaged wounds, aged 24, A. D. 1490. Philip of Cleve took refuge in France.

The flames of war appeared to rage with redoubled fury in Flanders, on the rape of Anna of Brittany, whom Max had demanded in marriage, and who was captured by Charles of France when on her way to Germany, and compelled to marry him, in revenge for the loss of Mary of Burgundy, of whose hand he had been formerly deprived by Maximilian. The projects of the French monarch upon Italy, however, inclined him to yield the Netherlands, and Max was speedily pacified. Peace was concluded at Senlis, [A. D. 1493,] and Margaret was restored to her father. France also resigned

all claims upon her stipulated dowry. Ghent, Brugge, and Ypern submitted and were pardoned. Forty citizens of Brugge, who had most grievously insulted the royal person, being alone executed. On Maximilian's return to the Netherlands in 1493, Albert of Saxony led his two children to him at Maestricht, with these words, "God has granted me success, therefore I bring you these two children and an obedient land." Albert had vowed not to shave his chin until the Netherlands enjoyed the blessings of peace. During the festival at Maestricht, Margaret the elder, the widow of Charles the Bold, the grandmother to the two children, cut off a part of his beard, and he had the rest shaved off. Maximilian owed him a heavy debt of gratitude, for he had furnished the means for carrying on the war in the Netherlands from his private property, the mines in the snow mountains.

CXC. *Matthias of Hungary.—Affairs in Italy.—Maximilian the First.*

On the death of George von Podiebrad, Matthias, king of Hungary, laid claim to Bohemia, but was solely able to hold Silesia, where he fixed his head-quarters with his black guard, a picked troop of mercenaries. Casimir of Poland, and his son, Wladislaw of Bohemia, vainly attempted to dislodge him. The most terrible reprisals were taken on the unfortunate prisoners. John, duke of Sagan, also laid Glogau waste, A. D. 1488. Matthias, occupied with the west, neglected to defend his eastern frontiers against the Turks, who made numerous inroads into Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, whence they were sometimes repelled with great loss by the peasantry. These destructive inroads continued without intermission for upwards of twenty years, from 1471 to 1493, during which these countries were laid waste, and numbers of the inhabitants carried away captive, without attracting the attention of the rest of Germany.

An alliance was formed [A. D. 1482] between the Emperor Frederick and Wladislaw of Bohemia, against their common foe, Matthias of Hungary, who was defeated near Bruck on the Leytra, but afterwards regained strength and laid siege to Vienna, whose inhabitants vainly implored aid from the

emperor, who replied to their entreaties, "You also allowed me to starve when I was besieged by you!" The city fell into the hands of Matthias, A. D. 1485. The emperor at length found a friend in Albert of Saxony, who, generously saying, "It is better for all the princes of Germany to be beggars than for the Roman king to want money!" furnished him with the necessary supplies from his mines, and defeated the superior Hungarian force at Negau, A. D. 1487. The return of Max from the Netherlands now compelled Albert to repair thither, whilst Max went to the Tyrol, where Sigmund had commenced a doubtful war with Venice, known as the Rovereiter war, which took its rise from a frontier dispute between the Venetian inhabitants of Riva, and the Tyrolean Count von Arco. Bombs were first used in the siege of Botzen by the Count von Metsch Roveredo. Sigmund, offering to yield, notwithstanding the unflinching courage of the Tyrolese, was deposed by the Estates, who provisionally elected Frederick Kappler as their captain, and, with a thousand men, completely routed the Venetians near Calliano. Their general, the famous Roberto di San Severino, was drowned in the Etsch. The whole of the Tyrol hastened to pay homage to Max on his arrival, and he ever afterwards clung with affection to this country, where he eternalized his memory; he used to say of it, "The Tyrol is only a coarse boor's frock, but it keeps one warm." On the death of Matthias, [A. D. 1490,] he hastened to liberate Austria, took Vienna, where he received a wound in the shoulder, by storm, and penetrated into the heart of Hungary. Long Conrad, a Swabian in his army, boasted of having murdered three hundred persons with his own hand at the taking of Stuhl-Weissenburg. The blood stood half a hand high round the tomb of Matthias. The infantry collected so much booty that they abandoned their youthful commander and returned home. The Hungarians now elected Wladislaw of Bohemia king, and tranquillity was restored. Wladislaw bestowed great privileges and the right of being governed by a native stadtholder on Silesia, by the Colowrat treaty, which was chiefly managed by the Bohemian noble of that name.

War also broke out between the Swiss and the Milanese, who attempted to regain possession of the Livinenthal. The confederation took up arms, but again dispersed, on account of

the severity of the winter. Six hundred men under Frischhans Theiling of Lucerne alone kept the field, near Irnis, (Giornico,) against sixteen thousand Milanese under Count Borello. The advice of one of the peasants, named Stanga, to flood the country, was followed by his companions, and the whole of the valley was converted into one vast sheet of ice. The Milanese, on arriving at the spot, found it impossible to keep their footing, and were speedily put into confusion and utterly defeated by the iron-shod Swiss, of whom, notwithstanding their numerical inferiority, two only were slain, one of whom was Stanga. Milan purchased peace, A. D. 1479.

Max had scarcely begun to regulate the affairs of Austria, when his aged father expired, A. D. 1493. No emperor had reigned so long and done so little as Frederick III. Max was proclaimed his successor on the imperial throne without a dissentient voice, and speedily found himself fully occupied.

France at that time cast her eyes upon Italy. Nepotism, the family-interest of the popes, who bestowed enormous wealth, and even Italian principalities, on their nephews, relatives, and natural children, was the prevalent spirit of the court of Rome. The pope's relations plundered the papal treasury, which he filled with the plunder of the whole of Christendom, by raising the church taxes, amplifying the ceremonies, and selling absolution. Alexander VI., who at that period occupied the pontifical throne, surpassed all his predecessors in wickedness. He died of poison, [A. D. 1503,] laden with crimes. The royal house of Arragon again sat on the throne of Naples. In Upper Italy, besides the ancient republics of Venice and Genoa, and the principalities of Milan and Ferrara, Florence had become half a republic, half a principality, under the rule of the house of Medicis.

France, ever watchful, was not tardy in finding an opportunity for interference. In Milan, the young duke, Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, had been murdered by his uncle Luigi, who seized the ducal throne. Ferdinand of Naples, Galeazzo's brother-in-law, declaring against the murderer, Luigi claimed the assistance of the French king, Charles VIII., who promised him his protection, and at the same time asserted his own claim to the Neapolitan throne as the descendant of the house of Anjou. A. D. 1494, he unexpectedly entered Italy at the head of an immense army, partly composed of Swiss merce-

naries, and took Naples. Milan, alarmed at the overwhelming strength of her importunate ally, now entered into a league with the pope, the emperor, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of driving him out of Italy, and Alexander VI. astonished the world by leaguing with the arch-foe of Christendom, the Turkish sultan, against the "most Christian" king of France. Charles yielded to the storm, and voluntarily returned to France, A. D. 1495. Maximilian had been unable, from want of money, to come in person to Italy, and three thousand men were all he had been able to supply. He had, however, secured himself by a marriage with Bianca Maria, the sister of Galeazzo Sforza, and attempted, on the withdrawal of the French, to put forward his pretensions as emperor. Pisa [A. D. 1496] imploring his aid against Florence, he undertook a campaign at the head of an inconsiderable force, in which he was unsuccessful, the Venetians refusing their promised aid. His marriage with Bianca, a woman of a haughty, cold disposition, unendowed with the mental and personal graces of Mary of Burgundy, was far from happy. Max had several illegitimate children, three sons, ecclesiastics, who died in obscurity, and five daughters.

A still closer alliance was formed with Spain, where the whole power had, as in France, centred in the monarch. The last descendants of the ancient petty kings of this country, Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile, had married, and by their united force had expelled the Moors, A. D. 1492, a year also famous for the discovery of America, whose mines so greatly enriched Spain, by Columbus the Genoese. The marriage of Philip, Maximilian's son, with the Infanta Johanna, and that of his daughter Margaret, with the Infant Don Juan, [A. D. 1496,] brought this splendid monarchy into the house of Habsburg, the Infant Don Juan expiring shortly afterwards, and the whole of Spain falling to Philip in right of his wife.

Maximilian was distinguished for personal bravery; his disposition was benevolent, cheerful, and enthusiastic; he was of an active turn, well-informed, full of wit, spirit, and animation, the very reverse to his pedantic parent. He had, nevertheless, inherited a portion of his father's frivolity, his thoughts, like his actions, being totally deficient in greatness. Ever occupied, he never accomplished any really useful de-

sign; ever preserving the mien of a genial autocrat, he still permitted himself to be swayed by others. Macchiavelli, the greatest politician of his time, says of him, "He believed that he did every thing himself, and yet allowed himself to be misled from his first and best idea." He cherished all sorts of projects, which, when put into execution, turned out exactly contrary to his intention. He was, in reality, completely out of his element in the council and in the field; chivalric feats, in which he could display his personal courage and gallantry, were his delight, and for which he was best fitted by nature. His biography, written under his dictation, is merely an account of feats of this description. His condescending manners, although rendering him the darling of the people, greatly lessened his dignity, and was often unfitting to him as the emperor of the holy Roman empire, and drew upon him the mockery of his jester, Kunz von der Rosen. A diary, written by the emperor himself, has been preserved; it contains innumerable little hints, how a certain fish should be caught and cooked, such a weapon be fabricated, how much the chastellain of a distant imperial castle should be paid, and many a scandalous anecdote,—but not one word concerning the great questions of the day, the church and the state. His biography is that of an adventurous knight, not that of an emperor.

Maximilian ever intended well, and would sometimes kindle with the fire of the ancient Hohenstaufen when planning the execution of some great project. He fervently desired to march against the Turks, to re-annex Italy to the empire, to chastise the insolence of France, in a word, to act as became a great German emperor; but he was a prisoner in the midst of the weapons of Germany, a beggar in the midst of her wealth; the vassals of the empire, sunk in shameless egotism, coldly refused to assist their sovereign, and rendered him the laughing-stock of Europe.

Eberhard im Bart, count of Wurtemberg, a petty, but wise and influential prince, whose follies had been expiated by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, ever seconded the good intentions of the emperor, and aided in carrying several of his projects into execution. In 1477, Eberhard founded the university at Tübingen, whose most distinguished scholars were his friends. The emperor, sensible of his merit, raised him [A. D. 1495] to the dignity of duke. On his first appearance

after his elevation in the diet, a dispute arising concerning the seat that was his due, he declared his willingness to sit even behind the stove if the diet would only discuss and pass some useful resolution. One of the most essential services rendered by this duke was his attempt to restore peace and order to the whole empire, as well as to Wurtemberg. It was to him that the Swabian league chiefly owed its rise, A. D. 1488. This league was originally an aristocratic society, known as that of St. George's shield, which, by the incorporation of the clergy and of the citizens within its ranks, became a general union of all the princes, counts, knights, bishops, abbots, and cities in Swabia for the maintenance of peace and right. At the diet held at Worms, Maximilian zealously laboured to increase the external power of the empire by promoting its internal union, order, and peace, but only succeeded in rendering the confusion systematic, the absurdities, hitherto unrecognised by law, legal, and the external weakness and internal anarchy of the empire eternal. The empire was one confused mass of electorates, duchies, earldoms, bishoprics, abbeys, imperial free towns, and estates of the nobility, which, whether great or small, refused to yield to one another, and jealously asserted their independence. None possessed sufficient power to maintain order by force, or sufficient confidence to intrust that power to another. Order could therefore alone arise from the mutual necessity and voluntary alliance of all. The example given by the Swabian league was followed, and the whole empire was divided into ten circles, each of which was to form a league similar to that of Swabia. These circles were, Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Austria, Burgundy, the Rhenish electorate, and Upper Saxony, without comprising Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, the Lausitz, and Prussia. As a point of union for all these circles, Maximilian demanded the establishment of a government, or imperial council, over which the emperor was to preside, and in whose hands the supreme power was to be lodged during his absence. This plan was never put into execution. An imperial chamber with salaried councillors, who took cognizance of legal matters, was alone established, but its decisions, owing to want of power, also remained without authority.

The regulation of the imperial revenue was rendered still

more urgent by the fact, daily becoming more notorious, that money was power, that without that necessary article the emperor was powerless, and the necessity of a general imperial treasury wherewith to meet the general outlay was clearly visible. The greater portion of the revenue formerly enjoyed by the crown, had been seized by the estates. A new mode of taxation, as in France, was, consequently, necessary. The estates, meanwhile, either refused to contribute or disputed the division of the contribution, and it was with great difficulty that Maximilian at length induced them to grant the common penny for four years, that is to say, the payment by every subject of the empire of one penny out of every thousand pence he possessed, thus a tenth per cent., towards the maintenance of the state. This tax was, however, notwithstanding its insignificant amount, seldom regularly paid, and the emperor was ever poverty-stricken. Another regulation, the establishment of the post for the purpose of facilitating communication, the management of which was intrusted to the Count von Thurn and Taxis, also failed on account of the bad state of the roads.

It is undeniable that by the federation of every class, the petty and great, the weak and strong, were alike represented in the diet. The great dukes no longer ruled the whole assembly; the other princes of the empire besides the electors, the counts and other grades of nobility, the prelates, and, above all, the cities, asserted their authority, and by this means many a man and many an idea appeared in the diet, totally distinct from those appertaining to the court; but ideas however excellent, purposes however honest, whether harboured by the emperor or by the meanest of his subjects, were alike unavailing against the torrent of opposing interests. Hence the wearying prolixity of affairs. Seats and titles had to be contested before the real question could be investigated. Verbal proceedings were succeeded by endless written ones, so that before the representatives in the diet could lay the question in debate before their constituents, and then before the diet, the moment for action had generally passed. The interminable writing also introduced a crowd of lawyers, who explained every thing according to Roman law, and took advantage of the contradiction between the German and Roman law, to create such a chaotic state of confusion, that people were no

longer able to trust to their own senses, and were compelled to have recourse to the sophistry of a set of pettifogging pedants.

Instant aid was demanded against the Turks. But all the estates, instead of granting aid, unanimously joined in complaining of the conduct of their sister estates in Italy, Burgundy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, which separated themselves more and more from the empire, and no longer contributed their quota to the maintenance of the state. The nobility declined contributing in money, the cities refused to furnish men. After a long debate it was at length resolved to levy a tax of——24,000 florins, to defray the expense of defending the empire against the Turks. This sum, like the former ones granted, was never raised. When the emperor, in 1497, convoked the estates to Lindau, in order to take measures against the French in Italy, they came unfurnished with troops and unsupplied with money.

CXCI. *Separation of Switzerland from the Empire.—Wars of the Frisians and Ditmarses.—Civil dissensions.—The Bundschuh.—Wars of Venice and Milan.*

The empire, like the oak whose topmost branches first show symptoms of the decay spreading from its roots, first lost the finest of her German provinces, and her holy banner was hurled from those glorious natural bulwarks, whence, mid ice and snow, our victorious forefathers had looked down upon the fertile vales of Italy. Unlike the defection of the Slavonians and Italians from the empire, that of the Swiss inflicted a heart-felt wound. Their desertion has been explained and justified by time, but how much nobler would it not have been had they at least attempted to remodel the empire, by creating an energetic interposition on the part of the people!

The Swiss confederation had been declared an integral part of the Swabian circle, but, influenced by distrust of the Swabian cities, which had ever preserved a false neutrality towards them, and of the princes and nobles, their hereditary foes, they refused to enter into the league. Their success against Burgundy had, moreover, rendered them insolent and presumptuous, whilst France incessantly incited them to de-

clare themselves independent of the empire. France drew her mercenaries from the Alps, was a good paymaster, and flattered the rough mountaineers with a semblance of royal confidence; whilst the German princes, and even the emperor, thoughtlessly treated them with contempt. A dispute concerning landmarks that arose between the Grisons peasantry and the Austrian Tyrolese, and occasioned their enrolment in the confederation, brought the matter to an issue. The enraged emperor declared war [A. D. 1498] against the Swiss, in which he was seconded by the Swabian league. In 1499, the Swiss concluded a treaty with France, and, quitting their mountains, attacked the approaching foe on every side. Willibald Pirkheimer, who was present with four hundred red-habited citizens of Nuremberg, has graphically described every incident of this war. The imperial reinforcements arrived slowly and in separate bodies; the princes and nobles fighting in real earnest, the cities with little inclination. The Swiss were, consequently, able to defeat each single detachment before they could unite, and were in this manner victorious in ten engagements. The emperor, on his arrival, publicly addressed an angry letter to the Swiss from Freiburg in the Breisgau. The Tyrolese failed in an attempt to take the Grisons in the rear across Bormio, and four hundred of the imperialists were, on this occasion, crushed by an avalanche. Pirkheimer saw a troop of half-starved children under the care of two old women seeking for herbs, like cattle, on the mountains, so great was the distress to which the blockade had reduced the Swiss. They, nevertheless, defended themselves on every side, and slew four thousand Tyrolese near Mals in the Vienstgau, in revenge for which four hundred Grisons peasants, detained captive at Meran, were put to death. The emperor went to Constance, where a letter from the confederation was delivered to him by a young girl.* Peace was, however, far from the thoughts of the emperor, who, dividing his forces, despatched the majority of his troops against Basle,

* On being asked the number of the Swiss, she replied, "There are plenty to beat you; you might have counted them during the battle had not fear struck you blind:" and on an old soldier, stung by the sarcasm, drawing his sword upon her, she said, "If you are such a hero, seek men to fight with." Götz von Berlichingen, who was present, thus describes the emperor; "He wore a little old green coat, and little short green cap, and a great green hat over it." (Quite Tyrolean.)

under the Count von Fürstenberg, whilst he advanced towards Geneva, and was occupied in crossing the lake when the news of Fürstenberg's defeat and death, near Dornach, arrived. The princes, little desirous of staking their honour against their low-born opponents, instantly returned home in great numbers, and the emperor was therefore compelled to make peace. The Swiss retained possession of the Thurgau and of Basle, and Schaffhausen joined the confederation, which was not subject to the imperial chamber, and for the future belonged merely in name to the empire, and gradually fell under the growing influence of France, A. D. 1499.

Some years after the Swiss war, Maximilian was involved in a petty war of succession in Bavaria, A. D. 1504. Disturbances had also arisen in the Netherlands, [A. D. 1494,] where the people favoured Charles of Gueldres to the prejudice of the Habsburg. Maximilian's son, Philip the Handsome, at length concluded a truce with his opponent, and went into Spain for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Castille, whose queen, Isabella, had just expired, in the name of her daughter, his wife, Johanna. Ferdinand of Arragon, his father-in-law, however, refused to yield the throne of Castille during his life-time, and, in his old age, married a young Frenchwoman, in the hope of raising another heir to the throne of Arragon. Johanna had been imprisoned during Philip's absence, by command of her cruel father, in Medina del Campo. Animated by a strong desire to rejoin her husband, whom she passionately loved, she placed herself under the gateway, whence she refused to move, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and remained there night and day until she was liberated. She was reported to her husband as crazed, but his messenger disproved the fact, and he rejoined her, but shortly afterwards died, either of a sudden chill, or of poison, which Johanna was accused of having administered, but a heavier suspicion falls upon Ferdinand. Johanna refused to quit the body of her husband, which she constantly held in her embrace and watched over, taking it every where with her, so that, as had been once foretold to him, he wandered more about his Spanish kingdom after his death than during his life-time. She was at length persuaded to permit his interment; but the body had scarcely been removed ere she imagined herself at Medina del Campo, her beloved

Philip in the Netherlands, and that she was not allowed to join him, and her attendants were compelled to beg of her to order the vault to be reopened, in order to convince herself of his death. She did so, but had the coffin once more placed at her side. She then consoled herself with a nurse's tale of a dead king, who, after a lapse of fourteen years, was restored to life, and with childish delight awaited the day. On finding her hopes disappointed she became incurably insane, and was put under restraint. She survived her husband fifty years.

Philip left two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. His sister, Margaret, became regent of the Netherlands, whence Albert, the brave duke of Saxony, had been expelled by Philip, and been degraded to a mere stadtholder of Western-Friesland. Eastern-Friesland was a prey to civil dissension; [A. D. 1454,] and bravely defended itself against Oldenburg and Western-Friesland until 1515, when it submitted to the emperor, and Henry of Nassau, who had wedded the heiress of the French house of Orange and had taken that name, became stadtholder of Holland, where he acquired great popularity, A. D. 1516.

The Ditmarses sustained a far more serious war with Denmark, which commenced A. D. 1500. The invading army, thirty thousand strong, was completely cut to pieces [A. D. 1511] by three hundred peasants. But their hour also came. Success had rendered them insolent, and civil dissensions breaking out among them, they fell under the rule of Frederick, king of Denmark, [A. D. 1559,] who wisely endeavoured to win them by exempting them from every war-tax, by raising no fortresses in their country, and by leaving them to their own jurisdiction.

The tumults that continued to occur in the cities had no influence on the course of events, and merely merit notice as indications of the insolence resulting from prosperity. Quarrels broke out in the Hansa, which also withstood the repeated attacks of the neighbouring powers. Most of the disturbances that took place within the cities arose from the discontent of the people, on account of the imposition of fresh taxes, and the egotism of the municipal governments. The example of the Burgundian court had increased the luxury and ostentation of the higher classes, and the maintenance of peace and order called for a greater outlay in the administration, and consequently caused the general imposition of taxes, dues, etc.

These charges fell more heavily on the peasant than on the citizen, and occasioned continual disturbances. The first extensive conspiracy of the peasants was formed in 1498, at Schlettstadt, in Alsace. Their banner was the *Bundschuh*, a peasant's shoe stuck upon a stake, the symbol of the peasantry, as the boot was that of the knights. Their object was the abolition of the ecclesiastical and Roman courts of law, of the customs and enormous imposts. This conspiracy was discovered and put down by force, but appeared again at different periods under various names. The most violent demonstration of this description was made [A. D. 1514] in the Remsthal, simultaneously with the fearful revolt of the peasants in Hungary. Both had a sanguinary close.

Charles had been succeeded on the throne of France by Louis XII., who renewed the projects upon Italy, and maintained his claims upon Milan in right of his grandmother, a Visconti. Venice, ever at strife with that city, gladly favoured his pretensions; and the pope, Alexander VI., in the hope of gaining by his means an Italian throne for his son, the notorious Cæsar Borgia, also sided with him. Louis invaded Italy, [A. D. 1500,] and took possession of Milan. Sforza taking eight thousand Swiss mercenaries into his service, and regaining his duchy, Louis also turned to them for aid, and, strengthened by a body of ten thousand of these troops, shut up Sforza in Novara. The Swiss, however, refusing to fight against each other, Sforza's mercenaries were permitted to march unmolested out of the city. The duke, disguised as one of the number, quitted the place with them, but was sold by a man of Uri, named Turmann, to the French monarch, who sent him prisoner to France. The confederation sentenced the traitor to execution, but the good name of the Swiss had suffered an irreparable injury, not only by this incident, but by their mercenary habits. Anshelm the historian observes, that they returned to their mountains laden with booty and covered with disgrace.

Maximilian beheld the successes of the French monarch in Italy, and Ferdinand of Naples dragged in chains to France, with impotent rage, and convoked one diet after another without being able to raise either money or troops. At length, in the hope of saving his honour, he invested France with the duchy of his brother-in-law, Sforza, and, by the treaty of

Blois, [A. D. 1504,] ceded Milan to France for the sum of two hundred thousand francs. The marriage of Charles, Maximilian's grandson, with Claudia, the daughter of Louis, who it was stipulated should bring Milan in dowry to the house of Habsburg, also formed one of the articles of this treaty, and in the event of any impediment to the marriage being raised by France, Milan was to be unconditionally restored to the house of Austria. The marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand with Anna, the youthful daughter of Wladislaw of Hungary and Bohemia, was more fortunate. Ferdinand of Spain, unable to tolerate the Habsburg as his successor on the throne, entered into a league with France, who instantly infringed the treaty of Blois, and Claudia was married to Francis of Anjou, the heir-apparent to the throne of France. Maximilian, enraged at Louis's perfidy, vainly called upon the imperial estates of Germany to revenge the insult; he was merely enabled to raise a small body of troops, with which he crossed the Alps for the purpose of taking possession of Milan and of being finally crowned by the pope. The Venetians, however, refused to grant him a free passage, defeated him at Catora, and compelled him to retrace his steps. At Trient, Matthæus Lang, archbishop of Salzburg, placed the crown on his brow in the name of the pope, A. D. 1508. The Venetians, inspirited by success, followed up their victory by the reduction of Trieste and Fiume; and a great revolt of the people in Genoa, who favoured the imperial cause, against the aristocracy, the partisans of France, was suppressed by the Swiss mercenaries in Louis's pay. The confederation, overwhelmed with reproaches and moved to shame by the earnest appeal of the emperor to their honour as Germans, sent ambassadors to Constance, to lay excuses for their conduct before the emperor, but the reconciliation that ensued was speedily forgotten on the unexpected annunciation of the alliance of the emperor with France.

The insolence and grasping policy of Venice had rendered her universally obnoxious. Maximilian had been insulted and robbed by her; Louis dreaded her vicinity to his newly-gained duchy of Milan; whilst Ferdinand, the pope, and the rest of the Italian powers viewed her with similar enmity. These considerations formed the basis of the league of Cam-

bray, A. D. 1508, in which all the contending parties ceased their strife to unite against their common foe. The French gained a decisive victory at Aguadello. Vicenza was taken by the imperial troops, A. D. 1510. The Swiss, who had at first aided Venice, being forced to retreat during the severe winter of 1512, revenged themselves by laying Lombardy waste. Venice, deprived of their aid, humbled herself before the emperor, and the senator Giustiniani fell in the name of the republic at his feet, and finally persuaded both him and the pope to renounce their alliance with France. The new confederates were, however, defeated at Ravenna by the French under Gaston de Foix. The Swiss confederation, gained over by the bishop of Sion, who was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, now took part with the emperor and the pope, and, marching into Lombardy, drove out the French and placed Max Sforza on the ducal throne of Milan, A. D. 1512. The subsequent tyranny and insubordination of the Swiss in Lombardy, and the great preparations for war made by France, induced Venice, ever watchful over her interests, again to enter into alliance with that country. The fresh invasion of Lombardy in 1513, by the French under Latremouille, and the German lancers of Robert von der Mark, terminated disastrously to the invaders, and the Swiss, after plundering Lombardy, united with a small body of imperialists under Ulric, duke of Wurtemberg, and, penetrating into France as far as Dijon, made the king tremble on his throne. Their departure was purchased at an enormous price.

The emperor, although unable to offer much opposition to France in Italy, was more successful in the Netherlands, where, aided by the English, he carried on war against Louis and gained a second battle of spurs at Teroanne.* He also assembled a troop of lancers under George von Frundsberg, who besieged Venice, and fought his way through an overwhelming force under the Venetian general, Alviano, at Ceratia.——On the

* Peter Daniel says, in his History of France, "because our cavalry made more use of their spurs than of their swords." The Chevalier Bayard, on perceiving the impossibility of escape, took an English knight, who had just dismounted, prisoner, in order instantly to surrender himself to him. Maximilian, on being informed of this strange adventure, restored Bayard to liberty.

death of Louis, [A. D. 1515,] fortune once more favoured France. Francis I., immediately after his accession to the throne, invaded Italy in person, at the head of an immense force, among which were six thousand (Germans) of the black band, so called from their harness, under Robert von der Mark, and twenty thousand under the duke of Gueldres. By a shameful treaty at Galera, the Swiss agreed to deliver up to him the city of Milan for three hundred thousand French crown dollars, and the small Swiss force, still defending that duchy, was, consequently, recalled. The Bernese obeyed, but the Zurichers and the peasantry of the four cantons preferred annihilation to dishonour, and stood their ground. The battle of Marignano, between the Swiss and the French, took place on the 14th of September, 1515. Schinner, the cardinal-bishop of Sion, mounted on horseback and arrayed in his purple robes, headed the confederation. This engagement lasted a day and a half, and the victory was at length decided by the arrival of the Venetians, who fell upon the rear of the Swiss. Zwingli of Zurich, who shortly afterwards appeared as the great reformer, was also in this battle. The confederated Swiss, notwithstanding their enormous number of killed and wounded, made an orderly and honourable retreat, but were reproached on their return home for having broken the treaty of Galera. The French party triumphed. Domo d'Ossola was delivered up to them by the Bernese governor. Francis unsparingly showered gold upon the confederation, and, in 1516, Berne, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Fryburg, Solothurn, and Appenzell concluded the so called "eternal alliance" with France. Zurich, Uri, Schwytz, and Basle alone disdained this disgraceful traffic in blood. Frundsberg, left unaided in Italy, was shut up in Verona by the French, where, in spite of famine and pestilence, he bravely held out until relieved by a small force under Rogendorf. Maximilian entered Lombardy in person, [A. D. 1516,] with twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Swiss, under the loyal-hearted Stapfer of Zurich, but was compelled to retreat, owing to want of money, and the superior numbers of Swiss in the service of France. Unable to save Milan, he made a virtue of necessity and ceded that duchy to Francis. In his old age, he zealously endeavoured to raise means for carrying on the war against the Turks, but the princes re-

fused their aid, and the first symptoms of the reformation began to stir among the people. "Let us march," wrote Ulric von Hutten, "not against the Turk, but against the pope!"

PART XVI.

THE REFORMATION.

CXCII. *The Church.—The Humanists.—The art of Printing.—Luther.*

THE self-subjugation of Bohemia and the Vienna concordat had effectually checked every demand for reformation in the church, and Rome once more breathed freely. The people were reduced to silence, and the popes redoubled their pretensions and more shamelessly exhibited their vices. After Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) had proved to the world that disloyalty was the best recommendation to the pontifical throne, Paul II. demonstrated by his all-despising brutality, splendour, and arrogance, that he could still further abuse the victory gained by his predecessor, and by his fury against the Bohemians the implacability of the despotism self-denominated the loving mother of all the nations of the earth. Sixtus IV. bestowed the fiendish institution of the Inquisition on Spain, and public brothels on Rome. Innocent VIII. enriched his sixteen illegitimate children from the treasury of St. Peter, replenished by the offerings of the faithful, and publicly declared that, "God, instead of desiring the punishment of sinners, only called upon them to pay for their sins." Alexander VI., whose horrid crimes have been recorded by his master of the ceremonies, John Burkhard of Strassburg, surpassed all his predecessors in profligacy. His daughter, the infamous Lucretia Borgia, was termed "Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus." Stained with blood, unnatural crime, intemperance, and treachery towards both friend and foe, this monster at length fell a

victim to the poisoned cup prepared by him for his cardinals. Julius II. concealed similar crimes beneath his love of war, which, although totally opposed to his destiny as the shepherd of souls, was nevertheless tolerated in that chivalric age. Leo X., who closes the line of popes immediately anterior to the Reformation, was free from personal vices, but was a mere child of fortune. By the interest of his powerful family, that of Medicis, he was created cardinal at the age of thirteen, and became pope at thirty-seven. Accustomed to pomp from his childhood, he surpassed all his predecessors in splendour and luxury, and was, on this account, besides his patronage of art and his revival of those of ancient Greece and Rome, termed "the heathen pope." Whatever praise may be his due as a patron of modern and ancient art, the mind turns with disgust from the anomaly presented by a pope surrounded with heathen divinities and licentious forms. The immense sums necessary for the erection of the gigantic church of St. Peter, raised by him in commemoration of himself, and for his other extravagances, were drained from the different nations of Europe, more especially from the Germans. All the ecclesiastical benefices, property, and revenues had long been in the power of the pope, which no bishop nor council now ventured to oppose, but, as the riches of the church were insufficient, fresh and novel taxes were imposed upon the laity. Church penances were multiplied. Since the cessation of the crusades, the popes had decreed that whoever made a pilgrimage to Rome and laid an offering on St. Peter's shrine, should receive as plenary remission for his sins as if he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The jubilee was at first to be solemnized every hundred years, which, on its being found so productive, were decreased to fifty, then to thirty-three, and finally to twenty-five. Countless multitudes visited Rome and poured millions into the papal treasury; but as the whole of the faithful children of the church were unable to make the desired pilgrimage, the pope considerately furnished them with the means of purchasing absolution, by fabricating a paper-currency issued by heaven, but cashed upon earth. These indulgences, which fixed beforehand the price for each imaginable sin, and secured the salvation of the purchaser, were publicly offered for sale throughout Europe.

The popes no less desecrated their sacred office by the zeal

with which they emulated the sovereigns of France in the art of political perfidy, of diplomatic falsehood, of insidious treaties, of treachery towards their allies, and of systematic tyranny, of fraudulent or violent suppression of ancient popular liberty. Political craft was, it is true, also practised by the potentates of Germany; the emperor, Charles IV., was, nevertheless, owing to the lessons he had been taught during his youth at Avignon, the only perfect adept in the art, the rough honesty of the German character ever displaying itself in the actions, whether good or evil, of the princes of the empire. In France and Italy deceit was, on the contrary, the guiding maxim in diplomacy, the spirit of which has been faithfully portrayed by Macchiavelli in his work, "The Prince," whose political object is unlimited despotism, whose means are soldiers for conquest and oppression, money for raising an army and for bribing opponents, assassination, treachery, falsehood, for getting rid of a rival or for deceiving him, diplomatic spies in the person of ambassadors at the courts of brother monarchs, (the papal legates were patterns for ambassadors of this description,) and the promotion of popular ignorance by the diffusion of superstitious doctrines, least believed by those who taught them.

The depravity of the church was the inevitable result of the enormous multitude of idlers and hypocrites fostered in her bosom. The bishoprics had, generally speaking, gradually become sinecures for princes and counts, and the canonries were, consequently, as was the case at Strassburg, usually bestowed upon nobles of high birth, who revelled in wanton luxury. Men of talent could alone attain distinction in the service of the pope. The priests were proverbially ignorant* and brutal, and their ignorance was countenanced by the popes, who expressly decreed that out of ten ecclesiastics one alone was to study. Their morals were as depraved as their minds were besotted. Celibacy was eluded by the maintenance of housekeepers, and drunkenness was a clerical vice commonly alluded to in the satires of the day. Wealthy priests had poor vicars, travelling students, in their pay, who preached for them, and the hopes of these hirelings, who bore

* The anecdote of the priest, who, having once heard the expression, "St. Benedictus benedicat," ignorantly said, "St. Bernhardus bernhardat," had long been a popular jest.

the whole burthen of the office for the merest pittance, may be easily conceived, on the outburst of the Reformation. Most of the travelling preachers belonged to this class. The most horrid disorder prevailed in the monasteries and convents. It was proverbially said in reference to the triple vow, "the monks are only poor in the bath, obedient at table, and chaste at the altar," and also, "the abbots have, by means of their poverty, become the wealthiest proprietors, by means of their obedience, mighty potentates, by means of their chastity, the husbands of all the women." The princely abbots of St. Gall, Fulda, etc., who had a seat in the diet, were in fact powerful and real princes. The nuns were not much better than the monks, who, John von Goch said at Mechlin, "did what the devil was ashamed to think!" Scholasticism had introduced fresh symbols into religion. The Virgin had become an object of deeper devotion than either God or the Saviour, and the people were habituated to gross and obscene representations. The veneration paid to relics was rendered ridiculous by the practice of deceit and the fabrication of substitutes. The saints had generally three or four different bodies, and innumerable limbs, all of which were declared genuine; there was a chemise, belonging to the holy Virgin, six feet in length; the drum on which the march was beaten when the Jews crossed the Red Sea dry-shod; hay from the manger; a piece of the head of Tobias's fish, etc. etc.: added to which were the coarse buffooneries enacted in the churches, partly by the priests in self-mockery, the shameless burlesque sermons, the fools' and asses' festivals, and other spectacles of a similar description. The sale of indulgences was, however, more revolting than all; it was intrusted by the pope to the begging monks on account of their intercourse with the people, and the matter became a complete quackery. Tetzel, the best known of these dealers in absolution on account of his having been the first who was attacked, carried about a picture of the devil tormenting poor souls in hell, and wrote on his money-box,

> "As the money in you pop,
> The souls from purgatory hop."

The indulgence was at that period generally termed "The Roman pardon," and was purchased more from fear than

stupidity. The emperor Wenzel and Hieronymus of Prague were not solitary in their disapprobation, numbers regarding it as an obnoxious tribute to Rome, and fear alone rendering the popular discontent inaudible. It was, nevertheless, manifested in an imperial decree of 1500, which declared that a third of the immense sums raised by the sale of indulgences should alone be granted to the pope, and that the remaining two-thirds should be applied by the government for the defence of the empire against the Turks, but no one, except Wimpheling, who presented a work of his composition to the emperor Maximilian during the diet held at Augsburg, A. D. 1510, in which he said, "that the church was intrusted to people who knew better how to drive mules than to guide men, and that Germany wasted money on the foreigner that she required for herself," ventured to protest against this system of peculation.

The old German universities, and those that had arisen since the abandonment of that of Prague by the German professors and students, were peopled with the most decided foes to the Bohemian cause, and their doctors had been Huss's most virulent antagonists in the council of Constance. Every species of nonsense was at this period capable of being proved sense by means of scholastic logic. Learning, however, speedily revenged herself on her unworthy professors. The solemn fools pretending to the title of professors and doctors were too idle to learn even ordinary Latin, and men of superior intellect gradually succeeded, under the unsuspicious pretext of improving the languages in the universities, in elevating their tone. A school, in which genuine piety went hand in hand with enlightenment, had formed in obscurity, independent of the universities. It was founded at Deventer, in the 14th century, by Gerard de Groote, under the form of a monical community, which bore the simple title of "Brethren of common life." This school sent forth Ruysbroek, who founded a learned university in Grünthal, near Cambray. The younger generation of students attained still greater distinction by the study of the dead languages, by means of which they obtained admission into the universities, and strongly opposed scholasticism. The new study of the dead languages was termed "Humaniora," on account of the historical æsthetic philosophy introduced by its means in opposition to that purely

theological. The church at first took no offence at this innovation, the Humanists merely improving the church Latin, whilst the study of the ancient heathen writers was simply regarded as an amusement likely to wean men from the practice of the strict morality inculcated by the Reformers. The pure study of the classics was especially promoted in Heidelberg and Erfurt by Lange, but its greatest patrons were, at the end of the 15th century, Erasmus of Rotterdam at Basle, and Reuchlin of Pforzheim in Tübingen, the former of whom possessed all the subtlety, the latter all the solid learning, requisite for deep investigation.* The study of Hebrew in addition to Greek and Latin, however, roused the suspicion of the church, which feared lest the study of the Bible text might render the infallibility of the papal ordinances doubtful, and [A. D. 1479] Burchard of Oberwesel was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for venturing to assert that the Bible ought to be read in Hebrew. An attempt made to burn all Hebrew books was controverted by Reuchlin, who said "that it would certainly do no harm to destroy some irrational books of the Jewish Talmud, but that whatever was good in Hebrew ought to be perused like every thing that was good in other languages." To the great vexation of the opposite party, Leo X., who patronized learning, was of a similar opinion.

The art of printing was invented in the first half of the 15th century. The first step to it was the art of carving on wood; pictures of saints, cards for playing, elementary school-books, had been printed from wooden tablets. This art was greatly practised at Haarlem. The art of printing with movable letters was first invented by John Guttenberg at Mayence; was improved upon by John Fust, with whom Guttenberg, on account of his poverty, entered into partnership; and still further perfected by Peter Schœffer. Before the time of Luther the Bible had already been translated and printed in both High and Low Dutch, and the comparison between the

* Erasmus was reputed the greatest scholar in the world. A statue was erected to his memory by his fellow-citizens at Rotterdam, where it is still to be seen. It was asserted in the popular superstition of the day, that from time to time he turned over a leaf of the book he is represented holding in his hand, and that when the last leaf shall turn over the world will be at an end.

overdrawn ordinances of the church and the simple gospel was thus greatly facilitated. The press quickly became the organ of controversy, and the empire was ere long inundated with works for and against the Humanists. The celebrated Erasmus, without deviating from the dogmas of the church, taught the students to read the Bible in the original text and to investigate its meaning, whilst his Latin satirical poems, the wittiest of those times, spread throughout civilized Europe, and accustomed the reader to laugh at many things hitherto viewed with reverential awe.* The increasing diffusion of satirical works first demonstrated the power of the weapon placed by Guttenberg in the hands of the people. The monks perceived their danger, and, as the untaught people were unable to read or write, and books consequently fell merely into the hands of the literati and the small educated portion of the nobility and citizens, they sought to prejudice the people against this novel invention by ascribing it to the devil, and hence arose the story of Dr. Faust, in whose name that of Fust the printer at Mayence is hardly recognisable. Berthold, archbishop of Mayence, first introduced the censorship and prohibited printed books.

Humanism was greatly promoted by the foundation of the university at Wittenberg, [A. D. 1502,] by the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. Reuchlin sent thither young Philip Melancthon, (Schwarzerde, black earth,) who possessed both his solid acquirements and the subtle penetration of Erasmus, and greatly surpassed them both in zeal for truth. This university was opposed [A. D. 1506] by another founded by Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, at Frankfurt on the Oder, with a papal tendency.

The discovery of the passage to the East Indies and to America opened a fresh field for investigation, and also greatly contributed to the enlightenment of the age, before which scholastic sophistry could no longer stand. Still, notwithstanding the advance in the learning of the age, the people, far removed from its influence, remained in a state of mental darkness, and the scholars of the day, liberal-minded as they

* Erasmus was, A. D. 1510, invited to England by Henry VIII., wrote his "Praise of Folly" whilst residing with Sir Thomas More, and was appointed Margaret professor of divinity and Greek lecturer at Cambridge.—TRANSLATOR.

frequently were, either wanted the power or the courage to speak openly and freely. The veneration and awe generally inspired by the authority of the pope restrained the discontented, until a man, belonging to the lower classes, gave the example, and animated even princes in the cause. Martin Luther, the son of a poor miner in Saxony, an Augustin monk, Doctor and Professor of Theology at the new university of Wittenberg, a fiery and daring spirit, a hero in the garb of a monk, resolved, alone and fearlessly, to promulgate the convictions common to him and to many others. Unconscious of his high destiny and as yet totally devoid of ambition, his first actions were solely inspired by wrath on seeing the shameless conduct of John Tetzel, the retailer of indulgences, in Saxony.

Luther was born at Eisleben, and lived for some time with his parents at Mœra, near Schmalkald; on the improvement in their circumstances, consequent on his father being taken into the service of Count von Mansfeld, he was sent to the academies, and at first devoted himself to the study of jurisprudence at Erfurt, which he abandoned for that of theology on the death of his friend Alexius, who was struck with lightning when at his side. He afterwards entered the order of St. Augustin, a branch of Franciscans, whose strict morality and learning strongly contrasted with the licence, ignorance, and perverting sophistry of the other monastic orders. In 1509, Luther visited Rome on business relating to his order, and took up his abode outside the Porta del Popolo, in the little monastery that is still to be seen there. On his return, [A. D. 1512,] he was appointed doctor at Wittenberg, and [A. D. 1516] published the "German Theology," a work written in the simple, severe style of the best mystics, among whom he sought shelter and encouragement against the scholastics. As yet he had neither joined the witty and learned Humanists, nor did his inclinations sympathize with theirs; he attacked the follies and depravity of the age, not with satire and irony, but with the earnest gravity of a mystic monk, a stranger to the world. He acted with perfect independence, to the astonishment of both his antagonists and his friends.

On the 31st of October, 1517, Luther publicly brought forward in the castle-church at Wittenberg ninety-five Theses against the indulgence, the principal of which were, "that by

sincere repentance and penance alone, not by the payment of a sum of money, could sins be remitted, and, consequently, that the pope had no right to dispense absolution for money; moreover, that the pope, being merely the vicegerent of God upon earth, could only remit the external penances ordained by the church on earth, not the eternal punishment awarded to the sinner after death." This bold assertion, like a spark of vivid light amid profound darkness, rendered the truth fully visible, and thousands, once the spell of silence broken, ventured to utter their secret thoughts; thousands became clearly aware of facts of which they had before timidly doubted. The whole of Germany and Europe was inundated with copies of the Theses, and unanimously showered applause upon the bold monk. The ancient church, undermined by advancing knowledge and her own depravity, tottered to the base. The excitement caused by these Theses was so great that Tetzel found himself forced to attempt a defence, which, however, merely consisted of coarse abuse of his antagonist, and a haughty appeal to the authority of the pope. Prierias, Hochstraaten, and Eck wrote in a similar spirit. At Rome, the affair was merely viewed as a monkish dispute, and the Cardinal Thomas of Gaëta, (Cajetanus,) the general of the Dominicans, was commissioned to examine into it. The old emperor, Maximilian, had, exactly at that period, [A. D. 1518,] opened a diet at Augsburg, at which several of the princes and cities complained of the sale of indulgences and of other ecclesiastical disorders, and the emperor, deeming it politic to make use of Luther as a means of humbling the pontiff, and of compelling him to retract some of his inordinate demands, refused to deliver him up, although he had been cited to appear at Rome, and, on the conclusion of the diet, a discussion took place between Luther and Cajetanus at Augsburg. It was in vain that the cardinal demanded unconditional recantation, Luther was firm, and Cajetanus at last terminated the discussion by saying, "I will no longer talk to this beast; he is deep-sighted, and has wonderful ideas." Luther appealed "from the ill-informed pope to those better informed," and, besides maintaining his Theses, increased the boldness of his scrutiny and of his words as his antagonists augmented, and turned the arguments they brought forward in defence of the papal ordinances against themselves. The politics of the day

also momentarily insured his personal safety, and allowed time for his friends to assemble before his enemies could take any decisive step against him. The pope and all the temporal princes were at that period deeply interested in the election of a successor to Maximilian, who, on the close of the diet and after assisting at the wedding of Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Susanna of Bavaria, had quitted Augsburg for Innsbruck, where the citizens, enraged at the licentious conduct of his officers, closed the gates against him and compelled him to remain during the whole of the wintry night, January, 1519, in his carriage in the open street. Mortification and chill brought on a fever, and he expired at Wels on his way to Vienna.

Frederick of Saxony became regent of the empire; by many he was even destined for the throne; at all events his vote at the election was of great weight, and the pope consequently presented him with a golden rose and acted with extraordinary lenity towards Luther, between whom, his friends Melancthon and Carlstadt on one side, and the terrible dialectic Eck on the other, a religious discussion took place at Leipzig. Luther, powerful in body and mind, spoke with manly, clear precision; Carlstadt, a diminutive, dark man, with bitterness and heat; whilst Melancthon, with his pale countenance, slight and drooping form, impressive tones, and deep learning, breathed gentle persuasion; but Eck, overpowering in person as in lungs, drowned their voices, and with great acuteness pointed out the contradictions inseparable from the Protestantism of later days. This discussion, like its predecessors, was merely productive of increased hatred.

Luther's partisans, meanwhile, increased in number and courage. The Bohemians wrote to him with great delight; the Humanists also declared in his favour; Ulric von Hutten addressed to him a letter with the superscription, "Awake, noble freedom;" and Franz von Sickingen offered him shelter and protection, in case of necessity, in his hidden castles; but Luther's hopes were centered in Charles V., the youthful grandson of the late emperor, who had just been proclaimed his successor, aided by whom the reformation of the church would be secured. With this intention he addressed to him a letter of admonition, but full of reverence and suited to the spirit of the age, which the imperious youth, confident of the

infallibility of his commanding genius, and blind to the exigencies of the times, did not comprehend, and treated with disdain.

Inspirited by public sympathy, Luther gave to the world his two celebrated works, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," and, "Of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," the boldest that had yet appeared. The words of the hero of Wittenberg struck dumb his antagonists and confirmed the wavering. He addressed the pope, the emperor, the aristocracy, the people, reminding them of the duty they had to perform in these agitated times, and requiring each to aid in placing Christianity and the German empire on a firmer basis. He wrote in Latin to potentates and savants, in German to the people, and his enthusiasm suddenly raised that language, which had deteriorated since the Swabian period, and laid the foundation to the High German of more modern times. His introduction of a German in the place of the Latin liturgy, until now used, of German psalm-singing in churches, and his abolition of the Latin service, were justly considered as some of the most essential reforms.

Rome now lamented her tardiness, and the pope, at the urgent request of the German theologians, who saw the danger close at hand, published, in the beginning of 1520, the bull "Exurge Domine," in which Luther's doctrines were condemned. Cardinal Alcander carried the bull to Germany, where his life was endangered by the almost universal popularity of the bold Reformer, who now solemnly renounced all obedience to the pope and to the ancient church. Convoking the professors and students of Wittenberg before the Elsterthor, he publicly delivered the papal bull and the books of the canonical law to the flames, December 11th, 1520; the elector not only countenancing this proceeding, but also blaming Alcander for having promulgated the papal bull in Germany without his knowledge, and declaring the papal bull unjust, and that the pope, by listening to Luther's personal enemy, Dr. Eck, had forgotten his duty as a judge by not hearing the opposite side, and by needlessly agitating the people. Shortly after this, on Christmas day, Carlstadt, publicly and unopposed, administered the sacrament in both forms, giving the cup to the laity after the manner of the Hussites.

CXCIII. *Charles the Fifth.—The Diet at Worms.—Thomas Münzer.—Zwingli.—Pope Adrian.—Internal feuds.*

WHILST the people were thus busied with the Reformation, the attention of the princes was wholly bestowed on the election of a successor to the throne, on which the balance of power in Europe depended.

The house of Habsburg had become the most powerful in Europe. Maximilian died, A. D. 1519; his only son, Philip, in 1506, leaving two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, to the elder of whom fell all the Habsburg possessions, and, on the demise of Ferdinand the Catholic, the whole of Spain and Naples, together with the late Spanish conquests in America. This monarch boasted that the sun never set on his dominions. A Persian ambassador addressed him as "the monarch protected by the sun." He also bore two globes in his escutcheon. Although naturally desirous of wearing the imperial crown on the death of his grandfather, he had, notwithstanding his youth, the ability to perceive that his election would rouse the fear and jealousy of the other potentates of Europe, and cautiously to veil his ambitious project of gaining the supremacy in Europe. His motto was "nondum." Francis I., who had reaped laurels whilst Charles was yet a boy, his equal in ambition, but his inferior in intellect and power, at first boldly confronted him in the lists, and competed for the imperial throne. Had the crown of Germany been placed on his brow, the power of the Habsburg would have found an equipoise; his ill success, on the contrary, placed him, as if in a giant's grasp, between Germany and Spain, and limited him to a mere defensive policy.

Each of the competitors sought to incline the election in his favour, and, as the issue was doubtful, to secure himself in case of ill success. The pope dreaded Charles's supremacy and opposed him, at the same time carefully guarding against converting him into an enemy, whilst the electoral princes dreaded the power of both of the aspirants and offered the crown to Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, who, conscious that the little power possessed by his house would incapacitate him from acting with the energy requisite on the throne, steadily refused it. Francis was upheld by the dukes

of Würtemberg, Brunswick, Gueldres, and Mecklenburg, and for a short time by the celebrated knight Franz von Sickingen. His partisans, bribed by promises and gold, however, merely injured his cause. The traitors were viewed with universal abhorrence, and Francis being rejected on the grounds of his not being a German, the choice consequently fell upon Charles, who accorded a capitulation to the princes, by which they carefully guarded their rights, A. D. 1519. He left Spain for Germany, A. D. 1521.

A great diet, to which all the princes and estates of the empire flocked, was convoked at Worms, for the purpose of receiving the emperor, of regulating the affairs of the empire, but principally for that of deciding the Lutheran controversy. The dignified demeanour, gravity, gentleness, and condescending manners of the youthful emperor, inspired the assembly with reverence. The dislike of the Spaniards to their German ruler, and the inimical preparations of his unsuccessful rival, Francis I., rendered the confidence of the Germans and the maintenance of peace and unity throughout the empire important; the new religious controversy was, consequently, obnoxious to Charles, who, perceiving the indifference felt towards it by the princes of the empire, deemed it a heresy easy to suppress, and as offering a means of winning over the pope. So blind was this emperor, talented in other respects, to the tendency of the age. Recent events alone might have proved to him that the Reformation was inevitable, and if, instead of aiding the pope, he had placed himself at its head, it might have been preserved from the errors produced by partiality, have been carried through with power and moderation, and have attained its aim without terminating in a schism.

Charles, anxious to retain the friendship of the elector of Saxony, imagined that the Lutheran question might be quietly set aside, and that the insignificant monk would seek to shelter himself in obscurity from the proud imperial assembly at Worms, before which he was cited to appear. Luther's friends, alarmed for his safety, vainly advised him not to appear. On his arrival at Worms, two thousand people collected and accompanied him to his lodging. He was summoned before the council, April 18th, 1521. His demeanour as he confronted this imposing assembly was dignified and calm. On being commanded to retract the charges he had made

against the church, he addressed them at great length in German, and, at the emperor's request, repeated all he had said in Latin, openly declaring that he should be guilty of the deepest sin were he to recant, as he should thereby strengthen and increase the evil he opposed, and urgently demanding to be refuted before being condemned. This was refused. The emperor, impatient for the termination of the affair, insisted on a simple recantation, which Luther steadily rejected. The manly courage with which he spoke was beheld with admiration by the princes, and with delight by the German nobility, and it was rumoured that four hundred of their number had sworn to defend him at all hazards; papers were even found on which the significative word "Bundschuh" was inscribed.

Luther was now put under the ban of the empire, but the emperor, who, in after years, bitterly lamented his not having got rid of him by condemning him to the stake, pacified the people by a solemn assurance of the inviolability of the safe-conduct granted to him, observing, that "if truth and faith abode no where else they ought ever to find a refuge in the courts of princes." Luther returned home, but was on his way carried off by a troop of horsemen to the Wartburg, where, safe from the artifices of his enemies, he remained in concealment under the protection of his friend and patron, Frederick of Saxony.

The emperor, after forming a new government, in which the elector of Saxony had great influence, returned to Spain, leaving his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, in possession of Wurtemberg and of his more ancient hereditary possessions in Germany.

Luther's party had already acquired such strength that his works were even published at Worms, during the emperor's stay. His friends, although imagining him lost, zealously followed in his steps, but the want of a leader and the indecision that prevailed in the exposition of the new doctrines produced, like the rising storm as it beats the surface of the ocean, a confused murmur throughout Germany. The literati endeavoured to render the new Lutheran doctrines clear to the dull comprehension of the people. Melancthon drew up the principal articles of the Christian doctrine, (the *loci communes*,) which greatly contributed to the harmony of the party, and formed the groundwork of their system. Ulric von

Hutten continued his attacks upon the pope. Luther, nevertheless, in his retirement in the Wartburg, where he was known as the Chevalier George, and amused himself sometimes by hunting in the neighbourhood, far more aided his cause by the translation of the Bible into German, which, besides rendering the Scriptures accessible to men of every grade, greatly improved the language, and laid the foundation to the whole of High German literature.

The illiterate and the enthusiastic, however, far outstripped Luther in their ideas; instead of reforming they wished to annihilate the church, and to grasp political as well as religious liberty, and it was justly feared lest these excesses might furnish Rome with a pretext for rejecting every species of reform. "Luther," wrote their leader, Thomas Münzer, 'merely draws the word of God from books, and twists the dead letters." Nicolas Storch, Münzer's first teacher, a clothier, who surrounded himself with twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, boasted of receiving revelations from an angel. Their rejection of infant baptism and sole recognition of that of adults as efficacious, gained for them the appellation of Anabaptists. Carlstadt joined this sect, and followed the example already given by Bartholomew Bernhardi, a priest, one of Luther's disciples, who had married. The disorder occasioned by Carlstadt, who, at the head of a small number of adherents, destroyed the images and ornaments in the churches, forced Luther; who, regarding himself as the soldier of God fighting against the power of Satan upon earth, saw the works of the devil not so much in the actions of his enemies as in those of his false friends and of those who gave way to exaggerated enthusiasm, to quit his retreat, and [A. D. 1522] he returned to Wittenberg, where he preached for eight days, and at length succeeded in quelling the disturbance. The moderate party regained its former power. Luther continued to guide the Reformation. His influence over the people and his moderation inclined the princes in his favour, and strengthened their disposition to aid his projects. Henry VIII. of England, although he wrote with a coarseness against him which he equalled in his reply, reformed the English church and threw off the papal yoke, a step, which he would, in all probability, not have ventured upon without Luther's precedent. Brandenburg, Hesse, and

Saxony, where Frederick introduced the service in the German language, and, in 1524, the first German Psalm Book, into the churches, warmly espoused the cause of the Reformation. The cities also declared in its favour. In 1523, Magdeburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stettin, Dantzig, Riga, expelled the monks and priests, and appointed Lutheran preachers. Nuremberg and Breslau, where almost all the priests married, hailed the Reformation with delight.

In Switzerland, [A. D. 1516,] Ulric Zwingli of Toggenburg began to preach against ecclesiastical abuses, but was silenced by a papal pension. Luther's example, however, again roused his courage, and, since 1519, he exercised the greatest influence in Zurich, where the citizens generally favoured the Reformation. Their example was followed by those of Berne, Basle, Strassburg, Constance, Mühlhausen, St. Gall, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and a part of Appenzell and the Grisons. In Zurich, Zwingli destroyed the pictures and organs in the churches, whilst Luther protected and honoured art. His marriage with a widow, Anna Reinhardt, was solemnized, A. D. 1524. He administered the sacrament without the holy wafer, with common bread and wine. The Anabaptists, repulsed by Luther, encouraged by these precedents, drew near to Zwingli, and their leader, Thomas Münzer, who had been expelled from Wittenberg, went to Waldshut on the Rhine, where, countenanced by the priest, Hubmaier, the greatest disorder took place. Zwingli declared against them, and caused several of them to be drowned, [A. D. 1524,] but was, nevertheless, still regarded by Luther as a man who, under the cloak of spiritual liberty, sought to bring about political changes. Faber preached at Berne, that the Reformers had begun with the clergy, but should end with the rulers. Luther, on the contrary, cherished an almost biblical reverence for the anointed of the Lord, by whose aid he hoped to succeed in reforming the church. Zwingli also went much further than Luther in his attack upon the ancient mysteries, teaching, for instance, that the bread and wine in the Lord's supper merely typified the body and blood of Christ, whilst Luther maintained their being the real presence.

In 1521, Charles V. had raised his ancient tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the pontifical throne. This excellent old man fully acknowledged the evils that prevailed in the church,

accepted the hundred grievances of the Germans, and projected a comprehensive reform in the outward observances of the church, independent of its doctrine. He shared the fate of almost every German pontiff who had ventured to reform the Church of Rome, and expired, A. D. 1523. His successor, Clement VII., declared with great truth that "the separation of the North from the church was far less perilous than a general Reformation, and that it was better to lose a part than the whole." His endeavours were therefore chiefly directed to the isolation of the Reformation, an idea, which he sought, by means of his coadjutors, Matthew Lang and the Archduke Ferdinand, to instil into the mind of the emperor. The persecution of the Lutherans, several of whom were condemned to death, began at this period.

The tranquillity of Germany was at this time disturbed by the Würtemberg, Hildesheim, and Sickingen feuds. To the numerous nobility of the empire in Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhenish provinces, the opening Reformation presented a favourable opportunity for improving their circumscribed political position, seizing the rich lands belonging to the church, and raising themselves to an equality with, if not deposing, the temporal princes. Ulric von Hutten vainly admonished their union with the citizens and the peasantry as the only means of success, a policy which their pride of birth and dread of the encroaching democracy forbade them to pursue. Franz von Sickingen,* a man of diminutive stature and of surpassing valour and wit, celebrated for his private feuds with Metz, Worms, and Lorraine, had, in the commencement of the war between Charles V. and Francis I., been intrusted with the command on the Rhine, where he was opposed by the Chevalier Bayard, whom he shut up in Mezières and was solely prevented taking prisoner by the jealousy of the count of Nassau. Francis I. seized this opportunity to make proposals to Sickingen and to the German nobility, who, in the hope of succeeding in their schemes by his aid, willingly listened, and Sickingen convoked the whole of the immediate nobility of the empire of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, to a great diet at Landau, [A. D. 1522,] where he was nominated captain of the confederacy, and it was even whispered

* His portrait and that of Ulric von Hutten, by Albert Durer, are in the Munich gallery.

that, in case of success, he was destined to the imperial throne. His opponents termed him the anti-emperor; Luther, the anti-pope. Cleve, Limburg, and Brunswick rose in his favour, but were reduced to submission by the princes of Cleve, Cologne, and Hesse. In 1522, he besieged Richard of Treves at the head of twelve thousand men, but was repulsed by the princes of Hesse and of the Pfalz. Deserted by Fürstenberg and Zollern, the chiefs of the confederacy, he bravely defended his fortress of Landstuhl against the overwhelming forces of the enemy, until it was reduced to a mass of ruins by the heavy cannonade. Mortally wounded by a splinter, he lay on his death-bed, bitterly exclaiming, "Where now are my friends Arnberg, Fürstenberg, Horn, etc.!" when the princes of the Pfalz, of Hesse and Treves, who had gained possession of the fortress, entered his chamber. Richard of Treves loaded him with reproaches, to which he merely replied, "I have now to speak with a greater Lord than you," and immediately expired. The three princes knelt and prayed for the salvation of his soul. The taking of the Landstuhl decided the triumph of the new over the old mode of warfare, of artillery over the sword, the lance, and walled fortress, and that of the princes over the nobility. Ulric von Hutten fled to Switzerland, and died at Ufnau, on the lake of Zurich, A. D. 1525. Several other feuds of minor importance also disturbed the empire. During the period intervening between the defeat of Sickingen and the great insurrection of the peasantry, the papal faction was unremitting in its attacks against that of Saxony. The government of the empire, over which Frederick of Saxony exercised great influence, being unable to maintain tranquillity during the emperor's absence, its authority consequently diminished, and was finally destroyed by the disunion that prevailed among the estates at the diet held at Nuremberg, A. D. 1524. The disinclination of the emperor to countenance the Reformation, the discord that broke out among the princes at the diet, and their inability to guide the Reformation and to hold the reins of government, necessarily produced popular anarchy on the one hand, and a fresh attack on the part of the pope on the other. Before the outbreak of the great peasant war, immediately on the dissolution of the Nuremberg diet, Clement VII., by the cession of the fifth of all the revenues of the church to the Bavarian

dukes, induced them to promise to take up arms in case of necessity against the heretics, and to make the university of Ingolstadt a bulwark of Ultramontanism. The Archduke Frederick also received in donation from the pope a third of the church revenues within his possessions, and appears, according to Ranke, in his account of the Reformation in Germany, to have also acceded to similar terms, A. D. 1524.

CXCIV. *The peasant war.—Defeat of the peasants.*

THE example of the nobility, who revolted singly against the princes, was followed by the peasantry, who had not remained undisturbed by the general movement. The religious liberty preached by Luther was understood by them as also implying the political freedom for which they sighed.

Their condition had greatly deteriorated during the past century. The nobility had bestowed the chief part of their wealth on the church, and dissipated the remainder at court. Luxury had also greatly increased, and the peasant was consequently laden with feudal dues of every description, to which were added their ill-treatment by the men-at-arms and mercenaries maintained at their expense, the damage done by the game, the destruction of the crops by the noble followers of the chace, and finally, the extortions practised by the new law offices, the wearisome written proceedings, and the impoverishment consequent on law-suits. The German peasant, despised and enslaved, could no longer seek refuge from the tyranny of his liege in the cities, where the reception of fresh suburbans was strictly prohibited, and where the citizen, enervated by wealth and luxury, instead of siding with the peasant, imitated the noble and viewed him with contempt.

Attempts had already been made to cast off the yoke, when the Reformation broke out and inspired the oppressed peasantry with the hope that the fall of the hierarchy would be followed by that of the feudal system. In 1522, they raised the standard of revolt, the golden shoe, with the motto, "Whoever will be free, let him follow this ray of light," in the Hegau, but were reduced to submission. In the autumn of 1524, a fresh insurrection broke out and spread throughout Upper Swabia. Donau-Eschingen was unsuccessfully be-

sieged by the insurgents. During the winter, George Truchsess (dapifer) von Waldburg was nominated by king Ferdinand to the command of the Swabian confederacy against the peasantry, and ordered to use the utmost severity in order to quell the revolt. Negotiations were at first carried on between the Truchsess and the peasants of Stühlingen, notwithstanding which, in the spring of 1525, the insurrection again burst out on every side under George Schmidt and George Tœubner, who formed a confederacy including all the neighbouring peasantry, and fixed a stake before the house door of every man who refused to join, in sign of his being an enemy to the common cause. The Algauer under Walterbach von Au, and the citizens of Memmingen under their preacher, Schappeler, joined the insurgents. The serfs of the Truchsess besieged his castles. Ulric, the smith of Sulmentingen, encamped at the head of eighteen thousand men at Baldringen. The most numerous and the boldest band of insurgents assembled under Eitel Hans Müller, on the lake of Constance. Ulric, the ex-duke of Wurtemberg, seized this opportunity and raised a body of fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, in the hope of regaining possession of his territories. The Swiss, bribed by the Truchsess, who was shut up in Tuttlingen between them and the insurgent peasantry, deserted Ulric when marching upon Stuttgard, sold his artillery, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Rotweil. The Swiss, although themselves peasants, discovered little inclination to aid their fellows, and monopolized their freedom. The peasants, abandoned by the Swiss, were now exposed to the whole of the Truchsess's forces, consisting of two thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry, well supplied with artillery furnished by the large towns, and were slaughtered in great numbers at Leipheim and Wurzach; but their opponent was in his turn shut up in Weingarten by Eitel Hans Müller, and compelled to negotiate terms. The peasantry discovered extreme moderation in their demands, which were included in twelve articles, and elected a court of arbitration consisting of the Archduke Ferdinand, the elector of Saxony, Luther, Melancthon, and some preachers, before which their grievances were to be laid.

The twelve articles were as follows :—1. The right of the

peasantry to appoint their own preachers, who were to be allowed to preach the word of God from the Bible. 2. That the dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, with the exception of the tithes ordained by God for the maintenance of the clergy, the surplus of which was to be applied to general purposes and to the maintenance of the poor. 3. The abolition of vassalage as iniquitous. 4. The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling. 5. That of cutting wood in the forests. 6. The modification of soccage and average-service. 7. That the peasant should be guaranteed from the caprice of his lord by a fixed agreement. 8. The modification of the rent upon feudal lands, by which a part of the profit would be secured to the occupant. 9. The administration of justice according to the ancient laws, not according to the new statutes and to caprice. 10. The restoration of communal-property, illegally seized. 11. The abolition of dues on the death of the serf, by which the widows and orphans were deprived of their right. 12. The acceptance of the aforesaid articles, or their refutation as contrary to the Scriptures.

The princes naturally ridiculed the simplicity of the peasantry in deeming a court of arbitration, in which Luther was to be seated at the side of the archduke, possible, and Luther himself refused to interfere in their affairs. Although free from the injustice of denying the oppressed condition of the peasantry, for which he had severely attacked the princes and nobility, he dreaded the insolence of the peasantry under the guidance of the Anabaptists and enthusiasts, whom he viewed with deep repugnance, and, consequently, used his utmost endeavours to quell the sedition; but the peasantry, believing themselves betrayed by him, gave way to greater excesses, and Thomas Münzer openly accused him "of deserting the cause of liberty, and of rendering the Reformation a fresh advantage for the princes, a fresh means of tyranny."

The whole of the peasantry in Southern Germany, incited by fanatical preachers, meanwhile revolted, and were joined by several cities. Carlstadt, expelled from Saxony, now appeared at Rotenburg on the Tauber, and the Upper German peasantry, inflamed by his exhortations to prosecute the Reformation independently of Luther, whom he accused of countenancing the princes, rose in the March and April of 1525, in order to maintain the twelve articles by force, to com-

pel the princes and nobles to subscribe to them, to destroy the monasteries, and to spread the gospel. Mergentheim, the seat of the unpopular German Hospitallers, was plundered. The counts of Hohenlohe were forced to join the insurgents, who said to them, "Brother Albert and brother George, you are no longer lords but peasants, we are the lords of Hohenlohe!" The ringleaders were Florian Geyer, a notorious captain of mercenaries, Bermeter, Metzler, a tavern-keeper in the Odenwald, and Jæchlein Rohrbach. Numbers of the nobility were forced, under pain of their castles being plundered and destroyed, to join the insurgents. The castle and city of Weinsperg, in which a number of Swabian nobles had taken refuge with their families and treasure, were besieged, and the former was stormed and taken by Geyer. The citizens retained the nobles, who, on seeing all was lost, attempted to flee by force, and they fell together into the hands of the victorious peasantry, by whom the nobles, seventy in number, were condemned to run between two ranks of men armed with spears, with which they pierced them as they passed.

This atrocious deed drew a pamphlet from Luther "against the furious peasantry," in which he called upon all the citizens of the empire "to strangle, to stab them, secretly and openly, as they can, as one would kill a mad dog."* The peasantry had, however, ceased to respect him. Florian Geyer returned to Franconia, where he systematically destroyed the castles of the nobility. The main body of the insurgents, meanwhile, held a great council of war at Gundelsheim, in which Wendel Hippler, who had formerly been in the service of the counts of Hohenlohe, by whom he had been ill-treated, advised them to seek the alliance of the lower nobility against the princes, and to take the numerous troops of mercenaries, inclined to favour their cause, into their pay. The avarice and confidence of the peasantry caused the latter proposal to be rejected, but the former one was acceded to, and the chief command was accordingly imposed upon the notorious robber-knight on the Kocher, Gœtz von Berlichingen with the iron hand. Gœtz had carried on several feuds with the temporal and spiritual princes, and was reputed a bold and independent

* Caspar von Schwenkfeld said, "Luther has led the people out of Egypt (the papacy) through the Red Sea (the peasant war), but has deserted them in the wilderness." Luther never forgave him.

spirit; his courage was, however, the only quality befitting him for the office thus imposed upon him, his knowledge of warfare being solely confined to the tactics of highway robbery. His life had been spent in petty contests; and in the candid biography, still extant, written by himself, he never even alludes to the great ideas of the times, but details with extreme zest the manner in which he had way-laid and plundered not only armed foes, but also peaceable wayfarers and merchants. With this extraordinary leader, or rather prisoner, at their head, the multitude crossed the Neckar, and, advancing into the valley of the Maine, spread terror as far as Frankfurt, where the communes rose and deposed the council. Aschaffenburg was forced to subscribe to the twelve articles. The peasants around Spires and Worms, and in the Pfalz, on either bank of the Rhine, meanwhile revolted under Frederick Wurm, and a citizen of Weissenburg, nicknamed Bacchus. The insurrection in the Pfalz was quelled by the Elector Louis, who listened to the demands of the peasantry, and induced them to return to their homes. The eastern part of Swabia was completely revolutionized, and fresh multitudes assembled at Gaildorf and Ellwangen, under Jacob Bader, who needlessly destroyed the fine old castle of Hohenstaufen, and, on the Neckar side of the Alp, Matern Feuerbacher assembled twenty-five thousand men. Had those multitudes, instead of plundering monasteries and castles, aided their brethren of Upper Swabia, the force of the Truchsess, before which Eitel Hans Müller was retreating, must have been annihilated.

The main body of the peasantry, under Gœtz, Metzler, and Geyer, now marched upon Würzburg, within whose fortress the clergy and nobility had secured their treasures. The whole country was in open revolt as far as Thuringia. In the city of Würzburg, Hans Bermeter had already incited the citizens to rebellion, and had plundered the houses of the clergy. The city was easily taken, but the strongly-fortified castle of Frauenberg was gallantly defended by the feudal retainers of the bishop. Several bloody attacks proving unsuccessful, Gœtz advised his followers to retreat, and either to aid the Swabian peasantry against the Truchsess or to overrun the whole of Franconia and Thuringia, and to spread the revolution to the utmost limits of the empire. But his advice was

overruled by Geyer, and the peasants continued to expend their energy on the impregnable fort until the news of the unsuccessful defence of their brethren in Swabia against the Truchsess was brought by Hippler, in consequence of which the siege was suddenly raised, and the united force of the peasantry was turned against the Truchsess.

The elector, Louis, would, notwithstanding the counsels of the refugee nobility, the bishops of Würzburg and Spires, who continually admonished him to break his plighted word, to follow the example given by the Truchsess and others of the nobility, and to head his troops against the peasantry, have remained true to his promise, had he not applied for advice to Melancthon, who declared him free from guilt in case he broke his knightly word, and zealously exhorted him to make head against the rebels. He joined the Truchsess, who now found himself at the head of a well-armed force of twelve thousand men, and marched to the relief of Würzburg.

When too late, the Franconian peasantry resorted to diplomatic measures by the convocation of a Franconian diet at Schweinfurt, composed of all the estates and nobles by whom they had been joined, and which was opened by an energetic manifesto. Negotiation was, however, unavailing in the face of a victorious imperial army. Battle or flight were the only alternative, and the diet was dissolved after sitting a few days. Hippler vainly loaded the peasants with bitter reproaches for their rejection of the counsel he had so wisely given, and endeavoured to maintain some degree of discipline and order. Gœtz von Berlichingen secretly regained his home during the following night, May 28th, 1525, and a general dispersion took place among the different bodies of peasantry. On the 2nd June, the Truchsess attacked Metzler, who had encamped near Kœnigshofen. Metzler fled, and the peasantry were cut down by thousands. This defeat was chiefly caused by the disunion that prevailed among them and by the absence of Geyer and his followers, who were engaged in negotiating terms with the Margrave Casimir von Culmbach, and in besieging the castle of Würzburg. Geyer reached the field of battle too late to turn the day, and was himself defeated in a decisive and desperate engagement that took place a few days after. He escaped to the vicinity of Limburg, where he was overtaken and slain.

Thousands of the peasantry had fallen, and all opposition now ceased. The city of Würzburg threw open her gates to the triumphant Truchsess, who held a fearful court of judgment, in which the prisoners were beheaded by his jester, Hans;* nineteen citizens and thirty-six ringleaders were among the number. Similar horrors were enacted throughout the country, and were followed by a systematic persecution on the part of the bishop. The Rhenish princes were, nevertheless, speedily recalled in order to quell a fresh insurrection that had broken out in their rear, and were again victorious at Pfeddersheim. The Margrave, Casimir of Brandenburg-Culmbach, who had kept his father a close prisoner for several years under pretext of insanity, treated the peasantry with the most refined cruelty, and reduced them to such a state of desperation that the peasant lads would ask him as he rode along, whether he intended to exterminate their class. The Truchsess, after the execution at Würzburg, joined Casimir at Bamberg, which had been lately the scene of a fresh defeat of the wretched peasantry, who, together with some of the citizens, suspected of co-operating with them, were cruelly butchered. Hundreds of heads fell on the return of the expelled nobility. The spiritual princes surpassed their lay brethren in atrocity. Another insurrection in Upper Swabia was put down. Gœtz was retained a prisoner for two years. Hippler died in prison. Nor did the cruelty of the Truchsess remain unretributed. His son, a student in the French university, was carried off, and, in all

* The peasants knelt in a row before the Truchsess, whilst Hans the jester, with the sword of execution in his hand, marched up and down behind them. The Truchsess demanded, "which among them had been implicated in the revolt?" None acknowledged the crime. "Which of them had read the Bible?" Some said yes, some no, and each of those who replied in the affirmative was instantly deprived of his head by Hans, amid the loud laughter of the squires. The same fate befell those who knew how to read or write. The priest of Schipf, an old gouty man, who had zealously opposed the peasantry, had himself carried by four of his men to the Truchsess in order to receive the thanks of that prince for his services, but Hans, imagining that he was one of the rebels, suddenly stepping behind him, cut off his head; "upon which," the Truchsess relates, "I seriously reproved my good Hans for his untoward jest." See *Hormayr*. A young peasant said, as he was about to be beheaded, "Alas! alas! I must die so soon, and I have scarcely had a bellyful twice in my life!" *Stumpf*.

probability, murdered, (as he never reappeared,) by a Chevalier von Rosenberg, whom he had insulted.

At the same time, in the summer of 1525, an insurrection, bearing a more religious character, broke out in Thuringia where Thomas Münzer appeared as a prophet, and preached the doctrines of equality and fraternity. The insurgents were defeated by Ernst, Count von Mansfeld, whose brother Albert had conceded all their demands; and afterwards at Fulda, by Philip of Hesse, who, reinforced by Ernst, the Duke George, and the Elector John of Saxony, marched on Frankenhausen, the head-quarters of the rebels, who, infatuated with the belief that Heaven would fight for them, allowed themselves to be slaughtered whilst invoking aid from God. Five thousand were slain. Frankenhausen was taken and pillaged, and three hundred prisoners were beheaded. Münzer was discovered in a hay-stack, in which he had secreted himself, put to the rack, and executed with twenty-six of his companions.

The revolt had, meanwhile, spread from Strassburg throughout Styria, Carinthia, and a part of the Tyrol, and Count Sigmund von Dietrichstein was despatched thither by the Archduke Ferdinand, at the head of a small troop of mercenaries, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity. The mercenaries, however, refusing to face the insurgents, he was compelled to retreat and to reinforce himself with Hussars,* who practised the greatest atrocities in the Alps. Whilst carousing with his followers at Schladming, celebrated for its mines, he was surprised during the night by the peasants under Michael Gruber. Three thousand of his soldiers were slain, thirty-two nobles beheaded, and he was himself taken prisoner. His life was spared at the request of the mercenaries, who had deserted to the rebels, but all the Bohemians and Hussars in his army were put to death.

Ferdinand now attempted to pacify the peasantry by concessions and promises, and sent to them, as mediator, George von Frundsberg, the idol of the mercenaries, who succeeded in quelling the rebellion in the Salzburg territory. Niclas von Salm, however, refused to make terms with the insur-

* So named from the Hungarian number "huss," twenty; these troops of cavalry having been originally formed by the enrolment of every twentieth man in Hungary. TRANSLATOR.

gents, and burnt Schladming with all its inhabitants, forcing those who attempted to escape back into the flames. He was also victorious over the rebel chief, Geismayr, at Radstadt. Fearful reprisals were taken. The whole country became one scene of devastation, and young children were cast as "Lutheran dogs" into the flames.

Thus terminated this terrible struggle, during which more than one hundred thousand of the peasantry fell, and which reduced the survivors to a more degraded state of slavery.

CXCV. *Increasing power of the House of Habsburg.—Victories in Italy.—The intermixture of diplomacy with the Reformation.—The Augsburg Confession.*

THE emperor, Charles V., and his brother, Ferdinand, engaged in extending the power of their family abroad, took merely a secondary interest in the events that agitated Germany. The rescue of Italy from French influence and intrigue, the alliance of the pope as a means of promoting the interest of the house of Habsburg, and the possession of the Luxemburg inheritance, (Hungary and Bohemia,) formed the chief objects of their ambition; and the royal brothers, consequently, solely took a serious part in the internal movements of the empire, or made use of them, for the purpose of influencing the pope.

Austria was by no means free from the general state of fermentation, and demanded the greatest caution on the part of her ruler. A new government had been formed by the estates on the death of Maximilian, and their recognition of his grandson was declared dependent upon certain conditions. The doctrines of Luther were also preached at Vienna, by Paul von Spretten, (Speratus,) and were generally disseminated throughout Austria. Charles V., unable at that moment to turn his attention to that portion of his dominions, intrusted its management to the archduke, who visited Vienna in 1522, seized the persons of the new counsellors at a banquet, and deprived them and six of the citizens of their heads. Speratus was banished, and his successor, Tauler, condemned to the stake. Hubmaier of Waldshut was also burnt. Lutheranism, nevertheless, rapidly progressed, and fresh preachers, patron-

ized and protected by the nobility, upon whom Ferdinand could not retaliate, arose. The disputes between the emperor and the pope, moreover, inclined him to leave the Reformers unharassed, nor was he altogether uninfluenced by the hope of enriching himself with the plunder of the church. During his church visitation in 1528, he discovered that almost the whole of the Austrian nobility had embraced Lutheranism; and in 1532, the estates demanded religious liberty, and reiterated their demand with increased energy in 1541. When, in 1538, Cardinal Aleander visited Austria, he found several hundred curacies vacant, the priests having either run away or married, leaving their posts to be gradually refilled by Lutheran preachers. For ten years past, not a single student in the university of Vienna had turned monk.

Louis, the unfortunate king of Bohemia and Hungary, fell, in his twentieth year, in the great battle of Mohacz, fighting against the Turks, and his possessions were inherited by Ferdinand in right of his wife, Anna, Louis's sister. The Bohemians, unwilling to give up their Hussite compacts, as admonished by Luther, who urged them to make common cause with Saxony, were flattered and caressed by the archduke, who promised toleration in religious matters. In Hungary he behaved with still greater liberality, and placed himself at the head of the Reformers; the Catholics, supported by the pope, attempting to place John Zapolya on the throne. This competitor was defeated, and Ferdinand solemnized his coronation at Stuhlweissenburg, A. D. 1527. William of Bavaria, another aspirant to the throne of Bohemia, was rejected by the Bohemians in favour of the more tolerant archduke, and ever afterwards distinguished himself as a cruel persecutor of the Lutherans.

Whilst these disturbances afflicted Germany, the youthful emperor was busily engaged with Spain and Italy. On the conclusion of the council of Worms he had hastened into Spain to quell a revolt that had broken out against the Habsburg rule. Order was speedily restored, and, after fortifying himself by an alliance with England against France, he despatched a Spanish army under Pescara into Italy. The constable, Charles de Bourbon, who was on ill terms with his cousin, the French king, also exerted his distinguished talents as a commander in his favour. The pope, Adrian, was a

complete tool of the emperor; but his successor, Clement, endeavoured to hold the balance between the emperor and France, whilst the petty Italian states dreaded the overwhelming power of the former more than the influence of the latter. The French under Lautrec, aided by Swiss mercenaries, were, consequently, enabled to take firm footing in Italy, and Pescara was hard pushed. George von Frundsberg and his German Lancers unexpectedly came to his rescue across the Veltlin, and an engagement, in which five thousand of the Swiss fell, took place at Bicocca, A. D. 1522. The Flemish and English also invaded France, and advanced as far as Paris, A. D. 1523. In the ensuing year, Bourbon and Pescara expelled the French from Italy. Frundsberg took Genoa by storm, but Marseilles made a steady resistance. Twelve thousand of the Lancers were carried off by pestilence and famine during the futile siege.

In the ensuing year, Francis I. took the field at the head of a fine army, supported by eight thousand Swiss under Diesbach, and the Black Guard, five thousand strong, composed of German mercenaries. Bourbon, Pescara, and Frundsberg awaited the enemy at Pavia, where a decisive battle was fought, February 24th, 1525. Francis, incredulous of defeat, refused to quit the field and was taken prisoner. The whole of the Black Guard was cut to pieces by their enraged countrymen. Twenty thousand of the French and their allies strewed the field.

This glorious victory, however, exposed the emperor to fresh danger. His power was viewed with universal apprehension. England united with France; the pope, the Italian princes, not excepting Francesco Sforza, who owed his restoration to the ducal throne of Milan to Charles, followed her example, and Pescara's fidelity was attempted to be shaken. France took up arms for her captive monarch, and Charles, with characteristic prudence, concluded peace at Madrid with his prisoner, A. D. 1526, who swore to renounce all claim upon Italy and Burgundy, and to wed the emperor's sister, Eleonora, the widowed queen of Portugal. But faith had fled from courts. Francis no sooner regained his liberty than he sought to evade his oath, from which the pope, moreover, released him. Charles, meanwhile, retained his sons in hostage.

Pescara dying, Charles de Bourbon was created generalissimo of the imperial forces in Italy, and fresh reinforcements were granted at the diet held at Spires by the princes, [A. D. 1526,] who in return were allowed freedom of conscience, the edict of Worms being abrogated, if not in form, at least in fact. George von Frundsberg, himself a Lutheran, and Sebastian Schertlin, another celebrated captain, speedily found themselves at the head of a picked body of troops. A mutiny, however, caused by the emperor's delay in furnishing the sum required, broke out in the camp. Florence, trembling for her safety, sent 150,000 ducats, and Charles of Bourbon condescended to demand aid, which was refused, from the pope. Frundsberg vainly attempted to quell the mutiny. His Lancers turned their arms against him. He fell senseless with rage, and never after sufficiently recovered to retake the command, which deferred to the constable. The Lancers, ashamed of their conduct, demanded to be led against the pope, and astonished Rome suddenly beheld the enemy before her gates. Charles de Bourbon was killed by a shot from the city. The soldiery, enraged at this catastrophe, carried it by storm, A. D. 1527. The pillage lasted fourteen days. The commands of the officers were disregarded, and Frundsberg fell ill from vexation. The Lutheran troopers converted the papal chapels into stables, dressed themselves in the cardinals' robes, and proclaimed Luther pope. Clement was besieged in the Torre di San Angelo and taken prisoner. The numbers of unburied bodies, however, produced a pestilence, which carried off the greater part of the invaders. The survivors, headed by the Prince of Orange, marched to Naples, which he valiantly defended against the French. The Germans under Schertlin fought their way back to Germany. The French again invaded Italy, and regained Genoa, but being defeated at Pavia by Caspar, the son of George von Frundsberg, Naples still holding out, Henry of Brunswick marching to the emperor's aid, and Andreas Doria, the celebrated doge of Genoa, declaring in Charles's favour, Francis I. concluded a treaty at Cambray, [A. D. 1529,] known as the ladies' peace, his mother and the emperor's aunt, Margaret, stadtholderess of the Netherlands, being the chief negotiators. Eleonora of Portugal restored the two hostages to their father, by whom she was received as a bride.

The defeat of the nobility and peasantry had crushed the revolutionary spirit in the people, and the Reformation, stripped of its terrors, began to be regarded as advantageous by the princes. Luther also appeared, not as a dangerous innovator, but in the light of a zealous upholder of princely power, the Divine origin of which he even made an article of faith; and thus through Luther's well-meant policy, the Reformation, the cause of the people, naturally became that of the princes, and, consequently, instead of being the aim, was converted into a means of their policy. In England, Henry VIII. favoured the Reformation for the sake of becoming pope in his own dominions, and of giving unrestrained licence to tyranny and caprice. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa embraced the Lutheran faith as a wider mark of distinction between the Swedes and Danes, whose king, Christiern, he had driven out of Sweden. His example was followed [A. D. 1527] by the grand-master, Albert, of Prussia, who hoped by that means to render that country an hereditary possession in his family. His cousin, the detestable Casimir von Culmbach, sought to wipe out the memory of his parricide by his confession of the new faith. Barnim of Pomerania, Henry of Mecklenburg, the Guelphic princes of Brunswick, Wolfgang von Anhalt, and the counts of Mansfeld appear to have been actuated by nobler motives in favouring the Reformation. John, elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, adhered to Luther's cause with genuine enthusiasm. Lubeck, Schleswig, Holstein, and the majority of the northern cities, had already declared in favour of the Reformation. Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and George, duke of Saxon-Thuringia, formed the sole exceptions among the northern potentates, and remained strictly Catholic, partly through dread of the emperor and of the pope, partly through jealousy of their relatives and neighbours.

The elector John, Luther's most zealous partisan, immediately on his accession to the government of Saxony, on the death of Frederick the Wise, empowered Luther to undertake a church visitation throughout his dominions, and to arrange ecclesiastical affairs according to the spirit of the doctrine he taught. His example was followed by the rest of the Lutheran princes, and this measure necessarily led to a separation from, instead of a thorough reformation of the church. The first

step was the abolition of monasteries and the confiscation of their wealth by the state, by which a portion was set apart for the extension of the academies and schools. The monks and nuns were absolved from their vows, compelled to marry and to follow a profession. The aged people were provided for during the remainder of their lives. These measures, arbitrary as they appear, were hailed with delight by multitudes of both sexes, who sometimes quitted their convents without receiving permission, and Luther, in defiance of the ancient prophecy that antichrist would spring from the union of a monk and nun, wedded [A. D. 1525] the beautiful young nun, Catherine von Bora, who brought him several children.

The whole system of the church was simplified. The sequestrated bishoprics were provisionally administered, and the affairs of the Lutheran church controlled by commissioners selected from among the Reformers, and by the councils of the princes, Luther incessantly promulgating the doctrine of the right of temporal sovereigns to decide all ecclesiastical questions. His intention was the creation of a counterpoise to ecclesiastical authority, and he was probably far from imagining that religion might eventually be deprived of her dignity and liberty by temporal despotism. Episcopal authority passed entirely into the hands of the princes. An ecclesiastic, who received the denomination of preacher or pastor, (shepherd,) was placed over each of the communes. The churches were stripped of their ornaments, and the clergy, like Luther, assumed the black habit of the Augustins, over which they placed the white surplice when before the altar. The German language was adopted in the service. Luther edited the first book of hymns, the most beautiful among which were his composition. The church catechism was also placed in the hands of the schoolmaster, who was under the surveillance of the pastor. The schools were greatly improved by Luther.

Luther carried on a long and bitter dispute with Erasmus, which was rendered more violent by the papist party, who poured oil upon the flames of discord.

In the diet held at Spires, [A. D. 1529,] the Catholic princes, who had entered into closer union with the emperor, and were in the majority, prohibited all further reform, and decreed that the affairs of the church should remain *in statu quo*

until the convocation of a council. Against this an energetic protest was made by the Lutheran princes, from which they and the Lutheran party received the name of Protestants, April 19th, 1529. The ambassadors deputed to present this protest to the emperor, who was at that time in Italy, were thrown by him into prison.

The Landgrave, Philip, weary of the slow advance of the Reformation, notwithstanding the general feeling in its favour, now projected the union of all the Reformers in the empire, and, for this purpose, concerted a meeting between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg, A. D. 1529. Luther's invincible repugnance to the tenets of the latter, however, proved an insuperable obstacle to concord. He was, moreover, infatuated with the idea of gaining over the emperor to his cause, on his return from Italy. The elector, John, sued for the hand of the emperor's sister, Catherine, for his son.

Charles V., after his triumph at Pavia and the conquest of Rome, had arranged the affairs of Italy and entered into alliance with the pope, on whose natural son, Alessandro di Medici, he bestowed his natural daughter, Margaret, and the duchy of Florence. Francesco Sforza was permitted to retain Milan. In reference to religion, the pope openly preferred a schism to a council, whence a general reformation might result; and Charles, intent upon weakening the opposition of the princes, (*divide et impera,*) unable to crush the Lutheran party without resorting to open and bloody warfare, and compelled by necessity to direct the whole of his forces against the invading Turk, fully shared his views.

The Turks, then at the height of their power, had, under Suleiman II., taken Rhodes and driven thence the knights of St. John, A. D. 1522. Suleiman, prevailed upon by France, recognised John Zapolya as king of Hungary, A. D. 1529, entered that country at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, took possession of it and laid siege to Vienna. The siege lasted twenty-one days. After a last and furious attempt to take the city by storm, Suleiman, after laying the country waste as far as Ratisbon, withdrew, carrying thousands of the inhabitants away captive.

The news of the retreat of the Turks no sooner reached the emperor in Italy than his projects for reducing the Germans to submission revived. After solemnizing his coronation at

Bologna, he returned to Germany, where, on the 18th June, 1530, he opened the great diet at Augsburg. The hopes cherished by Luther and by Saxony were completely frustrated, the proud emperor refusing to bestow the hand of his sister on the elector, or to invest him, as was customary, with the electorate, whilst Luther, owing to his being still under the bann of the empire, was unable to appear in person at Augsburg. Lutheran preaching was also strictly prohibited in the city during the sitting of the diet. The princes, nevertheless, openly confessed their resolution to remain true to the faith they professed, and the emperor found himself compelled to hear the accused before deciding the Lutheran question. The confession of faith, known as the Augsburg Confession, drawn up by Melancthon, and remarkable for precision, vigour, moderation, and forethought, was, consequently, publicly laid [A. D. 1530] before him by the princes. Charles expressed a desire to have it read in Latin, which was opposed by the elector, John, who exclaimed, "We stand on German ground, his Majesty will therefore surely permit us to use the German language." Charles assented, and Bajer, the chancellor of Saxony, read it in a loud, clear tone, that was distinctly heard, even in the castle-yard. The cities of Upper Germany, more Zwinglian than Lutheran, presented a particular confession, and a third party sent a printed copy of Zwingli's creed. The result was, the adhesion of William of Nassau to the Protestants the instant he became acquainted with their tenets, and a counter-declaration or confutation, remarkable for weakness, on the part of the emperor.

A last attempt, made by Melancthon, and supported by Luther, to bring about a general reformation in the church by means of the pope, with the view of securing the church from the authority of the temporal princes, failed, owing to the extreme demoralization of the clergy, and Luther was speedily reduced to silence by the princes intent upon the secularization of the bishoprics.

The Landgrave, Philip, equally averse to the conferences both with the emperor and the pope, (the Germans, according to him, wanting the spirit and not the power to help themselves,) secretly quitted the diet and returned home, filled with anger at the weakness of his friends in subscribing to the decree by which the disciples of Zwingli were put under the

bann of the empire. He had, however, the melancholy gratification of seeing the failure of the projected reconciliation, the Protestants, after long and vainly demanding the acknowledgment of their confession of faith from the emperor, refusing to grant the aid he in his turn demanded against the Turks, and the diet being dissolved in anger on both sides. The edict of Worms, condemnatory of the whole of the Lutheran innovations, was confirmed by the emperor. This edict was rejected by the Protestants, and the city of Augsburg, notwithstanding the emperor's presence, refused to subscribe. The emperor, unable to contend against the spirit of the Protestant and the jealousy of the Catholic party, was compelled to yield. The election of his brother as king of Germany, for the greater security of the power of his house in Germany and Hungary during his almost constant absence, was effected, after the dissolution of the diet, by the Catholic electors, in January, 1531, at Cologne, Saxony refusing to vote, and the dukes of Bavaria, the most zealous among the Catholic party, siding, on this fresh confirmation of the hereditary power of Austria and the consequent fall of their hopes for the possession of the crown, with the opposition.

The warlike projects of the Landgrave were now upheld by the whole of the Protestant party, and Luther, who had formerly maintained that obedience to the emperor, as supreme ruler, was a Divine command, openly declared war against the emperor to be agreeable to the will of God. In 1531, an offensive and defensive alliance was entered into at Schmalkald by John, elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, Philip, Ernest and Francis of Brunswick, Wolfgang of Anhalt, the counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strassburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isni, Lubeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. Brunswick, Goettingen, Gosslar, and Eimback gradually joined the alliance; Bavaria declared herself willing to favour the Protestants, and drew Zapolya in Hungary and the French monarch into their interest. On the 26th May, 1532, a formal treaty was signed at Scheyern between France, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse, which drew a protest from Luther, whose national feelings revolted at a league with France, his country's hereditary foe. His words found an echo in the hearts of

the electors; the French plenipotentiaries were dismissed, and a reconciliation with the emperor, who, alarmed at the double danger with which he was threatened from the French and Turks, no longer held aloof, took place, and [A. D. 1532] a treaty for the settlement of existing religious differences was signed at Nuremberg, the emperor acknowledging Protestantism *in statu quo*, but merely until a future and definitive settlement, and strictly prohibiting every fresh reform, as well as excluding the Zwinglians, who were a second time put under the bann by their Lutheran brethren; the Protestants, in consideration of this concession, granting the aid demanded by the emperor against the Turks.

It was high time. Suleiman had again presented himself on the frontier, at the head of an immense army, with the avowed intention of placing himself on the throne of the Western empire. All Germany flew to arms. The news of the termination of intestine dissension in Germany no sooner reached the sultan's ears, than he asked, with astonishment, "Whether the emperor had really made peace with Martin Luther?" and, although the Germans only mustered eighty thousand men in the field, scarcely a third of the invading army, suddenly retreated. A body of fifteen thousand cavalry, under Casim Beg, laid the country waste as far as Linz, but were cut to pieces by the Germans. Grätz fell into the hands of Ibrahim Pacha, [A. D. 1532,] but the citizens, throwing themselves into the castle, made a brave resistance, until relieved by an imperial army under Katzianer. The Turks were routed. The Pacha was killed at Firnitz. Peace was concluded between the emperor and the sultan, who was at that time engaged in a fresh contest with Persia. A part of Hungary was ceded to Ferdinand, Zapolya retaining possession of the rest, but the Persian war was no sooner brought to a conclusion, than hostilities broke out anew.

A violent struggle was, meanwhile, carried on in Switzerland. The Alpine shepherds, the four cantons, and Zug, since known as the Catholic cantons, leagued together, and with the Archduke Ferdinand. The whole of Switzerland took up arms. Negotiation was unavailing, Zwingli being averse to peace. He fell at Albis, where his party suffered a total defeat. Geneva rejected the Catholic service, [A. D. 1535,] as-

serted her freedom, and placed herself under the government of the great Reformer, Calvin, whose tenets spread thence into France, where they were upheld by the Huguenots (*Eidgenossen*, confederates).

Philip of Hesse, dissatisfied with the treaty of Nuremberg, speedily infringed the conditions of peace by leaguing with the Swabian confederation, and with Wurtemberg, against Ferdinand. The emperor, threatened by fresh dangers, meanwhile lay sick, having broken his leg when hunting. A conference took place at Marseilles between the pope and the French monarch, both of whom smarted beneath the supremacy of the Habsburg, nor was it without the permission of the former that the latter entered into alliance with the German Protestants, and advanced 100,000 dollars in aid of the attempt made by Ulric, the young duke of Wurtemberg, to regain his duchy, at this time incorporated with Austria. A meeting took place between Philip of Hesse and Francis I. at Bar le Duc, after which Philip, secure of his ally, took the field with twenty thousand men, with the view of reinstating Ulric on the throne of Wurtemberg. The Pfalzgrave Philip, Ferdinand's stadtholder at Stuttgard, who had been merely able to assemble a body of ten thousand men, was defeated at Lauffen, and Ulric took possession of Stuttgard, A. D. 1534. The emperor and the archduke, anxious to avoid a general war, yielded, on condition of the latter being recognised as Roman king, and of Wurtemberg remaining in fee of Austria. Peace was made at Kadan, and, by a treaty at Linz, Bavaria was induced to recognise Ferdinand as king of Germany. The Protestant faith was established in Wurtemberg by Ulric, who also ratified the ancient liberties of his subjects. Wurtemberg, consequently, formed a point of union between the Lutherans in the North and the Swiss; and the Landgrave, Melancthon, and the citizens of Basle again revived the negotiations broken at Marburg, for the purpose of uniting the whole of the Reformers in one great party. Luther was this time more compliant, and gave his assent to the Wittenberg concordat drawn up by Melancthon, which conciliated the most essential differences between the Swiss and Lutherans. A secret feeling of animosity, nevertheless, still existed, and the concessions made by the Zwinglians merely brought the

Calvinists in more striking opposition to the Lutherans, and ranged all the free-thinkers and the republican spirits of the day, opposed to Luther's doctrines, on their side.

CXCVI. *Disturbances in the cities.—The Anabaptists in Munster.—Great Revolution in the Hansa.—Dissolution of the German Hospitallers.—Russian depredations.*

EACH of the estates had successively attempted to bring about the Reformation. The clergy had commenced it by raging among themselves; the nobility and the peasantry had separately endeavoured to turn it to their own advantage and had been defeated; the attempts of the cities, still more limited and isolated, were also destined to fail, for it was decreed that among all the estates the princes alone should reap the benefits it produced.

In 1523, a great movement took place among the cities of Lower Germany. Lutheran preachers were every where installed, the Catholic priests expelled, and the refractory town councils deposed. The cities of Upper Germany also favoured the Reformation. Strassburg, Constance, and the cities of the Upper Rhine adhered to Zwingli. Œcolampadius reformed Basle, A. D. 1529.

The Anabaptists had, since the defeat of the peasantry, rarely ventured to reappear. The cruelty with which they were persecuted by the Lutherans induced them to emigrate in great numbers to the Netherlands, where the sedentary occupations of the greater part of the inhabitants, chiefly artisans and manufacturers, inclined them the more readily to religious enthusiasm. The people were, at a later period, secretly instigated to revolt by individuals of this sect. The emperor, Charles, never lost sight of the Netherlands, which he highly valued, and sought to secure both within and without. For this purpose, he concluded peace with the restless Charles of Gueldres, on whom he bestowed Gueldres and Zutphen in fee, and published the severest laws or Placates against the heretics, which sentenced male heretics to the stake, female ones to be buried alive. Margaret, the stadtholderess of the Netherlands, died, [A. D. 1530,] and was

succeeded by Maria, Charles's sister, the widow of Louis of Hungary, who was compelled to execute her brother's cruel commands.

The Anabaptists, persecuted in the Netherlands, again emigrated in great numbers, and were received [A. D. 1532] by the citizens of Munster, who had expelled their bishop and been treated with great severity by Luther, who, true to his principles, ever sought to keep the cause of the Reformation free from political revolutions.* The most extravagant folly and licence ere long prevailed in the city. John Bockelson, a tailor from Leyden, gave himself out as a prophet, and proclaimed himself king of the universe; a clothier, named Knipperdolling, and one Krechting, were elected burgomasters. A community of goods and of wives was proclaimed and carried into execution. Civil dissensions ensued, but were speedily quelled by the Anabaptists. John of Leyden took seventeen wives, one of whom, Divara, gained great influence by her spirit and beauty. The city was, meanwhile, closely besieged by the expelled bishop, Francis von Waldeck, who was aided by several of the Catholic and Lutheran princes; numbers of the nobility flocked thither for pastime and carried on the siege against the Anabaptists, who made a long and valiant defence. The attempts of their brethren in Holland and Friesland to relieve them proved ineffectual. A dreadful famine ensued in consequence of the closeness of the siege; the citizens lost courage and betrayed the city by night to the enemy. Most of the fanatics were cut to pieces. John, Knipperdolling, and Krechting were captured, enclosed in iron cages, and carried for six months throughout Germany, after which they were brought back to Munster to suffer an agonizing death. Divara and the rest of the principal fanatics were beheaded.

The disturbances produced throughout Germany by the Reformation concluded with a revolution in the Hansa, more extensive in nature than any of the preceding ones, and which, had it been less completely isolated from the southern part of

* It is a remarkable fact that the tricolour was, even at this period, the revolutionary symbol. Uniforms were either grey or green, the arms white; grey, in remembrance of death; green, in sign of regeneration; white, in token of innocence. A golden ring was also worn in sign of a common marriage.

the empire, might easily have produced the most important results.

In 1528, Luther's works were publicly burnt at Lubeck by the common hangman, but, two years later, the people rebelled, compelled the town-council to grant religious liberty, prohibited the Catholic service in the churches, and drove the burgomaster, Nicolas Brœmser, out of the city. His flight was a signal for the expulsion of the whole of the town-councillors; the artisans seized the government, [A. D. 1520,] and placed at their head Jürgen Wullenweber, a poor tradesman, whose genius was far in advance of his times. His nomination to the burgomastership of Lubeck rendered him, according to statute, president of the Hansa, and, perceiving at a glance the political position of the North, he projected the lasting confirmation of the power of the Hansa by a great revolution.

Shortly anterior to these events, the Hansa had made various attempts to dissolve the union of the three kingdoms of the North, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under Christiern II., and had aided the Swedes under Gustavus Vasa, and the Danes under Frederick of Holstein, to shake off his yoke. Christiern was treacherously seized by the Danes, and imprisoned in the castle of Sunderburg, A. D. 1532. The aid received from the Hansa was speedily forgotten by the Swedes and Danes, and Gustavus leagued with Frederick against their common ally. Frederick expired in the ensuing year, and Wullenweber instantly planned the restoration of Christiern to the vacant throne, and in his name organized a fearful revolution against the Danish nobility. The liberty of the people, was the general cry. The cities of the Baltic, Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar, imitated the example set by Lubeck, and formed popular committees, all of which were subservient to Wullenweber, who, aided by the burgomaster of Copenhagen and the minter of Malmoë, the capitals of Denmark, instigated the people to revolt. Mark Meyer, who had risen from the forge to the command of the forces of the city of Lubeck, the handsomest man of his time, defended the Sound against the Dutch and English, and being wrecked on the English coast, was thrown into the Tower and sentenced to be hanged as a pirate. He, however, persuaded Henry VIII., who was at that time on ill terms with the pope and the em-

peror, and jealous of the northern states, to offer his alliance to Lubeck, and, instead of being sent to the gallows, was dubbed knight and sent away with every mark of distinction by the English monarch. Meyer, on his return, sent Wullenweber to Sweden, with the view of placing Sture, a descendant of a royal branch, on the throne. This project was nullified by the incapacity of the youthful pretender.

Christopher, count of Oldenburg, Christiern's cousin, now took the chief command, and, although opposed by the Danish nobility, who offered the crown to Christian, count of Holstein, entered Copenhagen in triumph, the Danes every where rising against the obnoxious nobles and bishops. Christian, in reprisal, closely besieged the city of Lubeck, cut off all correspondence between her and the country, and destroyed the suburban gardens and villas. The citizens, reduced by these measures to a state of great discomfort, began to clamour for peace, and Wullenweber, on returning from Copenhagen, whither he had accompanied the count, was ill received, and, notwithstanding his concessions, became, owing to the machinations of the aristocratic party, gradually less popular. Christian, immediately after the conclusion of this partial peace, attacked the Danish peasantry, who were in revolt throughout Jutland, and beheaded their leader. Meyer was betrayed into his hands at Helsingborg, and imprisoned in Vardbierg, where he gained over the garrison, expelled the commandant, and seized the castle. A decisive engagement, in which the Hansa was defeated, took place at Assens. The Lubeck fleet, which favoured the aristocratic faction, was, at the same time, defeated by the united squadrons of Denmark and Sweden. Hamburg convoked an Hanseatic diet, before which Wullenweber appeared and implored the deputies to prosecute the war. The aristocratic faction, nevertheless, triumphed, and a decree was passed, threatening Lubeck with exclusion from the empire, unless the people were compelled to abdicate their sovereignty. The destruction of the Anabaptists in Munster increased the insolence of the aristocratic faction in Lubeck; the municipality was compelled to resign its functions, and Brœmser was triumphantly reinstalled.

Wullenweber, deserted by the fickle citizens, was treacherously seized by the archbishop of Bremen, and delivered to the cruel duke, Henry of Brunswick, by whom he was three

times put to the rack and then beheaded. Peace was, to the ruin of the Hansa, concluded with Christian, and the Germans were withdrawn from Copenhagen, which was compelled by famine to surrender. Meyer, forced to yield by his followers, was put to the rack and quartered. The glory of the Hansa fell, never again to rise.

The Lutheran clergy, however, celebrated their triumph over the Anabaptists and the Calvinists. The maintenance of the Confession of Augsburg and of the Lutheran Catechism was confirmed by the Hanse towns, at a great convocation at Hamburg, A. D. 1535.

The empire of the German Hospitallers, founded by the Hansa, suffered far greater reverses. Albert, duke of Brandenburg, brtoher to Casimir von Culmbach and George von Anspach-Jægerndorf, was elected grand-master, A. D. 1511. The Poles, instigated by the bishops, invaded Prussia, A. D. 1520. A truce was concluded, [A. D. 1521,] although Albert was, at that time, supported by a body of fourteen thousand German mercenaries. The order had fallen into such great disrepute that the knights never ventured to wear their dress in public. The pride of the aristocracy had fallen; the knights had voluntarily elected a prince as their leader. The pope even, on the complaint of the duke against the bishops, reproached him with the degraded condition of the order and demanded its reformation, a demand with which he complied in a manner little intended by his monitor, by yielding to the desire of the people for the admission of Lutheran preachers, the use of the German language in the church-service, and the abolition of enforced celibacy. In 1525, he concluded a treaty at Cracow with Poland, by which the order was dissolved, and he was declared hereditary duke of Prussia, which he held in fee of Poland. He also strengthened himself by an alliance with Denmark by wedding the Princess Dorothea, the daughter of Frederick II.

Livonia and Courland, where the Teutonic order still maintained a shadow of authority, were devastated by a horde of one hundred and thirty thousand Russians under their czar, Ivan Wasiliewicz II., the most bloodthirsty monster that ever raged on earth. The Hansa, jealous of the prosperity of the colony she had herself founded, refused her aid. Gothard Kettler, the last master of the order in Livonia, made a de-

termined resistance, and was at length assisted by Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, who partitioned the country between themselves, leaving Courland and Semgall as an hereditary duchy to Kettler. The jealousy that prevailed among the new possessors was turned to advantage by the czar, who invaded Livonia [A. D. 1572] at the head of two hundred thousand men, plundered and ravaged the country, and massacred the inhabitants. A fresh invasion took place in 1577, and the most horrid barbarities were again perpetrated. The German garrison of the castle of Wenden, on learning the fate of their countrymen, destroyed themselves by blowing the castle into the air. Hans Büring of Brunswick, the hero of Livonia, alone made head with a small troop of followers against the Russians, whom he greatly harassed. The fortune of the czar, however, turned at Wenden. The Swedes despatched an army against him under the French general Pontus de la Gardie, who speedily drove him out of the country. Sweden was rewarded by the possession of Esthonia; Livonia remained annexed to Poland, and Courland under Kettler, whilst Denmark retained the island of Œsel. The power of the two last was, however, very inconsiderable, and before long a war broke out between the rival powers, Poland and Sweden, from which Russia, ever on the watch, alone reaped benefit.

CXCVII. *The council of Trident.—The Schmalkald war.—The Interim.—Maurice.*

Before the settlement of the great question that agitated Christendom, the infidels had again to be combated. Notwithstanding the aid promised by the estates of the empire, the Turks had met with but trifling opposition in Hungary, where the imperial troops under Katzianer suffered a disgraceful defeat near Esseck. Katzianer, although evidently innocent, was by order of Ferdinand imprisoned at Vienna, whence he escaped to Zriny, the Ban of Croatia, by whom he was assassinated as he sat at table under pretext of his intending to seek shelter with the Turks, a step counselled by his pretended friends. This defeat compelled Ferdinand to recognise Zapolya as king of Hungary, on condition of

the crown reverting on his demise to the house of Habsburg. The reconciliation of the factions that agitated Hungary was, however, prevented by the sultan, who overran the whole country, converted Ofen into a Turkish city with mosques, and partitioned the territory into Turkish governments. At the same time, Haraddin Barbarossa, a Turkish pirate, founded a kingdom in Algiers and seized Tunis, whence his vessels struck terror along the coasts of Italy and Spain and scoured the Mediterranean. Tunis was taken by Charles and his ally, Admiral Doria, [A. D. 1535,] but the distant conquest could not be maintained, and the pirates speedily reappeared. A second expedition undertaken by Charles [A. D. 1541] against Algiers proved unsuccessful.

War again broke out with France. Francis I. renewed his claims upon Milan on the death of Francesco Sforza, [A. D. 1535,] and invaded Italy, whence he was forced to retreat by Charles and the duke of Alba, who, in reprisal, entered Provence, whence they were in their turn driven by pestilence. Peace was once more concluded, A. D. 1537. The emperor retained Milan. Three years after this, he journeyed from Spain to the Netherlands, and having the intention to visit Henry VIII. of England, had the boldness to pass through France, where he was sumptuously entertained by Francis, who accompanied him from Paris to the frontier.

The Lutherans, meanwhile, increased in strength, if not in unity. John, elector of Saxony, was succeeded [A. D. 1532] by his son, John Frederick, who surpassed him in zeal for the Reformation: he was also continually at feud with Philip of Hesse. Christian, king of Denmark, joined the Schmalkald confederacy, A. D. 1538. Brandenburg embraced Lutheranism, [A. D. 1539,] and Thuringia followed the example. The nobility in most of the northern states upheld the Catholic, the burghers the Lutheran, faith. The Protestant party demanded a council, independent of the pope and held on this side of the Alps, and therefore refused to recognise the authority of that convoked by the emperor for the settlement of religious differences, for which it was moreover clear a council was utterly inadequate. The Catholic princes also openly entered into a holy alliance in opposition to that of Schmalkald, A. D. 1538. This alliance consisted of the Archduke Ferdinand, William and Louis of Bavaria, Eric and

Henry of Brunswick, and the ecclesiastical princes. Each side narrowly watched the other and equally avoided a struggle, whilst the moderate party again attempted to conciliate matters with the aid of the emperor and without the pope. Philip of Hesse was, at that period, also disposed to make concessions. John Frederick of Saxony revived his former project of allying himself with the house of Habsburg. The emperor, moreover, still threatened by the Turks and French, was, like the Protestants, far from disinclined to peace.

A tolerably peaceable discussion took place between Melancthon and Eck at the diet held at Ratisbon, [A. D. 1541,] at which the Ratisbon Interim was proposed by Granvella, the chancellor of the empire, in Charles's presence, for the provisional accommodation of religious differences. The princes of Anhalt were sent as imperial ambassadors to make proposals to Luther, who, falsely regarding the whole affair as an intrigue intended to mislead the Protestants, obstinately refused to concede to the emperor's wishes. The French monarch, meanwhile, anxious to separate the pope from the emperor, and to hinder any concession on the part of the former to the Protestants, pledged himself for the maintenance of the purity of the Catholic faith, in which he was joined by Bavaria, jealous of the restriction upon her power consequent upon the union of the contending parties under the emperor.

Fresh disputes speedily broke out, and a wordy contest was for some time carried on between the elector of Saxony and Henry, duke of Brunswick. Blows quickly followed. The Schmalkald alliance flew to arms, was victorious at Kalfelden [A. D. 1542,] and expelled the weak duke from Brunswick. The city of Hildesheim expelled her bishop and embraced Lutheranism.

The emperor again appeared in person at the diet held during the ensuing year, [A. D. 1543,] at Spires, and persuaded the Schmalkald confederacy to aid him against the French monarch, who had once more taken up arms. The elector of Saxony was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, and marched against William of Cleve, who, irritated at the emperor's refusal to invest him with the countship of Gueldres, for the purpose of annexing it to the Netherlands, had entered into alliance with France. The city of Düren was stormed and burnt down, and the inhabitants were put to the

sword, and William, in order to save his country, flung himself at the emperor's feet at Venloo, ceded Gueldres, and, to the great mortification of the Protestants, who had so strongly aided in his discomfiture, swore to maintain Catholicism throughout his dominions. He shortly afterwards wedded the emperor's niece, Maria, one of king Ferdinand's daughters. The French were driven from Luxemburg, which they had seized, and pursued almost to the gates of Paris, when the treaty of Crespy was suddenly concluded between Charles and Francis, the former of whom, with the view of humbling the Protestants, once more sided with the pope, urged the instant convocation of the council, and took measures to curb the growing power of the Schmalkald confederation, whose members neither turned their favourable position to advantage nor perceived the monarch's wiles. Henry of Brunswick again attempted to regain possession of his territory, but was defeated and taken prisoner at Nordheim [A. D. 1545] by the leagued princes, who gained an ally in the elector of the Pfalz.

The council of Trident was opened by the pope, [A. D. 1545,] and the emperor convoked a diet for the ensuing year at Ratisbon, with the view either of entrapping the Protestants or of putting them down by force. Before the opening of this memorable diet, Luther expired at Eisleben, 18th February, 1546. He died in sorrow, but in the conscientious belief of having faithfully served his God, and, although the great and holy work, begun by him, had been degraded and dishonoured partly by his personal faults, although the Reformation of the church had been rendered subservient to the views of a policy essentially unchristian, the good cause was destined to outlive these transient abuses. The seeds, scattered by this great Reformer, produced, it is true, thorns during his life-time and during succeeding centuries, but burst into blossom as the storms through which the Reformation passed gradually lulled.

France being humbled, England gained over, and the sultan pacified by the cession of Hungary, the pope and the emperor turned their united strength against the Protestants. In 1540, the pope had taken into his service in Spain a newly-founded monkish order, that of Jesus, which he had commissioned, by means of the French and Italian policy practised by it as

morality, to extirpate heresy. The motto of this new order was, "The aim sanctifies the means." The Jesuits made their first appearance at the council of Trident. The pope, moreover, prepared a new bull, the publication of which he reserved until a fitting opportunity.

The emperor, unwilling to have recourse to violent measures, tried by every method of subterfuge and hypocrisy to induce the Protestants, at the diet held at Ratisbon, to recognise the council, meanwhile secretly assuring the pope, in the event of war, of his intention to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. The pope, fully acquainted with Charles's duplicity, deceived him in his turn, by publishing these secret promises, to his extreme mortification, throughout Germany. The anger of the Protestants was justly roused by the perfidy of the emperor, who, true to his policy, now endeavoured to breed disunion among them by putting the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse out of the bann of the empire, whilst he spared the rest of the confederates, with some of whom, for instance, Joachim II. of Brandenburg, who had ever been lukewarm in the cause, Albert Alcibiades of Culmbach, and Maurice of Saxon-Thuringia, on whom Philip had bestowed one of his daughters, he entered upon a secret understanding. The publication of the bull, and the bann, meanwhile, roused the most phlegmatic members of the Schmalkald confederacy from their state of quiescent ease and inspired them with unwonted energy. The gallant Schertlin von Burtenbach assembled an army in the service of Augsburg and of the rest of the cities of Upper Germany; the Landgrave Philip hailed the outbreak of war with open delight, and even the Saxon elector, unwieldy as he was in person, mounted his war-steed with alacrity.

These vigorous measures took Charles, whose troops were still unassembled, by surprise. In August, 1546, the princes of Saxony and Hesse united their forces at Donauwœrth with the burghers under Schertlin and the Wurtembergers under Hans von Heidek. They numbered forty-seven thousand men, and might easily have surprised the emperor, who had merely nine thousand, of which two thousand were Spaniards, at Ratisbon, had the advice of Schertlin, who invaded the Tyrol, to advance with the whole of their forces been listened to by the princes, who, unwilling to disturb Bavaria,

that had declared herself neutral, allowed the emperor to escape and to place himself at Landshut at the head of twenty thousand men, sent to his aid from Italy, with whom he threw himself into Ingolstadt. The disunion that prevailed among the confederates, meanwhile, rendered their superior numbers unavailing, and, after vainly bombarding Ingolstadt, they withdrew with the intention of intercepting the reinforcements brought from the Netherlands by the Count von Büren, who eluded their search and joined the emperor with fifteen thousand men.

The Saxon elector was now recalled into Saxony by an attack on the part of Duke Maurice, who was secretly instigated by the emperor, and the rest of the confederates dispersing, Upper Germany was exposed to the whole wrath of the emperor. The cities, deaf to Schertlin's remonstrances, offered no opposition. The princes of Upper Germany also submitted. John Frederick of Saxony was taken prisoner on the Lochauer heath, [A. D. 1547,] and Wittenberg was induced, by the emperor's threat to decapitate his prisoner, to open her gates. The elector steadily refused to recant. His prison was voluntarily shared by his friend, the celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach. Philip of Hesse was also treacherously seized at Halle by the emperor, from whom he had received a safe-conduct. The Protestant party was thus deprived of its last support. Wolfgang of Anhalt voluntarily quitted his possessions, and lived for some time incognito as a miller. Schertlin fled to Switzerland, and Bucer, the Strassburg Reformer, to England, where his remains were, under the reign of Mary, exhumed and burnt.

The emperor returned to Augsburg in order to regulate the affairs of the empire, whilst his brother Ferdinand went to Prague for the purpose of revenging himself upon the Bohemians for the negative aid granted by them, during the late contest, to the Protestant party. The bloody diet was opened, and the heads of a confederacy formed at Prague, February 15th, 1547, by the estates, in defence of their constitution and religious liberty, were publicly executed. Numbers of the nobility were compelled to emigrate; others purchased their lives with the loss of their property. The cities were mulcted, deprived of their privileges, and placed under imperial judges. Numbers of the citizens were exiled and whipped across the

frontier by the executioner. All the Hussites belonging to the strict sect of the Taborites, the "Bohemian Brethren," were sentenced to eternal banishment and sent in three bands, each of which numbered a thousand men, into Prussia. The whole of Austria favoured the doctrines of Luther, but had remained true to her allegiance. The pope, Paul III., terror-stricken at the successes of the emperor, instead of being delighted at the triumph of Catholicism, removed the council from Trident to Bologna on the emperor's return [A. D. 1546] to Augsburg, where, true to his former policy, he treated the heretics with great moderation. His arbitrary abolition of corporative government and restoration of that of the ancient burgher-families in all the cities of Upper Germany gave a death-blow to civil liberty. In the spring of 1547, Francis I. of France expired. His son and successor, Henry II., instantly confederated with the pope against the emperor, and even affianced his natural daughter to a Farnese, one of the pope's nephews. Charles V., meanwhile, boldly protested against the removal of the council to Bologna, declared its decisions invalid until its return to Trident, and, in the mean time, endeavoured to accomplish a church-union, without the pope, with the now humbled and more tractable Protestants, but all his diplomacy failed in reconciling principles diametrically opposed.

The Augsburg Interim, chiefly drawn up by Joachim, the lukewarm elector of Brandenburg, and his smooth-tongued chaplain, John Agricola, and proposed as his ultimatum by the emperor to the Protestants, was a master-piece of incongruity, and utterly failed in its intention. Ulric of Wurtemberg and the Pfalzgrave Frederick, harassed by the imperial troops, accepted it unconditionally, but the elector Maurice attempted to replace it by another, the Leipzig Interim, drawn up by Melancthon. The majority of the other princes also highly disapproved of it. The captive elector of Saxony steadily refused to subscribe, but the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, complied. The Interim was neither Catholic nor Lutheran, and was viewed with suspicion by the people, by whom it was regarded as a sign of retrogression.

The cities openly rejected the Interim, which the emperor merely succeeded in imposing on the South, where his troops were encamped. Constance was surprised by the Spaniards,

[A. D. 1548,] converted into a provincial town of Austria, and compelled to embrace Catholicism. Flaccius, Luther's most faithful disciple, until now a teacher at Leipzig, quitted that city in disgust at the Leipzig Interim, which, in truth, was not much superior to that of Augsburg, and took refuge in Magdeburg, where the bold citizens set the emperor and the pope equally at defiance.

The little approbation bestowed upon the Interim, and the intrigues of William, duke of Bavaria, against his power, now induced Charles to abandon his plan for the reconciliation of the Protestants without the interference of the pope, and for their conversion by his means into mere political tools. This change in his policy was, by chance, masked by the death of Paul III., who was succeeded by Julius III., a weak and slothful prince, who, bribed by the emperor's promise of bringing the Protestants to him, opened, [A. D. 1551,] apparently of his own accord, the council at Trident, whither the Protestants were compelled to send their deputies. The elector of Brandenburg most deeply humbled himself, by promising, as a good son of the church, to obey every decree of the council. The emperor, unwilling to concede too much to the pope, however, beheld this excessive servility with displeasure, and would, in all probability, have defended the Protestants with greater ability than they displayed on their own behalf, had not the whole tissue of impotence and fraud been suddenly rent asunder by the rebellion of Maurice of Saxony, whom the emperor had commissioned to execute the bann pronounced upon Magdeburg, but who, secretly assembling an immense force, entered into alliance with Henry II. of France, and, together with Albert von Culmbach, raised the standard of revolt, and published a manifesto, in which, unmindful of their own treasonable correspondence with France, they bitterly reproached the emperor for the numbers of Spaniards and Italians brought by him into Germany.

Maurice, after granting peace to Magdeburg, marched, [A. D. 1552,] with William of Hesse, the son of the captive elector, and Albert the Wild of Culmbach, upon Innsbruck, where the emperor lay sick. The Ehrenberg passes were stoutly disputed by the Austrians, three thousand of whom fell. A mutiny that broke out in the electoral army gave the emperor time to escape from Innsbruck, whence he was car-

ried in a litter across the mountains to Villach, in Carinthia. John Frederick of Saxony was restored to liberty on condition of negotiating terms of peace. The emperor was, at this conjuncture, without troops, the enemy was in full pursuit, the whole of Germany in confusion at this unexpected stroke, the Catholics were panic-struck, the Lutherans full of hope. Every city, through which Maurice passed, expelled the priests, and the ancient burgher families rejected the Interim, re-established the pure tenets of the gospel, and restored corporative government. Had the reaction spread, the emperor would, infallibly, have been compelled to sue for peace.

Henry II. at the same time took the field as "the liberator of Germany." His first care was to secure his promised prey. Toul was betrayed into his hands. Metz was taken by stratagem, and was henceforward converted into a French fortress. The young duke, Charles of Lorraine, was sent captive to France. Strassburg refused to open her gates to the invader. Hagenau and Weissenburg were seized. The people, far from countenancing the treachery of their rulers, every where gave vent to their hatred against the French, who were warned by their ally, the Swiss confederation, not to attack the city of Strassburg. Maria, stadtholderess of the Netherlands, meanwhile, sent a body of troops across the French frontier, and Maurice making terms with the emperor, the "Liberator" hastily retreated homewards, seizing Verdun en route.

At the first news of the revolt of the elector, Ferdinand had attempted to prevent war by negotiation, to which Maurice refused to listen until the emperor's flight from Innsbruck had placed him in a position to dictate terms of peace. A treaty was, consequently, concluded at Passau, August 2nd, 1552, by which religious liberty was secured to the Protestants, and the princes, John Frederick and Philip, were restored to freedom, Maurice binding himself in return to defend the empire against the French and the Turks. He accordingly took the field against the latter, but with little success, the imperial commander, Castaldo, contravening all his efforts by plundering Hungary and drawing upon himself the hatred of the people.

Charles, meanwhile, marched against the French, and, without hesitation, again deposed the corporative governments

reinstated by Maurice, on his way through Augsburg, Ulm, Esslingen, etc. Metz, valiantly defended by the duke de Guise, was vainly besieged for some months, and the emperor was at length forced to retreat. The French were, nevertheless, driven out of Italy.

The aged emperor now sighed for peace. Ferdinand, averse to open warfare, placed his hopes on the imperceptible effect of a consistently pursued system of suppression and Jesuitical obscurantism. Maurice was answerable for the continuance of the peace, the terms of which he had prescribed. Philip of Hesse, and John Frederick, whose sons had, during his imprisonment, founded a new university at Jena, similar to that at Wittenberg, had already one foot in the grave. Ulric of Wurtemberg had expired in 1550 and been succeeded by his son, Christopher, who wisely sought to heal the bleeding wounds of his country, upon which, in unison with his estates, he bestowed a revised constitution; provincial estates, solely consisting of Lutheran prelates and city deputies, with the right of rejecting the taxes proposed by the government, of controlling the whole of the state property, etc., and rendered permanent by a committee; a general court of justice, and numerous other useful institutions. Peace was, consequently, a necessity with this prince. The weak elector of Brandenburg was, as ever, ready to negotiate terms. Albert the Wild was the only one among the princes who was still desirous of war. Indifferent to aught else, he marched, at the head of some thousand followers, through central Germany, murdering and plundering as he passed along, with the intent of once more laying the Franconian and Saxon bishoprics waste in the name of the gospel. The princes at length formed the Heidelberg confederacy against this monster and the emperor put him under the bann of the empire, which Maurice undertook to execute, although he had been his old friend and companion in arms. Albert was engaged in plundering the archbishopric of Magdeburg, when Maurice came up with him at Sievershausen. A murderous engagement took place [A. D. 1553]. Three of the princes of Brunswick were slain. Albert was severely wounded, and Maurice fell at the moment when victory declared in his favour, in the thirty-third year of his age, in the midst of his promising career. Albert fled, pursued by Henry of Brunswick breathing venge-

ance for the untimely fate of his sons, to France, but, too proud to eat the bread of dependence, he returned to Germany, where he found an asylum at Pforzheim under the protection of the Margrave of Baden. He died, worn out by excess, [A. D. 1557,] in his thirty-fifth year.

Every obstacle was now removed, and a peace, known as the religious peace of Augsburg, was concluded by the diet held in that city, A. D. 1555. This peace was naturally a mere political agreement provisionally entered into by the princes for the benefit, not of religion, but of themselves. Popular opinion was dumb, knights, burgesses, and peasants bending in lowly submission to the mandate of their sovereigns. By this treaty, branded in history as the most lawless ever concerted in Germany, the principle "cujus regio, ejus religio," the faith of the prince must be that of the people, was laid down. By it not only all the Reformed subjects of a Catholic prince were exposed to the utmost cruelty and tyranny, but the religion of each separate country was rendered dependent on the caprice of the reigning prince; of this the Pfalz offered a sad example, the religion of the people being thus four times arbitrarily changed. The struggles of nature and of reason were powerless against the executioner, the stake, and the sword. This principle was, nevertheless, merely a result of Luther's well-known policy, and consequently struck his contemporaries far less forcibly than aftergenerations. Freedom of belief, confined to the immediate subjects of the empire, for instance, to the reigning princes, the free nobility, and the city councillors, was monopolized by at most twenty thousand privileged persons, including the whole of the impoverished nobility and the oligarchies of the most insignificant imperial free towns, and it consequently follows, taking the whole of the inhabitants of the empire at twenty millions, that, out of a thousand Germans, one only enjoyed the privilege of choosing his own religion.

The ecclesiastical princes, to the great prejudice of the Reformation, did not participate in this privilege. By the ecclesiastical proviso, they were, it is true, personally permitted to change their religion, but incurred thereby the deprivation of their dignities and possessions.

PART XVII.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

CXCVIII. *Preponderance of the Spaniards and Jesuits.—Courtly vices.*

The false peace concluded at Augsburg was immediately followed by Charles V.'s abdication of his numerous crowns. He would willingly have resigned that of the empire to his son Philip, had not the Spanish education of that prince, his gloomy and bigoted character, inspired the Germans with an aversion as unconquerable as that with which he beheld them. Ferdinand had, moreover, gained the favour of the German princes. Charles, nevertheless, influenced by affection towards his son, bestowed upon him one of the finest of the German provinces, the Netherlands, besides Spain, Milan, Naples, and the West Indies (America). Ferdinand received the rest of the German hereditary possessions of his house, besides Bohemia and Hungary. The aged emperor, after thus dividing his dominions, went to Spain and entered the Hieronymite monastery of Justi, where he lived for two years, amusing himself, among other things, with an attempt to make a number of clocks keep exact time; on failing, he observed, "Watches are like men." His whim for solemnizing his own funeral service proved fatal; the dampness of the coffin in which he lay during the ceremony, brought on a cold, which terminated a few days afterwards in death, A., D. 1558 Charles, although dexterous in the conduct of petty intrigues, was entirely devoid of depth of intellect, and ever misunderstood his age; magnanimous in some few instances, he was unendowed with the greatness of character that had empowered Charlemagne to govern and to guide his times. Possessed of far greater power than that magnificent emperor, the half of the globe his by inheritance, he might, during the thirty years of his reign, have moulded the great Reformation to his will; notwithstanding which, he left at his death both the

church and state in far more wretched disorder than at his accession to the throne of Germany. Frederick III. was too dull of intellect to rule a world; Charles V. was too cunning. He overlooked great and natural advantages, and buried himself in petty intrigue. Luther remarked of him during his youth, "He will never succeed, for he has openly rejected truth, and Germany will be implicated in his want of success." Time proved the truth of this opinion. The insufficiency of the Reformation was mainly due to this emperor.

Ferdinand I., opposed in his hereditary provinces by a predominating Protestant party, which he was compelled to tolerate, was politically overbalanced by his nephew, Philip II., in Spain and Italy, where Catholicism flourished. The preponderance of the Spanish over the Austrian branch of the house of Habsburg exercised the most pernicious influence on the whole of Germany, by securing to the Catholics a support which rendered reconciliation impossible, to the Spaniards and Italians admittance into Germany, and by falsifying the German language, dress, and manners.

The religious disputes and petty egotism of the several estates of the empire had utterly stifled every sentiment of patriotism, and not a dissentient voice was raised against the will of Charles V., which bestowed the whole of the Netherlands, one of the finest of the provinces of Germany, upon Spain, the division and consequent weakening of the powerful house of Habsburg being regarded by the princes with delight.

At the same time that the power of the Protestant party was shaken by the peace of Augsburg, Cardinal Caraffa mounted the pontifical throne as Paul IV., the first pope who, following the plan of the Jesuits, abandoned the system of defence for that of attack. The Reformation no sooner ceased to progress, than a preventive movement began. The pontiffs, up to this period, were imitators of Leo X., had surrounded themselves with luxury and pomp, had been, personally, far from bigoted in their opinions, and had opposed the Reformation merely from policy, neither from conviction nor fanaticism. But the Jesuits acted, whilst the popes negotiated; and this new order of ecclesiastics, at first merely a papal tool in the council of Trident, ere long became the pontiff's master. An extraordinary but extremely natural medley existed in the system and the members of this society of Jesus. The

most fervent attachment to the ancient faith, mysticism, ascetic extravagance, the courage of the martyr, nay, desire for martyrdom, reappeared in their former strength the moment the church was threatened; the passions, formerly inspiriting the crusader, burst forth afresh to oppose, not, as in olden times, the sensual pagan and Mahommedan, but the stern morality and well-founded complaints of the nations of Germany, to which a deaf ear was turned; and religious zeal, originally pure, but now misled by a foul policy, indifferent alike to the price and to the means by which it gained its aim, sought to undermine the Reformation. Among the Jesuits there were saints equalling in faith the martyrs of old; poets overflowing with philanthropy; bold and unflinching despots; smooth-tongued divines, versed in the art of lying. The necessity for action, in opposing the Reformation, naturally called forth the energies of the more arbitrary and systematic members of the order, and threw the dreamy enthusiasts in the shade. Nationality was also another ruling motive. Was the authority of the foreigner, so long exercised over the German, to be relinquished without a struggle? This nationality, moreover, furnished an excuse for immoral inclinations and practices, for all that was unworthy of the Master they nominally served. The attempts for reconciliation made by both parties in the church no sooner failed, and the moderate Catholic party in favour of peace and of a certain degree of reform lost sight of its original views, than the whole sovereignty of the Catholic world was usurped by this order. The pope was compelled to throw himself into its arms, and Paul IV., putting an end to the system pursued by his predecessors, renounced luxury and licence, publicly cast off his nephews, and zealously devoted himself to the Catholic cause. At the same time he was, notwithstanding the similarity in their religious opinions, at war with Philip of Spain, being unable, like his predecessors, to tolerate the temporal supremacy of the Spaniard in Naples. Rome, besieged by the duke of Alba, was defended by German Protestants, and the pope was reduced to the necessity of seeking aid from the Turk and the French. Peace was concluded, A. D. 1557. Philip afterwards treated the pope with extreme reverence, and confederated with him for the restoration of the church.

The settlement of the Jesuits throughout the whole of Ca-

tholic Germany was the first result of this combination. William, duke of Bavaria, granted to them the university of Ingolstadt, where Canisius of Nimwegen, the Spaniard, Salmeron, and the Savoyard, Le Jay, were the first Jesuitical professors. Canisius drew up a catechism strictly Catholic, the form of belief for the whole of Bavaria, on which [A. D. 1561] all the servants of the state were compelled to swear, and to which, at length, every Bavarian subject was forced, under pain of banishment, to subscribe. This example induced the emperor Ferdinand to invite Canisius into Austria, where Lutheranism had become so general that by far the greater number of the churches were either in the hands of the Protestants or closed, and for twenty years not a single Catholic priest had taken orders at the university of Vienna. Canisius was at first less successful in Austria than he had been in Bavaria, but nevertheless effected so much, that even his opponents declared that without him the whole of southern Germany would have ceased to be Catholic.* Cardinal Otto, bishop of Augsburg, a Truchsess von Waldburg, aided by Bavaria, compelled his diocesans to recant, and founded a Jesuitical university at Dillingen. In Cologne and Treves the Jesuits simultaneously suppressed the Reformation and civil liberty. Coblentz was deprived of all her ancient privileges, A. D. 1561, and Treves, A. D. 1580.

Ferdinand I. was in a difficult position. Paul IV. refused to acknowledge him on account of the peace concluded between him and the Protestants, whom he was unable to oppose, and whose tenets he refused to embrace, notwithstanding the expressed wish of the majority of his subjects. Like his brother, he intrigued and diplomatized until his Jesuitical confessor, Bobadilla, and the new pope, Pius IV., again placed him on good terms with Rome, A. D. 1559. He also found a mediator in Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, who had gained a high reputation for sanctity by his fearless and philanthropic behaviour during a pestilence, and who was, moreover, a zealous upholder of the external pomp of the church and of public devotion.

Augustus, elector of Saxony, the brother of Maurice, alarmed at the fresh alliance between the emperor and the pope, convoked a meeting of the Protestant leaders at Naum-

* He was in consequence mockingly termed "canis Austriacus."

burg. His fears were, however, allayed by the peaceful proposals of the emperor, [A. D. 1561,] and, in point of fact, the fitting moment for another attempt at reconciliation had arrived. The great leaders of the Reformation were dead, the zeal of their successors had cooled or they were at variance with one another. Disgust had driven several theologians back to the bosom of the Roman Church. The emperor, and even Albert of Bavaria, William's successor, were willing to concede marriage to the priests, the sacrament under both forms to the people, the use of the German tongue in the church-service, and several other points, for the sake of terminating the schism in the church; and even the pope, through his talented nuncio, Commendone, made several extremely touching representations to the assembly at Naumburg. All was vain. Commendone was treated with great indignity by the assembled Protestants. His subsequent attempt to gain the princes over one by one also failed, Brandenburg alone giving him a favourable reception. The assembly at Naumburg was, nevertheless, extremely peaceful in comparison with the convocation held simultaneously at Lüneburg, where the strictest Lutherans, the pope's most irreconcilable foes, chiefly preachers from the Hanse towns, had assembled. John Frederick, duke of Weimar, had also separated himself from the meeting at Naumburg, through hatred of the electoral house.

The reconciliation so ardently hoped for by the moderate party on both sides, was no longer possible. The schism had been too much widened ever again to close. The Protestants, instead of awaiting a general discussion of ecclesiastical matters by a council, had, on their own responsibility, founded a new church with new ceremonies and tenets. The Catholics had, on their side, placed the council not over the pope, but the pope over the council, in order to give themselves a head and greater unity, and this council, led by the Jesuits, had already passed several resolutions to which the Protestants could not accede. Neither party would retract lest more might be lost, and each viewed the other with the deepest distrust. Leonhard Haller, bishop of Eichstædt, said in the council, "It is dangerous to refuse the demands of the Protestants, but much more so to grant them." Both parties shared this opinion, and resolved to maintain the schism. A last attempt to save the unity of the German church, in the

event of its separation from that of Rome, was made by Ferdinand, who convoked the spiritual electoral princes, the archbishops and bishops, for that purpose to Vienna, but the consideration with which he was compelled to treat the pope rendered his efforts weak and ineffectual; those made by Albert of Bavaria, independently of the Protestants, in the council, for the abolition or restriction of the most glaring abuses in the church, were more successful, although the whole of his demands were not conceded. The council clearly perceived the necessity of raising the fallen credit of the clergy by the revival of morality. A number of abuses in this respect, more particularly the sale of indulgences, were abolished; the local authority of the bishops was restored, and the arbitrary power of the legates restricted; a catechism for the instruction of the Catholics was adopted in imitation of that published by the Lutherans, and, by the foundation of the Order of Jesus, talent and learning were once more to be spread among the monastic orders. But the council also drew the bonds of ancient dogmatism closer than ever, by its confirmation of the supremacy of the pope and of his infallibility in all ecclesiastical matters. "Cursed be all heretics," exclaimed the cardinal of Lorraine at the conclusion of the council, which re-echoed his words with thunders of applause, A. D. 1563. Pius IV., who closed the council, and, by his reconciliation with the emperor and with Spain, had weakened the opposition of the hierarchy and strengthened that of the Protestants, was succeeded by Pius V., a blind zealot, who castigated himself, and, like Philip in Spain, tracked the heretics in the State of the Church by means of the Inquisition, and condemned numbers to the stake.

The Protestants, blind to the unity and strength resulting from the policy of the Catholics, weakened themselves more and more by division. The Reformed Swiss were almost more inimical to the Lutherans than the Catholics were, and the general mania for disputation and theological obstinacy produced divisions amongst the Reformers themselves. When, in 1562, Bullinger set up the Helvetic Confession, to which the Pfalz also assented, in Zurich, Basle refused and maintained a particular Confession. A university, intended by Ferdinand I. as a bulwark against the Reformation, was founded by him at Besançon, then an imperial city, A. D. 1564.

Ferdinand expired, [A. D. 1564,] and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son, Maximilian II., who had gained great popularity throughout Germany by his inclination to favour the Lutherans; but, unstable in character, he committed the fault of granting religious liberty to his subjects without embracing Lutheranism himself, and consequently exposed them to the most fearful persecution under his successor. No one ever more convincingly proved how much more half-friendship is to be dreaded than utter enmity.

The empire was, at this period, externally at peace. France, embroiled by the Catholics and Huguenots, was governed by a female monster, the widow of Henry II., the Italian, Catherine di Medicis, who, sunk in profligacy, and the zealous champion of the ancient church, reigned in the name of her sons, Francis II. and Charles IX. The Huguenots turned for relief to Germany. In 1562, six thousand Hessians, and, in 1567, the Pfalzgrave, John Casimir, with seventeen thousand men, marched to their aid. The queen was, on her side, assisted by the Swiss Catholics, and, to his eternal disgrace, by John William, duke of Weimar, who sent a reinforcement of five thousand men. John Casimir reaped still deeper shame by his acceptation of a royal bribe, and his consequent desertion of the Huguenots.

The Turks also left the empire undisturbed. They were opposed in Hungary by an imperial army under Castaldo, which, instead of defending, laid the country waste. The monk, George Mertenhausen, (Martinuzzi,) was more influential by his intrigues. On the death of Zapolya, to whom he had acted both as temporal and spiritual adviser, he found himself at the head of affairs in Hungary, and proposed a marriage, which never took place, between Zapolya's son, John Sigismund, and one of Ferdinand's daughters. His first condition was the emancipation of the peasantry by the emperor, on the grounds that "the Turks offered liberty to the Hungarian serfs, and thereby induced numbers to apostatize, and, in this apostacy from Christianity, those alone who tyrannized over the peasantry were to blame." Ferdinand naturally refused to listen to these remonstrances, and George was shortly afterwards accused of a treacherous correspondence with the Turks, and was murdered by Castaldo's bravos. The pope, who had shortly before presented him, at Fer-

dinand's request, with a cardinal's hat, merely observed on this occasion, "He ought either to have been less strongly recommended or not to have been assassinated." The Hungarians, roused to desperation by the tyranny of Castaldo, and by the devastation committed by his soldiery, at length attacked him, killed the greater part of his men, and declared in favour of John Sigismund Zapolya. This demonstration was rendered still more effective by an invasion of Carniola by the Turks, A. D. 1559. Maximilian II., on his accession to the throne, purchased peace by an annual tribute of 300,000 guilders, and by the recognition of John Sigismund as prince of Transylvania. The sultan infringed the treaty; the peace of Germany, nevertheless, remained undisturbed, the grey-headed sultan expiring before the walls of Sigeth, which were gallantly defended, to the immortal honour of his nation, by the Hungarian, Nicolas Zriny. The Turks withdrew, and were kept in check by Lazarus Schwendi, an old and experienced general of the time of Charles V.

Maximilian, insensible to the advantages presented by the peaceful state of the empire, and incapable of guiding events, merely ventured upon a few timid steps that might easily be retraced. After having, in 1565, invited Pius IV. to abrogate the celibacy of the clergy, against which he protested, his next step should have been the prosecution of the Reformation independent of the pope; instead of which, unconscious of the deadly suspicion and of the dark assassin that dogged his every step, he used his utmost efforts to preserve amicable relations with him, whilst, on the other hand, he granted the free exercise of their religion to the Austrian nobility, and to the cities of Linz, Steyer, Enns, Wels, Freistadt, Gmunden, and Vœcklabruck, and tolerated the introduction of the new Protestant church into Austria by Chytræus von Rostock, A. D. 1568. He afterwards allowed the Bible to be translated for the use of the Slavonians in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, and protected, even in Vienna, the Protestants as well as the Jesuits, on one occasion bestowing a box on the ear on his son, afterwards the emperor Rudolf II., for having attacked a Protestant church at the instigation of the Jesuits. Half measures of this description were exactly calculated to excite the revenge of the young emperor on the decease of his father. Had Maximilian embraced the

Lutheran faith, or, at all events, extended freedom in religious matters indifferently to every class, had he sanctioned it by a solemn decree, and placed it under the guarantee of the rest of Protestant Germany, his concessions would have met with a blessed result and have defied the sovereign's caprice, instead of acting, as they eventually did, as a curse upon those among his subjects, who, under his profection, demonstrated their real opinions, and were, consequently, marked as victims by his fanatical successor. He also tolerated the grossest papacy in his own family. His consort, Maria, the daughter of Charles V., entirely coincided with the opinions of her brother Philip, and instilled them into the mind of her son. His brothers, Ferdinand and Charles, were zealous disciples of the Jesuits. Maximilian also gave his daughters in marriage to the most bloodthirsty persecutors of the heretics in Europe, Anna to Philip II. of Spain, Elisabeth to Charles IX. of France, who, on St. Bartholomew's night, aided with his own hand in the assassination of the Huguenots, who had been treacherously invited by him to Paris. This event filled Maximilian with horror; he, nevertheless, neglected to guard his wretched subjects from the far worse fate that awaited them during the thirty years' war. For the sake of treating each party with equal toleration, he allowed the Jesuits, during a period when hatred was rife in every heart, full liberty of action, and thus encouraged a sect, which, solely studious of evil, and animated by the most implacable revenge, shortly repaid his toleration with poison.

A female member of the imperial family was also an object of the hatred of the Jesuits. During the reign of Ferdinand I., his son, Ferdinand of the Tyrol, became enamoured of the daughter of an Augsburg citizen, Philippina Welser, the most beautiful maiden of her time, whom he secretly married. Philippina went to the imperial court, and, throwing herself under a feigned name at the emperor's feet, petitioned him to guard her from the danger with which she was threatened in case her marriage was discovered by an intolerant father-in-law. Ferdinand, moved by her beauty, raised her and promised to plead in her favour. Upon this Philippina discovered the truth, and the emperor, touched to the heart, forgave his son. The pope confirmed the marriage, and the happy pair spent a life of delight at the castle of Ambras, in

the Tyrol, not far from Innsbruck, until it was poisoned by the venom instilled by the Jesuits. Their children were created Margraves of Burgau. The family became extinct in 1618.

The Protestants also allowed the opportunity offered to them by the emperor to pass unheeded, and, although they received a great accession in number, sank, from want of unity, in real power and influence. The rest of the German princes, Charles and Earnest of Baden, and Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the son of Henry the Wild, embraced Lutheranism. Austria, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Juliers remained Catholic. The Reformers were devoid of union and energy, and oppressed by a sense of having abused and desecrated, instead of having rigidly prosecuted, the Reformation. Was their present condition the fitting result of a religious emancipation, or worthy of the sacred blood that had been shed in the cause? Instead of one pope, the Protestants were oppressed by a number, each of the princes ascribing that authority to himself; and instead of the Jesuits they had court chaplains and superintendents-general, who, their equals in venom, despised no means, however base, by which their aim might be attained. A new species of barbarism had found admittance into the Protestant courts and universities. The Lutheran chaplains shared their influence over the princes with mistresses, boon-companions, astrologers, alchymists, and Jews. The Protestant princes, rendered, by the treaty of Augsburg, unlimited dictators in matters of faith within their territories, had lost all sense of shame. Philip of Hesse married two wives. Brandenburg and pious Saxony yielded to temptation. Surrounded by coarse grooms, equerries, court-fools of obscene wit, and misshapen dwarfs, the princes emulated each other in drunkenness, an amusement that entirely replaced the noble and gallant tournament of earlier times. Almost every German court was addicted to this bestial vice. Among others, the ancient house of Piast in Silesia was utterly ruined by it. Even Louis of Wurtemberg, whose virtues rendered him the darling of his people, was continually in a state of drunkenness. This vice and that of swearing even became a subject of discussion in the diet of the empire, [A. D. 1577,] when it was decreed, "That all electoral princes, nobles, and estates, should avoid intemperate drinking as an

example to their subjects." The chace was also followed to excess. The game was strictly preserved, and, during the hunt, the serfs were compelled to aid in demolishing their own corn-fields. The Jews and alchymists, whom it became the fashion to have at court, were by no means a slight evil, all of them requiring gold. Astrology would have been a harmless amusement had not its professors taken advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the times. False representations of the secret powers of nature and of the devil led to the belief in witchcraft and to the bloody persecution of its supposed agents. Luther's belief in the agency of the devil had naturally filled the minds of his followers with superstitious fears. Julius, duke of Brunswick, embraced the Reformation, lived in harmony with his provincial estates, founded the university of Helmstædt, and, during a long peace, raised his country to a high degree of prosperity, but had such an irresistible mania for burning witches, that the blackened stakes near Wolfenbüttel resembled a wood. The consort of Duke Eric the younger was compelled to fly for safety to her brother Augustus of Saxony, Julius having, probably from interested motives, accused her of witchcraft.

The Ascanian family of Lauenburg was sunk in vice. The same licence continued from one generation to another; the country was deeply in debt, and how, under these circumstances, the *cujus regio* was maintained, may easily be conceived. The Protestant clergy of this duchy were proverbial for ignorance, licence, and immorality.

The imperial court at Vienna offered, by its dignity and morality, a bright contrast to the majority of the Protestant courts, whose bad example was, nevertheless, followed by many of the Catholic princes, who, without taking part in the Reformation, had thereby acquired greater independence.

CXCIX. *Contests between the Lutheran Church and the Princes.*

The whole Reformation was a triumph of temporal over spiritual power. Luther himself, in order to avoid anarchy, had placed all the power in the hands of the princes. The memory of the ancient hierarchy had, however, not been con-

signed to oblivion, and the new passions roused by the Reformation constantly gave the preachers an influence of which they well knew how to avail themselves in opposition to the weaker princes. Had they not been defeated by their own want of union, they might, at all events, have rendered the triumph of the temporal power less easy.

The strict Lutherans, by whom the least tenable and least practical theses of Luther, which fostered disunion among the Reformers, were rigidly defended against the attacks of the Catholics, the Zwinglians, and the Calvinists, had fixed themselves at Jena under the youthful John Frederick, the son of the expelled elector of like name. The Illyrian, Flacius, the spiritual head of this university, was an energetic but narrow-minded man, by whom Luther's doctrine concerning original sin was so extremely exaggerated, that he declared "original sin not only innate in man, but his very essence, and that he was thoroughly bad; an image, not of God, but of the devil." He was, it is true, driven to this extreme by the exaggerated assertions of Agricola at Berlin, and of Osiander at Kœnigsberg, who maintained that man had the privilege, when once touched by grace, of being no longer subject to sin, whatever his actions might be. Between these two extremes stood the Wittenberg party under the aged and gentle-minded Melancthon, and that of Tübingen under the learned Brenz, who was shortly to be followed by the diplomatizing Jacob Andrea.

The relation in which these theological parties stood to temporal politics was extremely simple. The doctrine of grace taught by Agricola Osiander placed man in a high position, flattered him, facilitated the forgiveness and also the commission of sin by the doctrine of justification, and therefore exactly suited the licentious princes. The founders of this doctrine also manifested the utmost servility in the external observances of the church, and conceded every thing to their sovereign. This sect would have triumphed over the more gloomy tenets of the Flacians, who, inflexible in the maintenance of external observances, bade defiance to the princes, had it not in its pure theological dogma more resembled Calvinism than genuine Lutheranism. The majority of the princes, decidedly biassed against Calvinism on account of its republican tendency, preferred Lutheranism and the hateful contest with its theologians.

John Frederick and his chancellor, Brück, actuated by hereditary hatred of the elector, Augustus, countenanced the attacks of the theologians of Jena upon those of Wittenberg. The Interim furnished Flacius with an opportunity for defending the Adiaphora, (sacrificed by the followers of Melancthon at Wittenberg as subordinate to the Interim,) which he maintained as essential; and for carrying on a dispute concerning the efficacy of good works, which he totally rejected, and declared to be a doctrine of destruction. The most criminal wretch, possessing faith, was, according to him, to be preferred before the most virtuous unbeliever. An antagonist appearing at Jena in the person of Strigel, a disciple of Melancthon, a Philipist, supported by Hugel, he caused them both to be thrown into prison. A clever physician, named Schrœter, however, pointing out to the duke "the advantage of making use of the clergy instead of allowing them to make use of him," he excluded the whole of the professors of Jena from the consistory, which he composed of laymen. In the midst of these disorders, Melancthon, who had long sighed for relief from ecclesiastical disputes, found peace in the grave, A. D. 1559. The Flacians triumphantly beheld the elector's conciliatory proposals scornfully rejected by John Frederick, but, deceived by the belief of their being the cause, openly rebelling against the ducal mandate by which they were deprived of all ecclesiastical authority, they were deposed and expelled the country, A. D. 1562. Flacius, cruelly persecuted by his former pupils, especially by the morose Heshusius, died in misery at Frankfurt on the Maine, A. D. 1575.

The Tübingen party, in 1558, made the extraordinary proposition of placing a superintendent-general, consequently, a Protestant pope, over the whole of the new church; this proposition, however, failed, the princes having no inclination to render themselves once more subordinate to an ecclesiastic.

Albert, duke of Prussia, was severely chastised for the foundation of the university of Ingolstadt in 1546, notwithstanding the comfortable doctrine of his favourite, Osiander, by the jealousy of the professors, some of whom, as followers of Flacius, others at the instigation of the ancient aristocracy of the Teutonic order, threw themselves, headed by Mœrlin, into the opposition, and roused the whole country against the talented and courtly Osiander, who, dying suddenly in 1552,

the duke published a mandate ordaining peace. Mœrlin bade him defiance, was deposed, and fled to Brunswick, upon which the nobility, cities, and clergy confederated, and assumed such a threatening aspect that all the Osiandrists quitted the country. Skalich, a Croatian by birth, the duke's privy counsellor, fled. The court chaplain, Funk, and some of the counsellors, deeming themselves in security, remained. Mœrlin's adherents, however, compelled the duke to discharge his mercenaries, the duchess to retract her former declaration in Osiander's favour, and seized the persons of the counsellors in the presence of their sovereign. Horst, one of his favourites, embraced the knees of his master, who wept in his helplessness. Horst, Funk, and others were beheaded, and the duke was compelled to recall Mœrlin, [A. D. 1566,] whose insolence broke the heart of the aged duke and duchess, both of whom expired on the same day, A. D. 1568. Their son, Albert Frederick, a boy fifteen years of age, was driven insane by the treatment he received from Mœrlin and the nobility. Mœrlin died, [A. D. 1571,] and bequeathed his office to Heshusius, a man of congenial character, possessing all the instincts of the dog except his fidelity. Such were the horrid natures produced by the passions of the age!

The feud carried on by John Frederick against Augustus, elector of Saxony, terminated in blood. John Frederick, implicated in an attempt made by a Franconian noble, William von Grumbach, to revive Sickingen's project for the downfal of the princes, was put with him under the bann of the empire, which Augustus executed upon him. John Frederick was taken prisoner in Gotha, borne in triumph to Vienna, and imprisoned for life at Neustadt. Grumbach and Brück were quartered, and their adherents hanged and executed. On the death of John William, John Frederick's brother, who died, A. D. 1573, his infant children fell under the guardianship of the elector, Augustus, who expelled all the Flacian preachers, one hundred and eleven in number, from Weimar, and reduced them to beggary. The Philipists triumphed. Their leader, Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, the elector's private physician, was in great favour at court. Emboldened by success, they attempted to promulgate their tenets, in which they approached those of the Calvinists, and published a new catechism in 1571, which aroused the sus-

picion of Julius of Brunswick, who warned the elector against his crypto-calvinistic clergy. Augustus instantly convoked his clergy, and a satisfactory explanation took place, but, in 1574, influenced by his consort, Anna, a Danish princess, who ascribed the death of their infant son to the fact of his having been held at the font by Peucer, the crypto-calvinist, he threw both him and his adherents, on a supposition of treachery, into prison, assembled the whole of the clergy at Torgau, and compelled them to retract the tenets they had so long defended in the pulpit and by the press. Six of their number alone, Rüdiger, Crell, Wiedebram, Cruciger, Pegel, and Moller, refused obedience to the electoral mandate, and were sent into banishment. Peucer remained for twelve years in a narrow, unwholesome dungeon, without books or writing implements.

The fanaticism with which the Calvinists were persecuted was increased by other causes. Their tenets being embraced by Frederick, elector of the Pfalz, by whom the French Huguenot refugees were protected, a confederacy was formed against him by Christopher, duke of Wurtemberg, Wolfgang, duke of Pfalz-Neuburg, and Charles, duke of Baden. Frederick, rendered more obstinate by opposition, published [A. D. 1563] the notorious Heidelberg Catechism as form of belief, the most severe bull in condemnation of sectarians called forth by the Reformation, and the dispute would have taken a serious turn had not the emperor, Maximilian II., avoided touching upon every fresh ecclesiastical innovation at the diet held at Augsburg, A. D. 1566. Frederick remained isolated, and maintained Calvinism throughout his dominions with extreme severity. A Socinian clergyman, Sylvan, a disciple of the Pole, Socin, who denied the Trinity, and merely admitted one person in the Godhead, was, by his orders, beheaded at Heidelberg, A. D. 1572. Frederick died, A. D. 1576. His son, Louis, a zealous Lutheran, destroyed his father's work. On entering Heidelberg he ordered all among his subjects who were not Lutheran to quit the city, and those among the Calvinistic preachers who refused to recant were expelled the country.

The various parties were now sufficiently chastised, and the clergy demoralized, for the safe publication of a fresh formula or concordat, by the Lutheran princes. In Bran-

denburg the clergy had been taught blind submission to the court by Agricola, and, in 1571, the elector, John George, placed the consistory under the presidency of a layman, Chemnitz. Augustus, elector of Saxony, found a servile tool for a similar purpose in Selneccer, who, with Andrea of Wurtemberg, the son of a smith of Waiblingen, completed the triumvirate, who, in the name of the Lutherans of Southern Germany, drew up the formula, [A. D. 1577,] without the convocation of a synod, in the monastery of Bergen, and imposed it upon the whole of the Lutheran world. William of Hesse, whose father, Philip, had died, laden with years, in 1567, Pomerania, Holstein, Anhalt, and some of the cities, alone protested against it. The people obeyed.

Harmony had existed amongst the Reformers since the covenant, by which all essential differences were smoothed down, entered into [A. D. 1563] by the obstinate elector of the Pfalz and Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich. Basle alone maintained a separate confession between Lutheranism and Zwingliism. The disputes among the Reformers, although less important than those among the Lutherans, nevertheless equalled them in virulence.

CC. *Revolt in the Netherlands.—The Geuses.*

CHARLES V. had assiduously endeavoured to round off the Netherlands, and to render them a bulwark against France and the Protestants. Gueldres resisted the Habsburg with the greatest obstinacy.* The aged and childless duke, Charles, was compelled by the Estates, when on his death-bed, to name William, duke of Juliers, his successor, in preference to the Habsburg. Ghent also revolted against the enormous taxes imposed by the emperor, who appeared [A. D. 1514] in person before the gates, forced the citizens to submit, and beheaded twenty of the principal townsmen. Gueldres was also reduced, and William of Juliers was compelled to renounce his claim in favour of the Habsburg.

* Hoog van moed,
Klein van goed,
Een Zwaard in de hand
Ist wapen van Gelderland.

The emperor vainly attempted to keep the Netherlands free from heresy by the publication of the cruel Placates. Tyranny merely rendered zeal extravagant, and gave rise to secret sectarianism. In 1546, a certain Loy was executed for promulgating the extraordinary doctrine of the existing world being hell. From Basle, his place of refuge, the influence of David Joris, and of another Anabaptist, Menno Simonis, greatly spread. The Mennonites were distinguished from the rest of the Anabaptists by their gentleness and love of peace, which caused their renunciation of the use of arms. The French Calvinists, who had found their way into Flanders, were, however, far more intractable and bold. Such numbers were thrown into prison and sentenced to the stake, that the mercantile class addressed a petition to the emperor, representing the injury thereby inflicted on industry and commerce. Material interests, nevertheless, predominated to such a degree in the Netherlands, that the victims of the Placates, numerous as they were, excited little attention among the mass of the population, and amid the immense press of business.* Charles drew large sums of money from the Netherlands, which he at the same time provided with every means for the acquisition of wealth. Commerce and manufactures flourished. He also rendered himself extremely popular by his constant use of his native tongue, Flemish, his adoption of that dress, and the favour he showed to his countrymen even in foreign service. His father, Maximilian, had greatly contributed to bring Low Dutch, which under the Burgundian rule had ceded to French, into general use. Under the Habsburgs the literature of the Netherlands was greatly fostered, and chambers of rhetoric were formed in all the cities. Charles V., a thorough Fleming at heart, did still more for the country, notwithstanding which, he abandoned his Germanic system, and sacrificed the fine provinces of the Netherlands to the stranger.

* The cities were at the height of their prosperity; hence the epithets, Brussels the Noble, Ghent the Great, Mechlin the Beautiful, Namur the Strong, Antwerp the Rich, Louvain the Wise (on account of her university).

"Nobilibus Bruxella viris, Antwerpia nummis,
Gandavum laqueis, formosis Brugga puellis,
Lovanium doctis, gaudet Mechlinia stultis."

The petty policy with which this monarch coquetted during his long reign, with which he embarrassed instead of smoothing affairs, the great cunning and power with which he executed the most untoward and the most useless projects, was not contradicted by his ill-starred will, by which he arbitrarily bestowed the Netherlands on his son, Philip II. of Spain, deprived Germany of her finest province, and laid a heavy burthen upon Spain. By it the natural position of the nations in regard to one another was disturbed and an artificial connexion created, the dissolution of which was to cost torrents of blood.

Philip II. at first received the most brilliant proofs of the fidelity of the Netherlands by their opposition to the French, who had renewed the war, and were again aided by the Swiss. Their general, Count Egmont, victorious at St. Quintin and Gravelingen, concluded a favourable peace at Cambresis, [A. D. 1559,] which restored Dunkirk, that [A. D. 1540] had been taken by the English, who [A. D. 1558] had been deprived of it by the French, to Philip. The breast of this monarch, nevertheless, remained impervious to gratitude. During the battle of St. Quintin, whilst others fought for him, he remained upon his knees, and vowed, were he victorious, to raise a splendid church in honour of St. Laurence, and, in performance of this vow, erected, in the vicinity of Madrid, the famous monastery of the Escurial, on which he expended all the treasures of Spain. Being overtaken by a storm during a sea-voyage, he took a solemn oath, in case of safety, to exterminate all the heretics in honour of God, and, in fulfilment of this vow, spilt torrents of the blood of his subjects with the most phlegmatic indifference. His principal occupation consisted of repose in solitary chambers. The gloom of the Escurial formed his ideal of happiness. The bustle of public life, the expression of the popular will, were equally obnoxious to him. He therefore endeavoured to maintain tranquillity by enforcing blind obedience or by death.*

Philip, on his departure from Spain, left his half-sister, a natural daughter of Charles V., Margaret of Parma, a woman of masculine appearance, stadtholderess of the Netherlands,

* The best portraits of this monarch, particularly those at Naples, bear by no means a gloomy or austere expression, but rather one of cool impudence. The features are of a common, nay, almost knavish cast.

and placed near her person the Cardinal Granvella, a man of acute and energetic mind, blindly devoted to his service. This appointment greatly offended the Dutch, who, instead of receiving a native stadtholder, either the Prince of Orange or Count Egmont, in compliance with their wishes, beheld a base-born stranger at the head of the government. Philip, instead of making use of the nobility against the inferior classes, by this step impolitically roused their anger; suspicious and wayward, he preferred a throne secured by violence to one, like that of his father, ill-sustained by intrigue. With the view of effectually checking the progress of heresy, he decreed that the four bishoprics, until now existing in the Netherlands, should be increased to seventeen. This unconstitutional decree gave general discontent; to the nobility, whose influence was necessarily diminished by the appointment of an additional number of churchmen; to the people, on account of their secret inclination to and recognition of the tenets of the Reformed Church; and to the clergy, whose ancient possessions were thus arbitrarily partitioned among a number of new-comers. The representations made by every class were disregarded; Granvella enforced the execution of the decree, erected the new bishoprics, and commenced a bitter persecution of the heretics. The Dutch, nevertheless, did not overstep the bounds of obedience, but revenged themselves on the Cardinal by open mockery and the publication of caricatures,* which rendered the country hateful to him, and he took his departure, A. D. 1564.

The Netherlands had patiently permitted the imposition of the useless bishoprics, the doubly severe Placates, the new resolutions of the council of Trident, and would indubitably have remained tranquil but for the attempt made to introduce the Inquisition by Philip, which at once raised a serious opposition. The very name of this institution was not heard without a shudder. The manner in which it had in America sacrificed thousands of Indians in bloody holocaust to the Christian idols of Spain, and the auto-da-fés, great execu-

* They imitated his cardinal's hat with a fool's cap; represented him under the form of a hen, brooding over seventeen eggs, and hatching bishops. Egmont's servants, even at that time, wore a bundle of arrows embroidered on their sleeves, a symbol of union, afterwards adopted as the arms of Holland.

tional festivals, during which thousands of heretics were burnt alive, and over which the king, in his royal robes, presided, were still fresh in men's minds. "We are no stupid Mexicans," exclaimed the Dutch, "we will maintain our ancient rights!" The nobles signed the compromise, a formal protest against the Inquisition, which they laid in the form of a petition before the regent, A. D. 1566. The procession, headed by Count de Brederode, went on foot and by two and two to the palace. Count de Barlaimont, a zealous royalist, on viewing their approach, said jeeringly, "Ce n'est qu'un tas de gueux!" Margaret gave them a friendly reception, but, incapable of acting in this affair without authority from the king, promised to inform him of their request. Barlaimont's remark being afterwards repeated at a banquet attended by the nobility, Brederode good-humouredly sent a beggar's wallet and a wooden goblet round the table with the toast, "Vivent les gueux!" The name was henceforth adopted by the faction.

The nobles, offended at the contemptuous silence with which their petition was treated by the king, now ventured to prescribe a term for the reception of his reply. A great popular tumult, in which the nobles were partially implicated, broke out simultaneously. The captive heretics were released by force, the churches and monasteries were stormed, and all the pictures, to the irreparable injury of native art, destroyed. The nobles were, however, finally constrained by the stadtholderess to come to terms. The Calvinists in Valenciennes and Tournay alone made an obstinate defence, but were compelled to yield. Egmont, anxious for the maintenance of tranquillity and for the continuance of the royal favour, acted with great severity.

Philip, without either ratifying or declaring against the terms of peace, proclaimed a general amnesty, and announced his speedy arrival in the Netherlands, and his desire to fulfil the wishes of his people. Lulled suspicion was, however, speedily reawakened by the news of the approach, not of the king, but of his ferocious commander-in-chief, the duke of Alba, at the head of a powerful force. The more spirited among the nobles advised instant recourse to arms, and the defence of the frontier against the approaching army, but were overruled by the moderate party, who hesitated to rebel

against a monarch whose intentions were merely suspected. William of Orange, count of Nassau, the wealthy possessor of Chalons-Orange, stadtholder of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht, surnamed the Silent, on account of his reserve, whose talents had endeared him to Charles V., vainly warned his friends of the danger they incurred. The Counts Egmont and Horn remained incredulous, and William, unable to persuade the States to make a resolute opposition before the mask was openly dropped by the king, resolved to secure his safety by flight. On taking leave of Egmont he said, "I fear you will be the first over whose corpse the Spaniards will march!" Some of the nobles mockingly calling after him as he turned away, "Adieu, Prince Lackland!" he rejoined, "Adieu, headless sirs!" Numerous adherents to the new faith and wealthy manufacturers, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, quitted the country. The majority withdrew to England.* One hundred thousand men, more than would have sufficed for the defence of the country against the Spanish army, had the States been resolute and united, emigrated. Brederode also fled, and died shortly afterwards in exile.

Alba, a monster both in body and mind, entered Brussels in the summer of 1567, at the head of a picked force of twelve thousand Spaniards and a body of German troops which he raised on his march from Milan. He was received with a death-like silence. Fear had seized every heart. He commenced by displaying the greatest mildness, received Egmont and the rest of the nobles with open arms and overwhelmed them with civility, called no one to account, took no step without convoking the estates, and inspired the Dutch with such confidence that numbers of the more timid, who had withdrawn, were induced to quit their strong-holds and to return to Brussels. For three weeks the same part was enacted; the certainty of the intended absence of the Prince of

* They were rejected by the Hanse towns from an old sentiment of jealousy, and on account of their Calvinistic tenets. England, more clearsighted, gave the industrious and wealthy emigrants a warm reception. It was in this manner that William Curten of Flanders carried his art and his capital to England, to whose monarch he lent enormous sums; he also settled a colony of eighteen thousand men in the island of Barbadoes, and opened the trade between England and China. He died poor, but his grandson presented a number of valuable antiques and a collection of natural history to the British Museum.

Orange then caused him to throw off the mask, and, inviting the Counts Egmont and Horn to a conference, he unexpectedly placed them under arrest, September 9th, 1567, and from this moment cast away the scabbard to bathe his sword in the blood of the unsuspecting Dutch.

The regent, Margaret, was, under pretext of a secret order from the king, sent out of the country, and a criminal court, which passed judgment upon all the Dutch, who confessed heretical tenets, had signed the compromise, or been implicated in the disturbances, was appointed. This court was solely composed of Spaniards, to whom some Dutch traitors, for instance, Hessels and the Count de Barlaimont, served as informers. The confiscation of property was the principal purpose for which this court was instituted, and numerous wealthy proprietors were accused and beheaded, though guiltless of offence. The secret of their hidden treasures was extorted by the application of the most horrid tortures, after which the unhappy victims were delivered over to the executioner. Blood flowed in torrents, Egmont and Horn were executed, A. D. 1568, and two noble Dutchmen, Bergen and Montmorency-Montigny, sent as ambassadors to Madrid, were by Philip's command put to death, the one by poison, the other in his secret dungeon.

CCI. *William of Orange.*

WILLIAM had fled into Germany to his brother, John the Elder of Nassau-Dillenburg, one of the noblest men of his day, who was unfortunately sovereign over merely a petty territory. He was the first who, from feelings of humanity and respect for his fellow Christians, abolished bond-service. He also engaged with his whole forces in the Dutch cause, and aided William, who found no sympathy among the Lutheran princes, to levy troops. The high Gimsburg, in the solitary forests, was the spot where the leaders secretly met. They succeeded in raising four small bodies of troops, composed of exiles, friends of liberty, and Huguenots. John, William, and their younger brothers, Louis, Adolf, and Henry, generously mortgaged the whole of their possessions, and entered the

Netherlands with their united forces.* Alba instantly seized William's son, Philip William, a student at Louvain, and sent him a prisoner to Spain. The struggle commenced, A. D. 1568. The princes of Nassau gained a victory at Heiligerlee, which cost Adolf his life, but the Spaniards were victorious at Gröningen, where Louis lost six thousand men, and narrowly escaped by swimming. A merely desultory warfare was afterwards carried on by petty bands in the forests, (the Bush or Wood Geuses,) or on the sea, by the Water Geuses. Hermann de Ruyter, the grazier, boldly seized the castle of Lœwenstein, which he blew up when in danger of falling again into the hands of the Spanish.

There being nothing more to confiscate, Alba imposed a tax, first of the hundredth, then of the tenth, and afterwards of the twentieth penny. He boasted that he could extract more gold from the Netherlands than from Peru, and, nevertheless, withheld the pay from his soldiery in order to incite them still more to pillage. Close to Antwerp he erected his principal fortress, the celebrated citadel, from which he commanded the finest city in the Netherlands, the navigation of the Scheldt, Holland on one side, and Flanders on the other. It was here that he caused a monument, formed of the guns he had captured, to be raised in his honour during his life-time. The pope, in order to reward his services and to encourage his persecution of the heretics, sent him a consecrated sword. The number of victims executed at his command amounted to eighteen thousand six hundred; putrid carcases on gallows and wheels infected all the country-roads. The appearance of a new and enormous star, (in Cassiopeia,) which for more than a year remained motionless and then disappeared, filling the whole of Europe with terror and astonishment, and a dreadful flood on the coast of Friesland, by which twenty thousand men were carried away, added to the general misery. On the latter occasion, [A. D. 1572,] the Spanish stadtholder, Billy, gave a noble example by the erection of excellent dikes, which found many imitators, and his memory is still venerated

* Four of these noble-spirited brethren shed their life-blood in the cause of the freedom of conscience and of the independence of the Netherlands, Adolf, Louis, and Henry falling on the battle-field, William by the hand of the assassin. John was for some time stadtholder of Gueldres, but returned to his native Nassau.

on the coasts of the Northern Ocean. Happy would it have been for Germany had all her enemies resembled him!

It was not until 1572 that William regained sufficient strength to retake the field. Men were not wanting, but they were ill-provided with arms, and too undisciplined to stand against the veteran troops of the duke. By sea alone was success probable. William von der Mark, Count von Lumay, Egmont's friend, who had vowed neither to comb nor cut his hair until he had revenged his death, a descendant of the celebrated Boar of Ardennes, quitted the forests for the sea, captured the richly-freighted Spanish ships, and took the town of Briel by a ruse de guerre. Alba, on learning this event, remarked with habitual contempt, "*no es nada*" (it is nothing). These words and a pair of spectacles (*Brille*, Briel) were placed by the Geuses on their banners. No sooner had a fortified city fallen into their hands than the courage of the Dutch revived. The citizens of Vliessingen, animated by the public admonitions of their pastor, rebelled, put the Spaniards, who had laid the foundation of another citadel commanding the town, to death, and hanged the architect, Pacieco. The whole of Holland followed their example. The Spaniards were every where slain or expelled, and were only able to keep their footing in Middelburg.

William of Orange had again raised an army in Germany, and his brother Louis another in France. The faithless French court offered its aid on condition of receiving the southern provinces, whilst William was to retain those to the north. Louis consented, and invaded the Hennegau, whilst William entered Brabant; but this negotiation had been merely entered into by the Catholic party in France, for the purpose of attracting the Huguenots to Paris, where they were assassinated. The news of the tragedy enacted on the night of St. Bartholomew opened the eyes of the princes of Nassau to the treachery of France, and they hastily withdrew their troops. A plot laid for William's capture at Mons was frustrated by the fidelity of a small dog belonging to him, which is still to be seen sculptured on his tomb.

Alba, burning with revenge, now marched in person upon Mechlin, where he plundered the city and put all the inhabitants to the sword, whilst his son, Frederick, committed still more fearful atrocities at Zütphen. Holland was, however,

destined to bear the severest punishment. Frederick was despatched thither with orders to spare neither age nor sex. The whole of the inhabitants of Naarden, contrary to the terms of capitulation, were treacherously butchered. Harlem was gallantly defended by her citizens and by a troop of three hundred women, under the widow Kenan Hasselaar, during the whole of the winter. William von der Mark and William of Orange vainly attempted to raise the siege, and the town was at length compelled by famine to capitulate, A. D. 1573. Frederick had lost ten thousand of his men. The inhabitants were sent to the block, and when the headsmen were unable from fatigue to continue their office, the remaining victims, three hundred excepted, were tied back to back and thrown into the sea. Frederick then marched upon Altmaar, which was so desperately defended by the inhabitants, both male and female, that one thousand of his men, and some of the three hundred Harlemites, fell in the trenches, and he was compelled to withdraw. The Water Geuses were at the same time victorious in a naval engagement, in which thirty of the great Spanish ships were beaten, and the enormous admiral's ship, the Inquisition, and six others, taken by twenty-four of the small Dutch vessels. A Spanish fleet of fifty-four ships was afterwards beaten, and a rich convoy of merchantmen taken. The captured vessels were manned with Dutchmen, and Holland ere long possessed a fine fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, which effectually kept the Spaniards at bay.

The Spanish court at length perceived the folly of its cruelty and severity. Alba was recalled, and replaced by Requesens, [A. D. 1574,] who sought by gentleness and mildness to restore tranquillity. The Dutch, however, no longer trusted to Spanish promises, and continued to carry on war. Middelburg fell into their hands, and a Spanish fleet, hastening to the relief of that town, was annihilated. Success, nevertheless, varied. During the same year, the princes were beaten in an open engagement on the Mookerheath near Nimwegen, where Louis and Henry fell, covered with glory. Requesens pacified his mutinous soldiers, who demanded their pay, with a promise of the plunder of the rich city of Leyden, to which Valdez suddenly laid siege before it could provide itself with provisions. The city, surrounded

by sixty-two Spanish forts, quickly fell a prey to famine, the Dutch land-army had been dispersed, and the ships of the Water Geuses were unavailable. In this distress, William's advice to cut the dikes and to flood the country was eagerly put into practice. "Better to spoil the land than to lose it," exclaimed the patriotic people. The sea poured rapidly over the fields and villages, bearing onwards the ships of the gallant Geuses. It was, nevertheless, found impossible to reach the still distant walls of Leyden, which were viewed with bitter rage by the rough and weather-beaten shippers, on whose broad-brimmed hats was worn a half-moon with the inscription, "Liever turcx dan pausch," "Better Turkish than popish." Boisot and Adrian Wilhelmssen headed the expedition. The most profound misery reigned, meanwhile, in the city. Six thousand of the inhabitants had already died of hunger. The prayers of the wretched survivors were at length heard. A sea-breeze sprang up. The water, impelled by the north-east wind, gradually rose, filled the trenches of the Spaniards, who sought safety in flight, and reached the city walls, bearing on its broad surface the boats of the brave Geuses, who, after distributing bread and fish to the famishing citizens collected on the walls, went in pursuit of the Spaniards, of whom one thousand five hundred were drowned or slain, A. D. 1575. The university at Leyden was erected in memory of the persevering fidelity of the inhabitants, and as compensation for their losses. The anniversary of this glorious day is still kept there as a festival.

Holland was henceforth free. William was elected stadtholder by the people, but still in the name of their obnoxious monarch, and the Calvinistic tenets and form of service were re-established, to the exclusion of those of the Catholics and Lutherans. As early as 1574, the Reformed preachers had, in the midst of danger, opened their first church-assembly at Dordrecht. The cruelties practised by the Catholics were equalled by those inflicted on the opposing party by the Reformers. William of Orange endeavoured to repress these excesses, threw William von der Mark, his lawless rival, into prison, where he shortly afterwards died, it is said, by poison, and occupied the wild soldiery, during the short peace that ensued, in the re-erection of the dikes torn down in defence of Leyden. The most horrid atrocities were, nevertheless,

perpetrated by Sonoi, by whom the few Catholics remaining in Holland were exterminated, A. D. 1577. A violent commotion also took place in Utrecht, but ceased on the death of the last of her archbishops, Frederick Schenk (cupbearer) von Tautenburg, A. D. 1580.

Spain remained tranquil. The armies and fleets furnished by Philip had cost him such enormous sums that the state was made bankrupt by the fall in the revenue. Requesens, who was neither able nor willing to take any decisive step, suddenly expired, A. D. 1576. His soldiery, unpaid and impatient of restraint, now gave way to the most unbridled licence, dispersed over Flanders, sacked one hundred and twenty villages, and, driving in their van numbers of captive women and girls, approached the gates of Maestricht, where the citizens refusing to fire upon the helpless crowd, the Spaniards forced their way into the city, where they practised every variety of crime. This event caused the long-suppressed wrath of the citizens of Ghent to explode. The German citizens of this town, who favoured the tenets of the Reformers, had unresistingly submitted to Alba, and, although the gallows had remained standing for years in each of the city squares, and numbers of Iconoclasts, Reformed preachers, and Geuses had been hanged, beheaded, and burnt, Ghent had suffered comparatively less than her sister-cities. The rumoured advance of the Spanish troops roused the whole of the inhabitants, the men flew to arms, the women and children lent their aid in tearing up the pavement, in order to fortify the town against the castle, commanded by Mondragon, the brave defender of Middelburg. The troops of the Prince of Orange were allowed to garrison the city.—The Spanish soldiery, however, intimidated by those preparations, and conscious of their want of a leader, turned off towards Antwerp, which they took by surprise, November 4th, 1576. They laid five hundred houses in ashes, murdered five thousand of the inhabitants, and completely sacked the city. Numbers of the citizens fled to Frankfurt on the Maine, which they enriched by the introduction of their arts and manufactures.

William of Orange, meanwhile, took advantage of the absence of a royal stadtholder and of the universal unpopularity of the Spaniards, to seize, by means of his friends Lalaing and Glimes, the town-council of Brussels that favoured the Span-

iards, and to propose a union of all the Netherlands for the confirmation of peace, the equal recognition of both confessions of faith, and the expulsion of the Spaniards. This was accomplished by the pacification of Ghent, the 8th November, 1576. Ghent was the centre of the movement, having for aim the union of the southern to the northern provinces. Mondragon vainly attempted to defend the citadel against the enthusiastic populace, and finally capitulated.

Don Juan, a natural son of Charles V. by Barbara Blumberger, the daughter of a citizen of Augsburg, the new Spanish stadtholder, a man already known to fame by the great victory of Lepanto, gained by him [A. D. 1571] over the Turkish fleet, arrived at this conjuncture. The mutinous soldiery instantly submitted to him, but the Estates insisted upon his confirmation of the pacification of Ghent in the name of the king, to which he assented and marched to Brussels. The Spanish troops were, in consequence of this peace, sent out of the country, Don Juan dissembling his real projects, and yielding to every demand with the view of weakening the influence of the Prince of Orange, of limiting him to Holland and Seeland, and of reconciling the southern provinces to Spain. Several of the nobles were jealous of William of Orange, among others, the duke of Aerschot, who, as governor of Flanders, garrisoned the citadel of Ghent in Don Juan's name, and secretly corresponded with him. Don Juan also broke his word, secretly quitted Brussels, threw himself into the fortified castle of Namur, and recalled the Spanish troops. The Estates, indignant at this act of treachery, deprived him of his office, and called William of Orange to the head of affairs, but that prince, conscious of the jealousy with which he was beheld by the rest of the grandees, and less intent upon his personal aggrandizement than desirous of the welfare of the country, ceded his right in favour of the Archduke Matthias, the second son of Maximilian II., by whom the Netherlands might once more be united with Germany, and who, moreover, appeared far from disinclined to advance the cause of the Reformation. Matthias was received with open arms by the German party, and the foreign and Spanish faction completely succumbed on the capture of the citadel of Ghent by the enraged populace, October 28th, 1577. The government of this city became a pure democracy. Iconoclasm and

the assassination of Catholic priests recommenced, and a violent feud was carried on with the Walloon nobility, the zealous supporters of Catholicism. These events were beheld with great uneasiness by Matthias and the Prince of Orange, whose efforts were solely directed to the union of all the Netherlands, whether Catholic or Reformed, under a German prince against Spain. William visited Ghent in person, for the purpose of preaching reason to the Calvinists and of renewing the article concerning religious toleration contained in the Pacification of Ghent.

Soon after this, in the February of 1578, the Dutch army under Matthias and Orange, was, whilst attempting to take Don Juan's camp at Gemblours by storm, defeated by the Spanish, principally owing to the bravery and military science of the young Duke Alexander of Parma, the son of Margaret. This misfortune again bred dissension and disunion among the Dutch; Matthias lost courage, and endeavoured by his promises to induce the Catholics to abandon the Spaniards, whilst the citizens of Ghent, with increased insolence, again attacked monasteries and churches, committed crucifixes and pictures of the saints to the flames, and burnt six Minorites, accused of favouring the enemy, alive. The French, with customary perfidy, now attempted to turn the intestine dissensions of the Dutch to advantage, and Francis, Duke d'Alençon, the brother of the French monarch, Henry III., offered aid, in the hope of seizing the government of the Netherlands. Elizabeth, queen of England, made a futile attempt to assist the Reformers by sending large sums of money to the Pfalzgrave, John Casimir, whom she commissioned to raise troops for the Prince of Orange; but the Pfalzgrave, actuated by jealousy of the fame of that prince, joined the demagogues of Ghent. Alençon, rejected by every party, withdrew from the country, and, in revenge, allowed the French soldiery, several thousands in number, raised for this expedition, to join the Walloons, who, under the name of malcontents or beadsmen, had just commenced a bitter war against the people of Ghent, who, under their leader, Ryhove, gained the upper hand, took Brügge, and required the united efforts of the Prince of Orange and of Davidson, the English ambassador, to keep within bounds. Don Juan expired at this period, [A. D. 1578,] and the Dutch, had harmony sub-

sisted among them, might easily have seized this opportunity, during the confusion that consequently ensued in the Spanish camp, to expel the duke of Parma. The bigotry of the people of Ghent long rendered every attempt at reconciliation between them, the Walloons, and the rest of the Catholics, abortive, and it was not until William of Orange again appeared in person at Ghent, that a religious convention was agreed to and peace was once more restored, December 16th, 1578.

The moment for action had, however, passed. The duke of Parma had already taken a firm footing in the southern provinces, and, aided by the implacable Walloons, was steadily advancing. Matthias and the German Catholics tottered on the brink of destruction. The return of the Catholic priests to Ghent was a signal for a fresh popular outbreak, and the treaty, so lately concluded, was infringed. The northern provinces, resolute in the defence of their liberties, kept aloof from these dissensions, and, on the 22nd January, 1579, subscribed to the Union of Utrecht, renounced all allegiance to Spain, and founded a united republic, consisting of seven free states, Gueldres, Holland, Seeland, Zütphen, Friesland, Oberyssel, and Gröningen, the states-general of Holland, over which William of Orange was placed as stadtholder-general. This step had been strongly advised by Elizabeth of England, as a means of raising a strong bulwark on the mouths of the Rhine against both France and Spain. The Dutch declaration of independence, like that of the Swiss confederation, contained the preamble, that by this step Holland had no intention to separate herself from the holy Roman empire. The aid demanded by both the Dutch and the Swiss against foreign aggression had been refused, owing to the egotism of the princes and the mean jealousy of the cities. The emperor wanted the spirit to act with decision; his brother, Matthias, entered the country and quitted it with equal secrecy. The Lutherans refused all fellowship with the followers of Calvin.

The Prince of Parma, a man distinguished both as a warrior and as a statesman, formed a coalition with the Walloons, with the discontented nobility, even gained over William's friend, the influential Lalaing, and commenced operations without delay. Dunkirk was taken within six days; Maestricht was

stormed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the city was reduced to ruins. Herzogenbusch and Mechlin fell by stratagem. The underhand system of seduction pursued by this prince was opposed by an open manifesto on the part of the stadtholder of Holland, in which the revolt of the provinces against their legitimate sovereign was justified, on the grounds that the people were not for the prince but that the prince was for the people, and that Philip had injured, not benefited his subjects. This manifesto was answered by another on the part of Philip II., in which, without touching upon the just complaints of the people, he ascribed the revolt of the Netherlands to the intrigues of William of Orange, who had wickedly seduced his happy subjects from their allegiance. He, at the same time, set a price of twenty-five thousand ducats on the head of this arch-rebel, and promised to bestow a patent of nobility on his assassin.

William of Orange for a third time visited Ghent, [A. D. 1580,] and appeased the civil broils. Ghent and Brügge subscribed to the Union of Utrecht. Matthias had voluntarily retired; and William, in order to raise a fresh enemy to the rear of Parma, who continued rapidly advancing, advised the election of a French prince to the stadtholdership. Alençon instantly hastened into the country, and delayed the duke's progress by the siege of Cambray. The Spanish manifesto had not, meanwhile, vainly appealed to the basest passions of the human heart. A Frenchman, named Jauregui, ambitious of the promised guerdon, shot the Prince of Orange in the head, in the March of 1581. The wound, although dangerous, was not mortal.

The Prince of Parma, favoured by the state of inactivity to which William was reduced in consequence of his wound, redoubled his efforts, took Doornik and Oudenarde, and was even more successful by intrigue than by force of arms. The French were equally obnoxious to both the German and Spanish factions, and Alençon was compelled to retire, A. D. 1581. Parma, meanwhile, skilfully took advantage of the national dislike of the Germans to the French to pave the way to a reconciliation with Spain, and William of Orange, on his recovery, perceived with alarm the inclination of the southern provinces to accede to his proposals for the sake of peace. His faction in Ghent was defeated, [A. D. 1583,] but

the treason of Hembyze, the head of the Spanish party, who offered to deliver up the city to Parma, being discovered, the Orange faction was recalled, the treaty concluded at Doornik between Ghent and Parma annulled, and the duke's letters were, by way of answer, publicly burnt. Brügge, instigated by the Duke von Aerschot, opened her gates to the Spaniards.

Orange, true to his motto, "calm in the midst of storms," still hoped for success, but scarcely had he recovered from the effects of his wound than a second assassin was sent by the Spanish monarch. Balthasar Gerard presented himself as a suppliant before him and received a handsome present, in return for which he lodged three balls in his body. "Oh God, have mercy upon me, and upon this poor nation!" were the last words of the dying prince. This deed of horror took place the 17th July, 1584. His last wife, Anne de Coligny, had seen her murdered father, the celebrated admiral, and her first husband, Teligny, expire in her arms. Gerard was quartered, but Philip II., in imitation of the pope, who, on receiving the news of the murder of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's night, ordered public rejoicings, ennobled his family, and bestowed upon it the title of "destroyer of tyrants."

The perfidious Hembyze, who, although in his seventieth year, had just married a young woman, was, as if in expiation of this base assassination, almost at the same time, Aug. 4th, beheaded at Ghent as a traitor to his country. The Orange faction in the city was, nevertheless, compelled to submit to the duke and to comply with the general desire for tranquillity and peace, A. D. 1584. Parma prohibited the Calvinistic form of worship, threw four hundred of the citizens into prison, closed the academies and printing-presses, and established the Jesuits in the city. The house of Hembyze was converted into a Jesuit college. Brussels and Antwerp were taken, after sustaining a lengthy siege.

The southern Netherlands were thus lost to the Reformation and to liberty, and, by their separation from the northern provinces, gave rise to that unnatural distinction between nations similar in descent that still keep Holland and Belgium so widely apart.

CCII.—*The Republic of Holland.*

PEACE was, on the death of the Prince of Orange, offered by the duke of Parma to Holland, by whom it was steadily rejected, and Spain was declared a faithless friend, whom she would oppose to the last drop of her heart's blood. Fortune, meanwhile, favoured Parma. Maurice, William's son, an inexperienced youth, had been raised by the grateful people to the stadtholdership, and Leicester, the English envoy, had, by his incapacity and arrogance, rendered himself obnoxious to the Dutch, whom he would willingly have reduced beneath the British sceptre. The declining power of the Reformers was, nevertheless, renovated by the destruction of the invincible Armada, which, shattered by a storm, was completely annihilated by the Dutch and English ships under the admirals Howard and Drake,* A. D. 1588. This success animated the Dutch with fresh courage, and Parma, compelled to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had for some time resisted his efforts, fell ill with chagrin. The castle of Bleyenbek yielded to the Dutch, A. D. 1589. Breda was taken and sacked by Maurice, who defeated the Spaniards under Verdugo at Cæworden, freed Gröningen from her tyrannical governor, the Count von Rennenburg, and took Nimwegen.

The war dragged slowly on. Philip II. again had recourse to intrigue, and, restoring Philip William, Maurice's elder brother, whom he had long detained a prisoner in Spain, to liberty, sent him unexpectedly back to the Netherlands, in the hope of dissensions breaking out between the brethren; but Philip William, although refused admission into the country by the Dutch, who feared the disturbance of their republic, nobly rejected Philip's proposals, and even preferred renouncing his right to his Burgundian estates to holding them on dishonourable terms, A. D. 1595.

The duke of Parma expired, [A. D. 1596,] and was succeeded by another Spanish stadtholder, Albert, also a son of the emperor Maximilian II. Albert had married Philip's daughter, Isabella. Peace was equally desired by all parties in the Netherlands, and remained alone unconcluded from want of

* This officer brought the first potatoes from America.

unanimity. The war was, meanwhile, mechanically carried on, principally by foreigners, French, English, and eastern Germans; and it was in this school that most of the great military characters during the ensuing wars acquired their science and skill. The most remarkable event during this war was the siege of Ostend, which Albert, or rather his wife, Isabella, "the only man in her family," resolved to gain at whatever price; she even vowed not to change her undergarment until success had crowned her endeavours. The siege commenced, A. D. 1602, and was at length terminated by Spinola, A. D. 1605; the city had, during this interval, been gradually reduced to a heap of ruins, and one hundred thousand men had fallen on both sides. The tint known as Isabella-colour was so named from the hue acquired by the garment of the Spanish princess.

A truce for twelve years was at length concluded, [A. D. 1609,] but war broke out afresh on the commencement of the religious war that convulsed the whole of Germany. The seven northern provinces retained their freedom, the southern ones remained Spanish. The latter lost all their inhabitants favourable to the Reformation, and with them their prosperity and civil liberties. The cities stood desert; the people were rendered savage by military rule, or steeped in ignorance by the Jesuits; and in this melancholy manner was Germany deprived of her strongest bulwark, of the most blooming and the freest of her provinces. Holland, on the other hand, blessed with liberty, quickly rose to a high degree of prosperity. Her population, swelled by the Calvinistic emigrants from the Spanish Netherlands, from France and Germany, became too numerous for the land, and whole families, as in China, dwelt in boats in the vicinity of the larger towns. The over-population of the country gave rise [A. D. 1607] to that Herculean enterprise, the draining of the Bremstersee, by which a large tract of land was reclaimed, and to the excellent Waterstaat or system of canals and dikes, which prevented the entrance of the sea, and was superintended by Deichgrafs. The navy created by the Water Geuses furnished means for the extension of the commercial relations of the republic. Amsterdam became the great emporium of Dutch commerce and the outlet for the internal produce of Holland. The trade long carried on between the merchants of Spain and of Holland had

secretly continued during the war. The traffic of the former with the East Indies and America was carried on with the capital of the Dutch, who, out of their share of the profit, armed their countrymen against the Spanish troops. This traffic being discovered and strictly prohibited by Philip II., the Dutch carried it on on their own account, and speedily rivalled the merchants of Spain in every part of the globe. In 1583, Huygen van Linschoten made the first voyage to the East Indies, whither, in 1595, Cornelius Houtmann sailed with a small fleet and planted the banner of the republic in Java, where it still flutters in the breeze. In 1596, the united fleets of Holland and England took the rich commercial town of Cadiz and burnt it to the ground. During the same year Linschoten and Heemskerk set out on an expedition for the discovery of a north-eastern passage to China. The Dutch had long maintained commercial relations with Russia, and Archangel had been founded by Adrian Kryt; the enterprise, nevertheless, failed, the ships being ice-bound in the Frozen Ocean, and Heemskerk compelled to winter on Nova Zembla. In 1599, Stephen van der Hagen opened the spice trade with the islands of Molucca; in 1601, van Neck, the tea trade with China, and van Spilbergen, the cinnamon trade with Ceylon. An incessant struggle for the empire of the sea was meanwhile carried on between Holland, Spain, and Portugal, the two latter of which had already colonized parts of the New World. The English Channel was, in 1605, blockaded by Houtain, the Dutch admiral; no Spanish ship was permitted to reach the coast of Holland, and all the Spaniards who fell into his hands were drowned. The Dutch fleets incessantly harassed the Spanish coasts. In 1608, Verhoeven settled in Calicut, on the Coromandel coast. One of his ships visited Japan, in 1609, and discovered a Dutch sailor, named Adam, who had been cast on the shore, living there in great repute. A connexion with this country was formed at a later period by van den Broek, who, aware of the great importance of the island of Java as the centre of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, erected [A. D. 1618] the fortress of Batavia, which speedily grew into an extensive city. In 1614, van Noordt followed on the track of the Spaniards in the southern ocean, and, in 1615, Schouten sailed round the southern point of America, named by him

Cape Horn, in honour of his native town, Hoorn. New Zealand was discovered about the same time and named after the province of Seeland. Hudson, in 1610, had also discovered the extreme north of America, and the bay named after him. The English, jealous of his success, seized and starved him to death. Numbers of his countrymen followed in his track, and, in 1614, added the whale fishery to those of codfish and herrings, which were almost exclusively in their hands.

The mean jealousy of the Hansa towns met with its fitting reward, their commerce gradually declining as that of Holland rose. Their prohibition of English manufactures caused the expulsion of all the Hanseatics from England and the instalment of the Dutch in their stead, A. D. 1598.

Maurice inherited little of the noble sincerity of his father, and viewed with jealous eyes the despotic power wielded by the neighbouring princes. The peace, to which he had been forced to accede by Henry IV. of France, the friend of reform, the commercial prosperity, the increase of the navy, the colonial and civil wealth, and the republican spirit of Holland, were alike distasteful to him, but, compelled to relinquish the hope of executing his tyrannical projects by force of arms, he concealed them beneath a mask of religion, and made use of means the best calculated, in those fanatical times, to work upon the multitude.

At the new university of Leyden, Justus Lipsius had gained great fame for learning, and Gomarus, the Calvinist, for orthodoxy and zeal. Another deeply-learned and talented preacher, Arminius, (Harmsen,) who had successfully combated the doctrine of predestination, being also appointed to a professor's chair at Leyden, Gomarus, who, like the rest of his Calvinistic brethren of that period, professed ultra-liberalism, but acted with a bigotry equalling that of the Catholics and Lutherans, instantly raised a cry of heresy. The attempts made by Hugo Grotius, the most eminent scholar and statesman of the age, to reconcile the adverse parties, were rendered futile by political intrigue. Maurice, instigated by resentment against Olden Barneveldt, the most popular and influential of the statesmen of Holland, declared in favour of Gomarus.* The Arminians defended themselves in a remon-

* His ignorance was such that he, on one occasion, demanded of an Arminian "how he could uphold such nonsense as a belief in predestin-

strance to the states-general, whence they gained the name of Remonstrants. The Gomarists, supported by Maurice, however, gained the victory, and Olden Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, with their friends Hogerbeet and Ledenberg, were, at Maurice's command, arrested in the name of the states-general, which were in utter ignorance of the affair. The Remonstrants, fearful of sharing the fate of their leaders, fled the country. The town-councils and the states-general were biassed by the creatures of the prince, and the prisoners were judged by a criminal court acting solely under his influence. By the great synod convoked at Dordrecht as a cloak for his crime, the Remonstrants were condemned unheard as abominable heretics, whilst Maurice loaded the Gomarists with favours, A. D. 1619. Ledenberg, in order to escape the rack, stabbed himself with a knife. Olden Barneveldt, an old man of seventy-two, the most faithful servant of the republic, the founder of its real grandeur, of its navy, was condemned to death, as a disturber of the unity of the state and of the church of God. He addressed the people from the scaffold in the following words, "Fellow citizens, believe me, I am no traitor to my country. A patriot have I lived and a patriot will I die." Maurice, by whom the people had been deceived with false reports against their only true friends, pretended to mourn for his death and to lament the treason that had led to his condemnation, A. D. 1619. Hogerbeet and Grotius were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The latter escaped from the castle of Löwenstein, in which he was immured, by means of his wife, Maria von Reigersberg, who concealed and had him carried away in a chest of books.

Popular disturbances ensued. Several insurrections were quelled by force; the secret assemblage of the Remonstrants was strictly prohibited and the censorship of the press established. The two sons of Olden Barneveldt conspired against the life of Maurice, were discovered and executed, A. D. 1623. Maurice expired, A. D. 1625. Conscious of the inevitable discovery of the artifice with which he had studiously slandered his victims and deceived the Dutch, and of the infamy attached to his name, he enjoined his brother and successor, Frederick, with his dying breath, to recall the Remonstrants.

nation?" and on being told that was the doctrine of the Gomarists and not of the Arminians, pretended to disbelieve the assertion.

CCIII. *Rudolph the Second.*

THE rest of Germany beheld the great struggle in the Netherlands with almost supine indifference. The destruction of the Calvinistic Dutch was not unwillingly beheld by the Lutherans. The demand for assistance addressed [A. D. 1570] by the Dutch to the diet at Worms received for reply, that Spain justly punished them as rebels against the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio.* The Lutheran princes, either sunk in luxury and vice, or mere adepts in intrigue, shared the peaceful inclinations of their Catholic neighbours. The moderation of the emperor, Maximilian II., also greatly contributed to the maintenance of tranquillity, but still far more so the cunning policy with which the Jesuits secretly encouraged the internal dissensions of the Reformers whilst watching for a fitting opportunity again to act on the offensive.

Maximilian II. had, shortly before his death, been elected king of Poland, and great might have been the result had he been endowed with higher energies. The Jagellons became extinct with Sigismund Augustus, A. D. 1572. The capricious Polish nobles, worked upon by the agents of the French monarch, raised Henry of Anjou to the throne, which that prince speedily and voluntarily renounced for that of France. Maximilian was elected king by one faction, and Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania, by another. Maximilian ceded his claim and expired shortly afterwards, A. D. 1575. The Jesuits were accused of having taken him off by poison, through jealousy of his inclination to favour the Reformation. The beautiful Philippina Welser is also said to have been murdered in the castle of Ambras by opening her veins in a bath, A. D. 1576.

Maximilian was succeeded by his son, Rudolph II., a second Frederick III. This prince devoted his whole thoughts to his horses, of which he possessed an immense number, although he never mounted them; to the collection of natural curiosities and pictures; to the study of alchymy and astrology, in which he was assisted by the Dane, Tycho de Brahe, and by Kepler,* the great German astronomer.

* This extraordinary man, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of the laws which regulate the movements of the planetary bodies, their

Tycho is said to have drawn his horoscope and to have foretold his death by the hand of his own son, in consequence of which he forswore marriage and lived in constant seclusion. He was subject to fits of fury resembling madness. His sleeping apartment was strongly barred like a prison, so great was his apprehension of a violent death.

Rudolph bestowed no attention upon the empire; he, nevertheless, permitted Melchior Clesel, bishop of Vienna, and the Jesuits, to attempt to bring about a reaction in his hereditary provinces against the Protestants, who, deeming themselves secure under his father's sceptre, had, contrary to agreement, erected churches on spots not immediately belonging to the privileged nobility. In 1579, every unprivileged cure was seized and the public instruction placed exclusively in the hands of the Catholics, a proceeding extremely mild when compared with the merciless extirpation of the Calvinists in Saxony, of the Lutherans in the Pfalz, etc.

The great victories of the Dutch, the decided inclination of Elizabeth, queen of England, and of Henry IV. of France, to Calvinism, suddenly raised that sect to a high degree of influence, which was further increased by the defection of several of the princes from Lutheranism through disgust at the doctrines taught by the clergy. Immediately after the triumph gained by the Lutherans by means of the concordat, the only Calvinistic prince remaining in Germany, the Pfalzgrave, John Casimir, brother to Louis, the Lutheran elector, had, at a congress held at Frankfurt a M. [A. D. 1577,] demanded aid from England and France. He had himself levied a troop of German auxiliaries for the French Huguenots. On the death of his brother, he undertook the guardianship of his infant nephew, Frederick IV. [A. D. 1585]; all the Luther-

ellipticity, etc., was born in 1571, at Wiel, in Swabia. Whilst a boy, tending sheep, he passed his nights in the fields, and by his observation acquired his first knowledge of astronomy. His discovery was condemned by the Tübingen university as contrary to the Bible. He was about to destroy his work, when an asylum was granted to him at Grætz, which he afterwards quitted for the imperial court. He was, notwithstanding his Lutheran principles, tolerated by the Jesuits, who knew how to value scientific knowledge. He was solely persecuted in his native country, where he with difficulty saved his mother from being burnt as a witch. He was also in the service of the celebrated General Wallenstein. He died [A. D. 1630] at Ratisbon.

ans were instantly expelled the Pfalz and the tenets of Calvin imposed upon the people.

It was about this period that Gebhard, elector of Cologne, born Count Truchsess (dapifer) von Waldburg, a young, gentle-hearted, but somewhat thoughtless man, embraced Calvinism. His equally worldly-minded predecessor, Salentin von Ysenburg, had, [A. D. 1577,] after persecuting the Lutherans, suddenly renounced his office and wedded a Countess von Ahremberg, an example Gebhard was inclined to follow, but without relinquishing his position. He had already become notorious for easy morality, when, one day, looking from his balcony, he beheld, in a passing procession, the Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, canoness of the noble convent of Gerrisheim near Dusseldorf, the most beautiful woman of the day, and becoming violently enamoured, called her into his presence, and, by his united charms of rank, youth, and beauty, quickly inspired her with a corresponding passion. The Lutheran Counts von Mansfeld, speedily informed of the connexion between their sister and the archbishop, hastened to Bonn, where they were holding court together, and compelled the archbishop to restore their sister's honour by a formal marriage. The Calvinists in the Pfalz, in Holland, and France, however, promising him their aid on condition of his reforming the whole of the Colognese territory, and inspiring him with the hope of rendering his possessions hereditary in his family, he embraced the tenets of Calvin, and consequently deprived himself of the support of the strict Lutherans. He was himself completely devoid of energy. The bishop of his cathedral, Frederick von Saxon-Lauenburg, who grasped at the archiepiscopal mitre, almost the entire chapter and the citizens of Cologne, declared against him. His predecessor, Salentin von Ysenburg, actuated by jealousy, also opposed him. On the day on which Gebhard solemnized his wedding at Bonn, the bishop took possession of the city of Kaiserswerth, Feb. 2nd, 1583. The majority of the people were against him. The pope put him under an interdict; the emperor and the empire were bound by the ecclesiastical proviso; the Lutherans refused their aid through jealousy of the Calvinists. Earnest, duke of Bavaria, bishop of Liege and Freysingen, was elected archbishop in his stead, and invaded his territory. The Pfalzgrave, John Casimir, to whom

he had in his terror mortgaged the whole of the electorate of Cologne, was too deeply engaged in the expulsion of the Lutherans from the Pfalz to lend him the requisite aid, and left him to his fate. The whole of the electorate was speedily in the hands of the Bavarian duke, and Gebhard took refuge in Zütphen, whence he escaped to William of Orange. Agnes secretly visited England and applied for assistance to Essex, the queen's favourite, but was instantly expelled the country by the jealous queen, who refused to see her. Gebhard's adherents, meanwhile, ravaged the country around Neuss, but were forced to capitulate by the Spanish under the duke of Parma, to whom Earnest had turned for aid. The cause of the expelled archbishop now became hopeless, and [A. D. 1589] he withdrew with Agnes, to whom he ever remained faithful, to Strassburg, where he had formerly held the office of deacon. He died, [A. D. 1601,] leaving no issue. Agnes survived him; the period of her death and her burial-place are unknown.

Earnest of Cologne, who became at the same time bishop of Munster, Liege, and Hildesheim, favoured the Jesuits, and persecuted the Protestants with the greatest rigour in Aix-la-Chapelle. The Catholic league, meanwhile, incessantly carried on hostilities against the Huguenots, whose leader, Henry of Bourbon, the first of that line, mounted the throne of France, A. D. 1589. This monarch was greatly seconded in his war with the league by the Reformed Swiss, under Louis von Erlach, and by the Calvinistic prince, Christian von Anhalt. The Landgrave, Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, openly embraced Calvinism, A. D. 1592. The separation of Hessian Darmstadt from Cassel took place, A. D. 1614. It was brought about by the Lutheran prince, Louis of Darmstadt, Maurice's cousin, in direct opposition to the will of the provincial estates. Maurice* was one of the most eminent among the princes of his time, witty and learned, deeply versed in classic literature and art, well acquainted with modern and foreign cultivation and customs, and not the less zealous for the improvement of Germany. The Margrave, Earnest Frederick of Baden-Durlach, became a convert to Calvin, and imposed his tenets on his Lutheran subjects. He died of apoplexy, [A. D. 1604,]

* This prince was the first inventor of the telegraph, an invention that did not come into use until long after.

when marching upon Pforzheim, whose citizens had resisted his tyranny. John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, also embraced Calvinism, the faith of the citizens of Juliers, Cleve, and Berg, his subjects by inheritance. He incurred great unpopularity by his toleration of Lutheranism in Brandenburg.

The Catholic party had gradually gained internal strength. Paul IV. commenced the restoration; Pius IV. gave a new constitution to the Catholic world by the resolutions of the council of Trident; Pius V. exchanged the shepherd's staff for the faggot and the sword, and, by his example, sanctified the cruelties perpetrated by Philip II.; Gregory XIII., the representative of Jesuit learning, put the Protestants to shame with his improved Calendar, which was published, A. D. 1584, and violently protested against at the imperial diet by the Lutherans, who preferred an erroneous computation of time to any thing, however accurate, proceeding from a pope; and finally, Sixtus V. again displayed the whole pomp of the triumphant church from 1585 to 1590.

The Jesuits had rapidly spread over the whole of the Catholic world, and, solely opposed by the Dominicans, jealous of the power they had hitherto possessed, had placed all beneath their rule. The Franciscans, so influential over the people, were replaced by another Jesuitical body of begging monks, drawn from their ranks, the Capuchins, who were commissioned to work upon the lower, as the Jesuits did upon the higher, classes. Permanent nunciatures, as advanced posts noting the movements of the enemy and of the confederation, were stationed, in 1570, at Luzerne, in 1588, at Brussels, Cologne, and Vienna.

The Reformers had entirely lost sight of the ancient church in the midst of their internal dissensions, nor was it until the publication of Cardinal Bellarmin's subtle criticism on the Reformation in 1581, and that of Pope Gregory's celebrated bull *in cœna Domini* in 1584, on the one side, and of the history of the order of Jesus by the renegade Jesuit, Hasenmuller, in which he lays bare all its evil practices and exaggerates its crimes, in 1586, on the other side, that polemics again raged and the press vented its venom on both parties.

The bishoprics continued a material object of discord; those to the north of Germany had irrecoverably fallen into the hands of the princes of Brandenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and

Saxon-Lauenburg. The possession of others was a matter of uncertainty. In Upper Germany and in Switzerland, the Catholics greatly increased in strength and daring, and the confederates, instigated by the Jesuits, took up arms against one another. In 1586, the Catholic cantons, influenced by Louis Pfyffers of Lucerne, the head of the Catholics, surnamed the Swiss king, concluded the golden or Borromean league with St. Charles Borromeo for the extermination of heretics. This league raged so fearfully in Italy that numbers of Reformers fled thence to Zurich; hence the celebrated Zurich names of Pestalozzi, Orelli, etc.

The favour lavished by Stephan Bathori, king of Poland, upon the Catholic party, afforded the Jesuits an opportunity to spread themselves over Livonia and Polish-Prussia. They were, however, driven out of Riga by the Lutheran citizens, A. D. 1587, and out of Dantzig in a similar manner, A. D. 1606.

Clement VIII., meanwhile, intent upon extending his temporal sway in Italy, had, on the death of Alfonso, the last Margrave of the house of Este, [A. D. 1595,] seized Ferrara and forcibly annexed that duchy to the dominions of the church. His successor, Paul V., zealously persecuted the heretics, and, during his long reign, from 1605 to 1621, incessantly encouraged discord and dissension.

Bavaria displayed the greatest zeal in the Catholic cause. Baden-Durlach, whose Margrave, Philip, had fallen at Montoncourt fighting for the Huguenots, had been re-catholicized by Duke Albert, the guardian of Philip's infant son. Albert's successors, William [A. D. 1579] and Maximilian, [A. D. 1598,] befriended the Jesuits. In 1570, all the wealthy inhabitants of Munich took refuge in the Lutheran imperial cities. These proceedings were far from indifferent to the Calvinists, the most courageous among the Reformers. Frederick IV., elector of the Pfalz, exhorted the Lutherans to make common cause with the rest of the Reformers, but was solely listened to by Wurtemberg and the Margraves of Franconia, who entered into a union with him at Anhausen, [A. D. 1608,] which was joined [A. D. 1609] by Brandenburg and opposed by Maximilian of Bavaria, who convoked the Catholic princes, with whom he concluded a holy alliance. Party hatred was still further inflamed [A. D. 1610] on the death of the last duke of Juliers, Cleve, Berg, Mark, and Ravensperg, when

those splendid countries fell to the nearest of kin, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William, Pfalzgrave of Neuburg, both Reformed princes. The majority of the people was also Reformed. The Catholic party, led by Bavaria, had, in the hope of frustrating the expectations of their antagonists, compelled Jacobea of Baden,* who was educated at Munich, to bestow her hand upon the imbecile duke, John William, A. D. 1585. This scheme, however, failed; the duke went completely mad, and Jacobea remained childless. The government was seized by his sister, Sibylla, an elderly maiden, totally devoid of personal graces, who, jealous of Jacobea's beauty and aided by the Catholic party, set the now useless victim aside. Jacobea was, under a false pretext, seized, accused of sorcery, and strangled in prison, after undergoing a variety of tortures. Antonia of Lorraine was the next victim bestowed upon the duke, in the hope of raising a progeny in the Catholic branch, but also remaining childless, she was sent back to Lorraine, and Sibylla, in her forty-ninth year, wedded Charles, Margrave of Burgau. Her hopes of issue were also frustrated, and, on the death of John William, in 1609, the whole of the rich inheritance fell to the Reformed branch, which, aided by France, finally succeeded in expelling Sibylla's faction, which was supported by the Spanish Netherlands.

The united princes, meanwhile, took the field, but again laid down arms on the death of the elector of the Pfalz and the murder of Henry of Navarre by Ravaillac, the tool of the Jesuits. Brandenburg and Neuburg remained in peaceable possession of the Juliers-Cleve inheritance, until a quarrel breaking out between them, the Pfalzgrave embraced Catholicism and called the League and the Spaniards to his aid. The matter was, nevertheless, settled by negotiation, Brandenburg taking Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg; Neuberg, Juliers and Berg, A. D. 1614. They were, however, still destined not to hold the lands in peace, the emperor attempting to place them under sequestration as property lapsed to the

* Her portrait is still to be seen at Dusseldorf. She was uncommonly beautiful and captivating. She loved a Count von Manderscheid, who, on the news of her marriage, became insane. The pope sent his benediction on the marriage of this lovely woman with the imbecile duke, and presented the unhappy bride with a golden rose.

crown; the Dutch and Spaniards again interfered in the dispute that ensued, and shortly afterwards the great war broke out. John Sigismund succeeded the imbecile duke, Frederick Albert, on the throne of Prussia, [A. D. 1614,] where, during that stormy period, the Brandenburgs with difficulty secured their footing.

PART XVIII.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

CCIV. *Great religious disturbances in Austria.—Defeat of the Bohemians.*

THE projects laid by the emperor Maximilian II. were, even during his life-time, frustrated by his brother, Charles, the ultra-Catholic archduke in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. This energetic man, who, by his settlement of the military colonies in Croatia, in the heart of which he erected [A. D. 1580] the metropolis of Carlstadt, had greatly served the empire, violently opposed the Protestants, established the Jesuits at Grætz, and by his virulent persecution of the Lutheran communes in the mountain districts drove them to rebel, A. D. 1573. The peasantry throughout Styria and Carniola revolted, but were reduced to submission by the Uzkokes,* wild Slavonian robbers, called for that purpose from the mountains of Dalmatia.

The violent abolition of the religious liberty of the privileged cities by Rudolph II. called forth an energetic remonstrance from the whole of the provincial estates, that drew from him the grant of four privileged churches at Grætz, Judenburg, Clagenfurt, and Laibach, A. D. 1578, which were, nevertheless, destroyed by the Archduke Charles, at whose command twelve thousand German Bibles and other Lutheran

* These barbarians afterwards greatly annoyed his son, the emperor Ferdinand II., who, at the entreaty of Venice, interdicted their piracy in the Adriatic.

books were burnt by the public executioner at Grætz, A. D. 1579. The Lutheran preachers were gradually superseded by Catholic clergy in all the cities, the chartered towns not excepted, and the citizens were compelled to recant. The privileges of the nobility were still held sacred, but the principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio*, was in some measure even applied to them, no Lutheran lord being permitted to take a Catholic peasant into his service unless born on his estates. The Estates, perceiving their demands unheeded by their sovereign, laid their complaints [A. D. 1582] before the diet of the empire, in the hope of being protected by the Lutheran princes. But here also their hopes were frustrated by the pitiless axiom, *cujus regio, ejus religio*. The Jesuits, emboldened by this defeat, redoubled their attacks; numbers of Lutheran preachers were incarcerated, but were partly restored to liberty by the enraged peasantry. The movement gradually increased, and [A. D. 1588] the archduke was merely saved from assassination at Judenburg by the magnanimity of a Lutheran preacher. An insurrection broke out simultaneously in the archbishopric of Salzburg. Tumultuous meetings, the violent seizure of the preachers and the armed opposition of the peasantry, were annually renewed in Austria from 1594.

The persecution of the Austrian Protestants raged with redoubled violence on the accession of the Archduke Ferdinand, A. D. 1596. His Jesuitical preceptors had carefully prepared him from his earliest childhood for the part they intended him to perform, and he had solemnly vowed at the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto to extirpate heresy from his dominions. The actions and principles of his uncle, Philip II., the model on which he formed himself, were merciful in comparison with his. Unwarlike, nay, effeminate in his habits, ever surrounded by Jesuits and women, he, nevertheless, possessed a bigoted obstinacy of character that nought had power to soften, and, whilst tranquilly residing in Vienna, willing tools were easily found to execute his horrid projects. His first act, in answer to the renewed petitions of the Estates for religious liberty, was the erection of gallows throughout the country for the evangelical preachers, the demolition of their churches, nay, the desecration of the churchyards by the disinterment of the dead. In Laibach, where the most resolute resistance

was offered, the pastors were torn from their pulpits, the citizens that refused to recant expelled, and their goods confiscated. The opposition of the Estates was weakened by the dissolution of their union, those of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola being compelled to hold separate assemblies. The Estates, refused aid by their brethren in belief, were driven by necessity to demand assistance from their foreign neighbours. Venice was too Catholic, Hungary too deeply occupied with her internal affairs and the war with the Turks, to listen to their entreaties. Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, took advantage of the gradual decadence of the Turkish empire, on the one hand, and of the religious war in Germany, on the other, to found an independent power in Hungary. The German Transylvanians had been converted to Lutheranism, [A. D. 1533,] and were, at this period, in close alliance with the German Lutherans. Rudolph II., with the view of reconverting them to Catholicism, instigated the Hungarians against them, and the Saxons were actually declared in the Hungarian diet [A. D. 1590] serfs to the Hungarians, there being no noblemen among them. The national Graf, Hutter, however, rose in their defence, and openly told the magnates before the whole assembly, that "Labour was nobler than robbery," and succeeded in repealing their decision. The Transylvanian Saxons, as a protection against the Jesuits, formed a union, [A. D. 1613,] and bound themselves by oath to stand up as one man in defence of their political freedom and of the Augsburg Confession, never to accept of nobility, and ever to preserve their equality, the condition of their freedom.

Thus, Tyrol alone excepted, all the hereditary possessions of the house of Habsburg had favoured the Reformation, and were, in point of fact, Reformed. Catholicism was, nevertheless, reimposed, by means of political intrigue, on the whole of this immense population.

The archdukes, less influenced by the discord that prevailed throughout the empire than by the disturbances in the hereditary provinces, which caused the Habsburgs to totter on the throne, resolved [A. D. 1606] to install Matthias in the place of his spiritless brother, the emperor Rudolph. This event afforded a glimmer of hope to the oppressed Protestants. Matthias speedily found himself at the head of an army, and com-

pelled the emperor to cede Hungary and Austria. Rudolph, shaken from his slumbers, hastened unexpectedly to Prague, where, sacrificing the principle on which he had hitherto governed, the exclusive rule of the Catholic form of worship, to his enmity towards his brother, he fully restored the privileges anciently enjoyed by the Utraquists, and [A. D. 1609] promulgated the famous letter patent, the palladium of Bohemia, by which her political and religious liberty was confirmed. The storm had, however, no sooner passed than, regretting his generosity, he allowed his cousin, the Archduke Leopold, bishop of Passau, whom, notwithstanding his priestly office, he destined for his successor on the throne, to assemble a considerable body of troops at Passau, invade and devastate Bohemia, and take possession of the Kleine Seite of Prague. The Bohemians under Matthias, Count von Thurn, made a gallant defence, and several bloody engagements took place. The rage of the Bohemians was, however, chiefly directed against the Jesuits, who were accused of having instigated this attack upon their liberties, and Rudolph, deeply suspected by the citizens of Prague of participating in the plot, was kept prisoner by them until Leopold voluntarily retreated on the news of the approach of Matthias from Hungary. Rudolph was compelled to abdicate the throne of Bohemia in favour of his brother, whose coronation was solemnized amid the joyful acclamations of the people, on whom he lavished fresh privileges. "Ungrateful Prague!" exclaimed the deposed monarch, as he looked down upon the gorgeous city from his palace window, "Ungrateful Prague! to me dost thou owe thy wondrous beauty, and thus hast thou repaid my benefits. May the vengeance of Heaven strike thee, and my curse light upon thee and the whole of Bohemia!"

The Bohemians, enchanted with Matthias's liberality, prudently sought to draw a real advantage from, and to strengthen their constitution by, his deceptive concessions. The fallacy of their hopes is clearly proved by the fact of Ferdinand's having annihilated in the mountains every trace of the liberty so deceitfully planted by his uncles and sovereigns in Bohemia. Shortly before the Christmas of the same year, 1610, the Passau troops made a second incursion into Upper Austria and cruelly harassed the Protestant inhabitants.

Matthias succeeded to the imperial crown on the death of

Rudolph II., [A. D. 1612,] and, unable to recall past events, peaceably withdrew from public life, committing the government to his nephew, Ferdinand, whom he caused to be proclaimed king of Bohemia, and who was destined to discover the little accordance between the system of oppression pursued by him in the mountains and the letters patent issued by Rudolph. Ferdinand treated his uncle with the basest ingratitude, depriving him of the society of his old friend, Cardinal Clesel, and treating him with the deepest contempt. The poor old man was at length carried off by gout, A. D. 1617. Clesel had drawn upon himself the ill-will of the youthful tyrant, by expressing a hope that Bohemia might be treated with lenity, to which Ferdinand replied, "Better a desert than a country full of heretics." The only descendants of the house of Habsburg still remaining in Germany, were Ferdinand II., his two brothers, Leopold, bishop of Passau, and Charles, bishop of Breslau. The throne of Spain was [A. D. 1621] mounted by Philip IV., (grandson to Philip II.,) whose brother, Ferdinand, became a cardinal and the stadtholder of the Netherlands.

The arrival of Ferdinand with his Jesuitical counsellors at Prague filled Bohemia with dread, nor was it diminished by his hypocritical oath to hold the letters patent granted by Rudolph sacred; for how could a Jesuit be bound by an oath? the principles on which he acted had been clearly shown by his behaviour at Grætz and Laibach. The Jesuits no longer concealed their hopes, and the world was inundated with pamphlets, describing the measures to be taken for the extirpation of heresy throughout Europe, and for the restoration of the only true church.

Ferdinand speedily quitted Bohemia, leaving the government in the hands of Slawata (a man who, for a wealthy bride, had renounced Protestantism, and who cruelly persecuted his former brethren,) and Martinitz, who sought to insnare the people and systematically to suppress their rights. A strict censorship was established; Jesuitical works were alone unmutilated. Religious liberty, although legally possessed by the nobility alone, had, by right of custom, extended to the Protestant citizens, more especially since the grant of the letters patent by the emperor, Rudolph II., but they no sooner ventured to erect new churches at Braunau and

Klostergrab, than an order for their demolition was issued by Ferdinand, who, treating the representations of the Estates with silent contempt, their long-suppressed discontent broke forth, and, at the instigation of Count Thurn, they flung Slawata and Martinitz, after loading them with bitter reproaches, together with their secretary, Fabricius, according to old Bohemian custom, out of the window of the council-house on the Radschin. They fell thirty-five yards. Martinitz and the secretary* escaped unhurt, being cast upon a heap of litter and old papers; Slawata was dreadfully shattered, and was carried into a neighbouring house, that of a Princess Schwarzenberg, where he remained unmolested. This event occurred May the 23rd, 1618, and from this day dates the commencement of the thirty years' war.

The first act of the Bohemian Estates under the direction of Count Thurn was the expulsion of the Jesuits, in which they were imitated by the rest of the hereditary provinces, Silesia under the rule of John George, duke of Brandenburg-Jægerndorf, Moravia under its principal leader, the Baron Frederick von Teuffenbach, Austria, whose chief representative was Erasmus von Tschernembl, and Hungary under Bethlen Gabor (Gabriel Bathory). A list of grievances was sent to Vienna, and religious liberty was demanded as the condition of their continued recognition of Ferdinand's authority.

Ferdinand, without deigning a reply, instantly raised two small bodies of troops, which he intrusted to the command of Dampierre and Bouquoi, the former a Frenchman, the latter a Spaniard, whilst he continued to levy men in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands; but Thurn, marching at the head of the Bohemians upon Vienna, he avoided falling into his hands by going to Frankfurt on the Maine, [A. D. 1619,] where the Lutheran princes, gained over by his Jesuitical artifices, elected and crowned him emperor of Germany. Every trace of the scruples formerly raised against the election of Charles V. and of Ferdinand I. had vanished.

The Estates of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, abandoned as usual in the moment of need by their Protestant brethren, now closely

* He afterwards received the title of Hohenfall. He is said to have fallen upon Martinitz, and, notwithstanding the horror of the moment, to have politely asked pardon for his involuntary rudeness.

confederated, and took Count Earnest von Mansfeld, who had served with distinction in the Netherlands, with fourteen thousand German mercenaries, into their service. Bouquoi, after defeating Mansfeld at Pilsen, marched into Hungary against Bethlen Gabor, whilst Dampierre, worsted in Moravia by Teuffenbach, retired upon the Danube, where the Upper Austrians, under Stahremberg, lay in wait for the emperor on his return from Frankfort. Ferdinand, however, avoided them by passing through Styria to Vienna. That city was instantly besieged by Thurn and Bethlen Gabor, and the Viennese, who, notwithstanding the practices of the Jesuits, were still evangelically inclined, stormed the palace and demanded a formal grant of the free exercise of their religion. At this moment Dampierre's cavalry entered the palace-yard. The citizens withdrew, and the Bohemians and Hungarians, weakened by famine and sickness, and threatened to the rear by a fresh enemy raised against them by Ferdinand's diplomatic arts, also speedily retreated. The Cossacks, (not those of the Ukraine,) the rudest of the Lithuanian tribes, were invited into Austria by the emperor for the purpose of converting the people by fire, sword, and pillage. A Spanish army under Verdugo also crossed the Alps and defeated Mansfeld at Langen-Loys. The Bohemians and Hungarians were, meanwhile, victorious over the Poles, and, in the midst of the tumult of war, elected Frederick V., elector of the Pfalz, king of Bohemia, and Bethlen Gabor king of Hungary, in the stead of the emperor, A. D. 1620.

The behaviour of the German princes during the war in Austria was more deeply than ever marked by treachery and weakness. Never has a great period produced baser characters, never has a sacred cause found more unworthy champions. The projects harboured by the pope, the emperor, Spain, and France, for the complete suppression of the Reformation, were well known, and could alone be frustrated by a prompt and firm coalition on the part of the Protestant princes. George William of Brandenburg, John George of Saxony, Louis of Darmstadt, John Frederick of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave, Joachim Earnest, of Brandenburg, bribed by personal interest or actuated by cowardice and by jealousy of the Pfalzgrave, abandoned their brethren to their fate, and took part with the emperor. Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, who, notwithstand-

ing his youth, was at the head of the Catholic League, had, through jealousy of his cousin the Pfalzgrave, sacrificed the brilliant prospects of his house, and headed the Wittelsbach against the Wittelsbach in a war profitable alone to the Habsburg. Conscious of this false step, he endeavoured, although the ally of the Habsburg, to curb the power of the emperor, and to retain his position as the head of Catholic Germany. For this purpose, he long delayed advancing to his aid, until actually compelled, by the fear of losing the laurels he hoped to win, to take the field at the head of his whole force, after concluding an alliance at Wurzburg with his brother Ferdinand in Cologne, and Schweighart, elector of Mayence, in which Lothar of Treves and Louis of Darmstadt also joined, and after protecting his rear by making terms, as creditable to him as a statesman as they were scandalous in the opposite party, in the name of the League with the Union, the duke of Wurtemberg promising to discharge the troops of the Union, Bavaria on her part undertaking to leave the Lutheran and Reformed countries, including the Pfalz, Bohemia alone excepted, unharassed by the League.

Frederick, elector of the Pfalz, a young and ambitious man, whose projects were ever seconded by his wife, Elizabeth, a zealous Calvinist, the daughter of James I. of England, had placed himself without difficulty, owing to the supine indifference of the rest of the united princes, at the head of the Union. His inaptitude for government was, however, speedily discovered by the Bohemians, by whom he had been elected king and received with the greatest enthusiasm. Frederick was merely fitted for parade, and was, perhaps, the most incapable of the reigning princes of his time, for he never allowed others to govern in his name. The Lutheran princes, jealous of the increased importance of the Pfalz, and inimical to him on account of his Calvinistic tenets, abandoned him. His introduction of the French tongue and of French customs and fashions into his court created great dissatisfaction among his Bohemian subjects, which was still further increased by his encouragement of the attacks made from the pulpit by his chaplain, Scultetus, upon the Utraquists and Lutherans, and by the demolition of the ornaments still remaining in the churches at Prague. The crucifixes and pictures were torn down and destroyed. The attempt to demolish the great

stone crucifix on the bridge over the Moldau caused a revolt, which Thurn was alone able to quell. Peace was restored, but Frederick had forfeited the affection of his subjects. Instead of attaching the Bohemian aristocracy to his person, he showered favours upon two poor nobles, distinguished neither by their talents nor by their characters, Christian, prince of Anhalt, and George Frederick, Count von Hohenlohe, by whom Count Mansfeld, whose birth was illegitimate, was treated with such marked contempt, that he withdrew with his troops from the royal army. The terms stipulated [A. D. 1620] between the League and the Union also deprived Frederick of the aid of the latter, Bohemia being expressly given up as a prey to the former. His alliance with Turkey, moreover, greatly contributed to increase his unpopularity with every party.

Whilst the Protestants were thus weakened by their own treachery and disunion, the Catholics acted with redoubled vigour. Spinola marched from the Netherlands at the head of twenty thousand men and systematically plundered the Pfalz. The cries of the people at length struck upon the dulled sense of the united princes. Wurtemberg tremblingly demanded, "Why the late stipulation was thus infringed?" and remained satisfied with the reply that Spinola, not being included in the League, was not bound to keep its stipulations; and the Union made a treaty with Spinola at Mayence, by which they consented to his remaining in the Pfalz on condition of the neighbouring princes being left undisturbed. Heidelberg, Mannheim, and the Frankenthal were defended by the troops of Frederick Henry of Orange, who was abandoned by the rest of the united princes. Maximilian and his field-marshal, John T'serclaes,* Count von Tilly, a Dutchman, who had served under Alba, next invaded Upper Austria with a force of thirty thousand men. Linz yielded; the Estates were compelled to take the oath of fealty to the duke as the emperor's representative; Tschernembl fled to Geneva, where he died in want, A. D. 1626. The mountain peasantry, enraged at the capitulation of Linz by the panic-struck nobles, took up arms, but were unable to overtake the duke, who had, in the mean time, entered Bohemia, where

* T'serclaes signifies, Sir Claus, Sir Nicolas.

numbers of the inhabitants were, on account of their determined resistance, cruelly butchered.

Dampierre, sacrificing himself for the emperor, kept Bethlen Gabor at bay, though with an inferior force, but was finally defeated and slain before Presburg. The Hungarians poured in crowds around Vienna, whilst the League, joined by Bouquoi, Verdugo, and the whole of the imperial forces, left Vienna to the right and marched straight upon Prague, where the king, Frederick, little anticipated battle. Anhalt and Hohenlohe had fixed an encampment on the Weissen Berg, famed for Zizka's deeds of prowess; Mansfeld and the flower of the army were far away at Pilsen, and, before it was possible for him to advance to the relief of the metropolis, the enemy unexpectedly stormed the Weissen Berg, Oct. 29th, 1620. Christian of Anhalt rushed to the encounter and was wounded; the Hungarian auxiliaries fled and drew the Bohemians in their train. The Moravians made a valiant but futile resistance. The battle rolled onwards to the gates of Prague, where the confusion was still further increased by the panic of the king. Prague was well fortified; the troops had, after suffering a trifling loss, entered the walls; an immense Hungarian army lay around Vienna; Mansfeld was at Pilsen; Upper Austria in open insurrection; four thousand men and ten cannons, left in the hurry of the moment on the Weissen Berg, comprised the whole amount of loss. But fear had paralysed the senses of the monarch. Instead of, like the Hussites, intrenching himself behind his fortifications and awaiting the arrival of his friends, he yielded his metropolis without a blow, merely demanding twenty-four hours to prepare for his departure, notwithstanding which he left behind him his crown and most important documents, the whole archive of the Union, which fell into the hands of the imperialists. Frederick fled to Breslau, then farther, never to return. One winter brought his reign to a close, hence he received the soubriquet of the winter-king.* Thurn also escaped.

The elector of Saxony, who had, meanwhile, occupied the Lausitz with his troops and had taken Bautzen and Zittau, now expelled the fugitive king of Bohemia from Silesia and compelled Breslau to do him homage as the emperor's repre-

* Comes palatinus palans sine comite. He was pursued with satirical songs and caricatures.

sentative. Frederick took refuge in Holland with his consort, whom the elector of Brandenburg had unwillingly permitted to remain at Frankfort on the Maine until after the birth of her son, Prince Maurice. The castle of Rhenen, in Holland, was granted as a residence to the exiled pair by the Prince of Orange.

Mansfeld, driven from Pilsen by Tilly, entered into a pretended negotiation with the emperor, who vainly attempted to bribe him to enter into his service, and had no sooner provided himself, by pillaging the country around Tachau, with horses, ammunition, and money, than, forcing his way through Bamberg and Wurzburg, he escaped the imperialists under Maximilian and General Cordova, who had been left by Spinola, on his return to the Netherlands, in the Pfalz where he had wintered. Tilly vainly pursued the fugitives; Mansfeld passed the Rhine and fixed himself in Alsace and Lorraine, ready, in case of necessity, to retreat upon Holland.

Bethlen Gabor, driven from both Vienna and Presburg by Bouquoi, was, in his turn, victorious over the Austrian faction under Count Palffy in Hungary, and was reinforced by Jægerndorf, who again took the field in Silesia. Bouquoi fell before Neuhausel. Mansfeld's expulsion, the open perfidy of the Union, and the threatening aspect of Poland, however, inclined Bethlen Gabor to make terms with the emperor, to whom he, consequently, resigned the Hungarian crown on condition of receiving seven districts and the title of prince of the empire. Jægerndorf, who now stood unaided and alone, was compelled to dismiss his troops, and the Silesian Estates credulously accepted the proffered mediation of the elector of Saxony, who promised to protect their religious liberty.

Ferdinand's apparent lenity greatly facilitated the subjection of Bohemia. For three months vengeance slumbered. With the cold-blooded hypocrisy of Alba, his master in deceit, he patiently waited until the Bohemians, lulled into security, had retaken their peaceful occupations, and the fugitives had regained their homes. On the 20th of February, 1621, the storm burst forth. All the popular leaders, who had not escaped, were arrested. Thurn was not to be found, but his friend, Count John Andreas von Schlick, a descendant of the celebrated chancellor, to whom the Habsburgs owed so much of their grandeur, was delivered by the perfidious elector of

Saxony, to whom he had fled for shelter, to the headsmen of Prague. His right hand and his head were struck off. Twenty-four nobles were beheaded, three citizens hanged, etc. Seven hundred and twenty-eight of the nobility, who were induced by a promise of pardon to confess their participation in the rebellion, were deprived of their estates. Forty million dollars were collected by confiscation alone. Five hundred noble and thirty-six thousand citizen families emigrated. Bohemia lost the whole of her ancient privileges. The letter patent granted by Rudolf was destroyed by the emperor's own hands. His confessor, the Jesuit Lamormain, (Læmmermann,) searched for and burnt all heretical works, particularly those of the ancient Hussites. Nor did the dead escape; Rokyzana's remains were disinterred and burnt; Zizka's monument, every visible memorial of the heroism of Bohemia, was destroyed. Every trace of religious liberty was annihilated, and the emperor, disregarding his promise to the elector of Saxony in regard to the Lutherans, declared himself bound in conscience to exterminate all heretics. Saxony, for form's sake, protested against this want of faith. The churches throughout Bohemia were reconsecrated by the Catholics; the Hussite pastors, who failed in making their escape, fell a prey to the savage soldiery. The peasantry were imprisoned by the hundred and compelled by famine to recant. The few Catholic nobles, Slawata, Martinitz, Mittrovski, Klenau, Czeyka, who had formerly been expelled the country, took a fearful revenge. The emigrants were the most fortunate portion of the population. At Lissa, the citizens set fire to their own homes and fled into Saxony. A desperate resistance was here and there made by the people. The most valuable of the confiscated property was granted in donation to the Jesuits, who were triumphantly re-established in the country for the purpose of drugging the minds of the enslaved people, and so skilfully did they fulfil their office, that ere one generation had passed away, the bold, free-spirited, intelligent Bohemian was no longer to be recognised in the brutish creature, the offspring of their craft, that until very lately has vegetated unnoted by history.

A similar plan was pursued in Silesia, which had submitted on the guarantee of its religious liberty by the elector of Saxony. Jesuits or other monks, accompanied by a troop of the Lichtenstein dragoons, under Count Hannibal von Dohna,

went from village to village, from one house to another, for the purpose of converting the inhabitants; pillage, torture, the murder or robbery of children, were the means resorted to. Emigration was prohibited. The emperor, not satisfied with suppressing religious liberty, also restricted the civil liberty of the Estates and metamorphosed the Silesian provincial Estates into a body of commissioners nominated by and subservient to him. Breslau and the duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Oels, which were still governed by their petty immediate princes, were alone spared. Ferdinand, unable to suppress Protestantism in Hungary, secured his hereditary provinces from infection by commercial interdictions. His offer of pardon to a fugitive nobleman, Frederick von Roggendorf, on condition of his return to his country, received for answer, "What sort of pardon; a Bohemian one? Heads off! A Moravian one? Imprisonment for life! An Austrian one? Confiscation!" These horrors were enacted at Ferdinand's command, under the superintendence of his confessor, Lamormain, who styled himself, in reference to the immense confiscations that took place, "God's clerk of the exchequer." Saxony received the Lausitz in pledge; Brandenburg was invested with Prussia. Frederick of Bohemia, John George von Jægerndorf, and Mansfeld, (on whose head a price was fixed,) were put under the bann of the empire. Anhalt and Hohenlohe were pardoned. The Protestant Union voluntarily dissolved, A. D. 1621.

Disturbances, caused by the attempt made by the emperor to get the passes of the Grisons into his hands, on account of the communication with Spain and Italy, but more particularly for the purpose of cutting off that between Switzerland and Venice, which countenanced the Reformers, broke out simultaneously in Switzerland. The inhabitants of Veltlin were butchered [A. D. 1620] by the Spanish and Italian troops under the Archduke Leopold and Feria, governor of Milan, but the peasantry, excited to desperation by this outrage, rising en masse, the imperialists were driven out of the country, A. D. 1622. Teuffenbach, who had taken refuge in Switzerland from the troubles in Moravia, and who lay sick at Pfæffers, was, during this contest, seized by the people of Sargans, sold to Ferdinand's executioners, and beheaded at Innspruck.

CCV. *Revolt of the Upper Austrians.—Count Mansfeld.*

THE Austrian nobility, impelled by fear and by the hope of reward, had yielded. Death and confiscation struck them with terror, whilst the splendid recompence bestowed by Ferdinand on the Count of Lichtenstein, whom he created prince and endowed with the whole of the confiscated lands of Jægerndorf and with Troppau in Silesia in return for his fidelity, induced many among the rest of the aristocracy to declare their adherence to the crown. The most resolute of the opposite party bade an eternal farewell to their country. The last resolution published by the emperor, in February, 1625, was as follows; "His imperial Majesty reserves to himself, to his heirs and successors, the complete control of religion," according to the principle of "cujus regio, ejus religio," perfectly independent of the pope, in right of his political, not of his ecclesiastical supremacy. The Estates were for ever prohibited the discussion of religious matters under pain of a fine of one million florins on the whole assembly, and a court of correction, empowered to confiscate the estates of all political offenders, was established at Vienna. The numbers of the nobility were by these means considerably reduced, and their confiscated property served to reward the few proselytes of the crown. In Austria, as in Bohemia, the numerous independent nobility possessed of petty estates was replaced by a small number of favourites and upstarts, some of whom introduced new and foreign races into the country, and on whom large tracts of land were bestowed. The people were for ever deprived of their only organ, the Estates, on which they had reposed implicit confidence, by the flight and defection of the nobility; they were, notwithstanding, at that time far from being the blind, dull mass they afterwards became, and amongst their ranks there were many men devoid neither of spirit nor intelligence.

Upper Austria had been consigned by Ferdinand to Maximilian of Bavaria by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war. The Count von Herberstorf, a man of an austere and cruel disposition, possessed of great personal courage, the stadtholder appointed by Bavaria over Linz, gave his soldiers licence to plunder, vex, and murder the heretical peasantry.

The whole country being Lutheran, the re-establishment of Catholicism was necessarily gradual. The magistracy, corporative privileges, the use of hospitals, the right of guardianship, were one by one withdrawn from the Lutherans; their children were torn from them and educated in the Catholic faith, their wills were declared invalid, etc. In 1624, all Lutherans, who still publicly professed their faith, were compelled to emigrate; in 1625, the external ceremonies of the Catholic Church, the fasts, the accompaniment of processions with banners, etc., were strictly enforced, and the Easter of 1626 was fixed as the term for the entire suppression of heresy throughout the country.

This decree was a signal for a last and desperate struggle. The people resolved to shed the last drop of their blood for the gospel rather than pollute themselves by participating in the devilish idolatry of their tyrannical master. The peasantry of the mere of Frankenburg first revolted, and expelled the priests engaged in purifying the church at Zwiespalten, by fumigation, from the smell of heresy. Herberstorf was, however, at hand, and, ordering seventeen of the peasants to be seized, had them hanged as ornaments on the tower and beneath the eaves of the sacred edifice. This sacrilegious deed caused a general insurrection. Herberstorf was defeated at Peurbach, where he lost twelve hundred of his men, and was forced to seek shelter within the walls of Linz. Stephen Fadinger, a wealthy peasant, formerly a hatmaker, was placed at the head of the insurgents, who divided themselves into regiments, some of which wore a black uniform in sign of sorrow for their country, fixed upon certain places of meeting, and maintained the most perfect order, without having a single member of the ancient Estates either at their head or among their ranks. A collision took place at Hausruckviertel between the scattered soldiery and the peasantry, which terminated in a general assassination of the Bavarians.

The Estates were now convoked for the purpose of mediating between the emperor and "his trusty peasantry," to whose complaints he promised to turn a "lenient ear," whilst he made fresh military preparations, the presence of his troops being at that time required in other parts of the empire. The peasants, meantime, continued to arm themselves, and seized

three vessels bearing Bavarian troops up the Danube to the relief of Linz. No quarter was given. Fadinger, on his part, took advantage of the truce to gather in the harvest and to provide for the future wants of his followers. The alternative offered by him to the emperor was, "liberty of conscience or renunciation of allegiance to the house of Habsburg."

The attempt to compel Linz, Enns, and Freistadt to capitulate by famine failing, Fadinger formally besieged them in the summer of 1626, when he was killed by a cannon-ball whilst reconnoitring the fortifications of Linz. The attacks of the enraged peasantry proved futile. Wiellinger, their new leader, was unpossessed of the talent of his gifted predecessor.

Another body of insurgents under Wolf Wurm had, meanwhile, gained possession of Freistadt, and Enns had been relieved by a troop of imperialists under Colonel Lœbel, whose soldiery set the villages in flames and butchered their inhabitants. Wiellinger, instead of opposing them with his formidable numbers, foolishly marched the main body of his forces upon Linz, where he met with insurmountable difficulties and a determined resistance. His attempts to take the place by storm were signally defeated. A thousand of the peasants were killed and numbers wounded. A night-attack by water also failed, and a ship, crowded with peasants, was blown into the air. Fresh regiments of imperialists and Bavarians, meanwhile, poured into the country. Lœbel was supported by the Colonels von Auersperg, Preuner, and Schafftenberg. Preuner took Freistadt by a coup de main and defeated a body of peasantry at Kerschbaum. Wiellinger, compelled to raise the siege of Linz, during which he had lost all his ammunition and his army had been reduced to two thousand men, when too late, attacked Lœbel, and a dreadful battle took place at Neuhofen, where one thousand of the peasants fell and Wiellinger was severely wounded. He was replaced by a fresh leader, "the Student," whose real name was never known, although he was the greatest character that appeared in this tragedy. The peasants, inspired by him with fresh courage, undauntedly opposed the troops now pouring upon them from every quarter. Adolf, duke of Holstein, the emperor's ally, was surprised by the Student during the night near Wesenufer; a thousand of his men were slain, and he was constrained to flee in his shirt to Bavaria. General

Lindlo, who was sent by Maximilian to avenge this disgrace, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Student in the great Pram forest. Lindlo contrived to escape, but almost the whole of his officers and three thousand of his men were cut to pieces. Another body of peasantry defeated Lœbel on the Welser-heath. Preuner was, however, victorious in the Mühlviertel and at Lambach. The Student divided his men into three bodies and took up a strong position at Weibern, Eferding, and Gmunden, at which latter place rocks and stones were rolled upon Herberstorf's troops, which were put to flight, leaving one thousand five hundred men on the field.

The celebrated general, Henry Godfrey von Pappenheim, whose fame as a distinguished commander of the League was only second to that of Tilly, was now despatched into the mountains at the head of fresh troops against the invincible Student, whom he attacked in his second position at Eferding, and at length, after a hard and dubious contest, in which two thousand of the peasantry were slain, defeated. He then marched upon Gmunden, whence he succeeded in dislodging the enemy, who instantly took up a strong position in a wood. The whole of the imperial forces stood here opposed to the little body of peasantry, and in such close vicinity that the psalms sung by them and a sermon delivered by the Student, in which he exhorted them to be of good courage, were plainly heard by the foe. The charge made by the peasantry upon the flank of the imperialists was at first successful, the whole of the right wing taking to flight and being pursued as far as the streets of Gmunden, notwithstanding which, after a murderous battle of four hours, Pappenheim kept the field and four thousand peasants were slain. This defeat was followed by the battles of Vœcklabruck and Wolfsegg, in which several thousands of the peasantry fell, among others the unknown Student, whose head was presented to the general. An enormous mound that was raised over the fallen brave near Pisdorf, and which is still known as the Peasant Mound, is the only record that remains of those bloody times.

The country was placed under martial law. A number of captive peasants were dragged to Vienna, whence they never returned. Many thousands had fallen. The remainder were converted to Catholicism by the military and by the Jesuits. The remains of Fadinger and Zeller were, at the emperor's

command, exhumed and burnt by the hangman. Wiellinger and twelve of the other ringleaders were executed; numbers of the peasants were butchered by the soldiery, and, in conclusion, the emperor, unable to deny himself the pleasure, ordered Madlfeder, Hausleitner, and Holzmüller, the poor peasant commissioners, who had formerly entered into negotiation with him and the Estates and who had received a safe-conduct signed with his royal hand, to be seized, quartered alive, and their limbs exposed on gallows on the high roads in different parts of the country.

The obstinacy with which the people, notwithstanding the success of the League and the treachery of the princes, asserted their liberty of conscience, had, by the great concourse of soldiery beneath their banners, enabled some of the minor nobility, among others, Count Mansfeld, to keep the field. This diminutive, sickly-looking, deformed man, possessed a hero's soul. The Protestants flocked in such crowds beneath his standard, that, in the autumn of 1621, he found himself in Alsace at the head of twenty thousand men; but, deserted by all the powerful princes, who alone possessed the means of supporting an army, he was compelled by necessity to maintain his troops by pillage, an example that was imitated by all the leaders during this terrible war. In the ensuing spring, seconded by some of the minor princes, who had ventured to join him during the winter, he took the field against Tilly. George Frederick, Margrave of Baden-Durlach, had taken up arms against the emperor on account of the protection afforded by him to his cousin William of Baden-Baden, whom he sought, under pretext of the illegitimacy of his birth, to deprive of his inheritance. Christian of Brunswick, the youngest brother of Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbüttel, another of his allies, was an adventurer, who, having become enamoured of Elisabeth, ex-queen of Bohemia, wore her glove in his hat, and fought for "God and his lady." He entered Westphalia and plundered the wealthy churches and monasteries. Numbers of the towns escaped pillage on payment of ransom; he lost, however, one thousand two hundred men before the little town of Geseke.—Mansfeld was also joined by John Earnest, Frederick and William of Saxe-Weimar, who were filled with indignation at the guardianship attempted to be imposed upon them by the treacherous elector of Saxony.

Their youngest brother, Bernard, served, in his eighteenth year, in his brother William's regiment. Magnus of Wurtemberg also took up arms in Mansfeld's favour, against the wish of his brother, John Frederick, the reigning duke.—— Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, also showed great zeal in the cause, but was not supported by his provincial Estates, the prelates and the nobility, who entered into a separate negotiation with the Spaniards, between whom and the nobility a treaty was concluded at Bingen, [A. D. 1621,] in the name of the Landgrave, who angrily protested against it. He was unable, owing to the defection of the Estates, to bring a sufficient number of troops into the field.

The ex-king of Bohemia ventured in person into the camp of Mansfeld, who, united with the Margrave of Baden, defeated Tilly, who was murdering and burning in the Pfalz, near Wisloch or Mingelsheim; but the Margrave, separating from him, was attacked at Wimpfen by Tilly, who, meanwhile, had been joined by Cordova, and was completely routed. His flight was covered by four hundred of the citizens of Pforzheim, under their burgomaster, Deimling, who were cut down to a man. Magnus of Wurtemberg fell, covered with glory. Bernard of Weimar greatly distinguished himself in this action. Mansfeld had, in the mean time, taken prisoner Louis, Landgrave of Darmstadt, who had refused him a free passage across his territory. Christian of Brunswick, when attempting to join Mansfeld, was surprised and defeated at Hœchst on the Maine, where a terrible slaughter took place, Christian having rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Catholics. Mansfeld's operations were rendered less effective by the unexpected desertion of the ex-king of Bohemia, who, at the instigation of Saxony, implored the emperor's pardon and dismissed his troops. Mansfeld, without money or credit, had now but one alternative, and threw himself, with Christian, into Champagne, for the purpose of inspiring Louis XIII., who had begun to persecute the Huguenots, with alarm, and of providing himself with the means of subsistence, and marched thence into the Netherlands with the intention of attacking Spinola, who had forced the Dutch to retreat upon the Rhine, taken Juliers, and was besieging Bergen-op-Zoom. Although pursued by Cordova, they fought their way in the Ardennes through the insurgent peasantry, gained

a brilliant victory over the united forces of Cordova and Spinola at Fleurus, and raised the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Frederick of Weimar, who had ventured to join the evangelical fugitives, fell in this battle, and Christian was severely wounded. The winter was passed in East Friesland, where the maintenance of the troops fell heavily on the unremunerated peasantry. Mansfeld visited London, where he was received with great acclamations, in the hope of gaining assistance from England. He was wrecked during his return, and saved by the fidelity of his friends and attendants, sixty-six in number, who ceded to him the only chance of escape, a frail boat, which bore him safely to land, whilst they calmly resigned themselves to a watery grave.

Mansfeld's retreat left the Upper Rhine a prey to Tilly's vengeance. Heidelberg was stormed by his savage soldiery, by whom the wretched inhabitants were treated with horrid cruelty. The valuable library was sent by Maximilian, whose possession of Upper Austria began to excite the displeasure of Ferdinand, to the pope, Gregory XV., as a means of retaining that pontiff's favour. The precious ancient German manuscripts, contained in this library, reached Rome in safety, and were thus saved from sharing the destruction that, during later wars, awaited the castle of Heidelberg, where they had been kept, which fell a prey to the flames. They were sent back to Heidelberg in 1815. Mannheim was taken by storm and burnt to the ground. Frankenthal capitulated. The inhabitants of Germersheim, although the troops of the Pfalz had evacuated the place, were butchered by the imperialists. Catholicism was re-imposed upon the whole of the Pfalz. Nor did the opposite side of the Rhine escape. Strassburg mainly owed the preservation of her liberty of conscience to the strength of her walls, but the greater part of the inhabitants of Hagenau and Colmar (Protestants) were compelled to emigrate.

Ferdinand, with the view of realizing the projects, the execution of which he had commenced by force, by means of negotiation, and the promulgation of new laws, convoked the electoral princes [A. D. 1623] to Ratisbon. This was no longer a diet, but an aristocratic assembly, whence the other Estates of the empire were, during this reign of terror, arbitrarily excluded by the emperor, who hoped to succeed in his

schemes by the sole aid of the princes. His first object was the conclusion of a treaty with Bavaria, whom he hoped to supersede as the head of the Catholic party, and on whom, being compelled to reward him for his services, he bestowed the Upper Pfalz in fee and the electoral dignity, but, jealous of his power and influence, retained Rhenish Pfalz under pretext of the offence a grant of that country would give to Frederick's father-in-law, the English monarch. In order to attach the minor princes to his person and by their means to create a counterpoise to Bavaria, he bestowed at this diet the title of prince on the Counts von Hohenzollern and great privileges on the Counts von Fürstenberg. Rhenish Pfalz merely lost the wealthy monastery of Lorsch, which was ceded to Mayence. Maximilian, forced to content himself with the Upper Pfalz, of which he took possession to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, immediately abolished the ancient constitution and banished all the Protestant inhabitants. Thus ended the first act in the thirty years' tragedy, the Calvinistic and Hussite movement in Upper Germany, which the Lutherans in Lower Germany, instead of favouring, had aided the Catholics to oppose.

Peace was, nevertheless, still out of the question. All the bulwarks of the Reformation in the South had been destroyed. The North, that fondly deemed herself secure, was next to be attacked. The cruel fanaticism of the emperor and the perfidy of Saxony had weakened every guarantee. The dread of the general and forcible suppression of Protestantism throughout Germany, and shame for their inaction, induced the circle of Lower Saxony to take up arms and to seek aid from their Protestant brethren in England, Denmark, and Sweden. Richelieu was at this time at the head of affairs in France, and, although as a cardinal a zealous upholder of Catholicism, he was not blind to the opportunity offered, by supporting the German Protestants against the emperor, for weakening the power of that potentate, partitioning Germany, and extending the French territory towards the Rhine. The German Lutherans, insnared by his intrigues, blinded by fear, and driven to this false step by the despotism and perfidy of the emperor, little foresaw the immeasurable misfortune foreign interference was to bring upon their country. Bellin, the French plenipotentiary, at first wished to place the

warlike Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of the German Protestants, entered into alliance with England, and gained over the elector of Brandenburg, who promised his sister, Catherine, to the Russian czar, in order to keep a check upon Poland, at that period at war with Sweden; but these intrigues were frustrated by Christian IV., king of Denmark, who anticipated the Swedes by taking up arms and placing himself at the head of the movement. Gustavus, at that time engaged with Poland, was unable to interfere. The Russian match was broken off, [A. D. 1625,] and the luckless bride was given in marriage to the aged Bethlen Gabor.

CCVI. *Wallenstein.—The Danish campaign.*

WAR with Denmark no sooner threatened than Ferdinand, to the great discontent of Bavaria, raised an army, independent of the League, by the assistance of a Bohemian nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein (properly, Waldstein). This nobleman belonged to a Protestant family, and had been bred in that faith. He had acquired but a scanty supply of learning at the university of Goldberg in Silesia, which he quitted to enter as a page the Catholic court of Burgau. Whilst here he fell, when asleep, out of one of the high castle windows without receiving any injury. He afterwards studied the dark sciences, more especially astrology, in Italy, and read his future destiny, of which he had had a secret presentiment from his early childhood, in the stars. He commenced his career in the emperor's service, by opposing the Turks in Hungary, where he narrowly escaped death from swallowing a love-potion administered to him by Wiczkowa, an aged but extremely wealthy widow, whom he had married, and with whose money he raised a regiment of curassiers for the emperor. His popularity was so great in Bohemia, that the Bohemians, on the breaking out of the disturbances in Prague, appointed him their general. He, nevertheless, remained attached to the imperial service and greatly distinguished himself in the field against Mansfeld and Bethlen Gabor. By a second and equally rich marriage with the Countess Harrach and by the favour of the emperor, who bestowed upon him Friedland and the dignity of count of the empire, but

chiefly by the purchase of numberless estates, which, on account of the numerous confiscations and emigrations, were sold in Bohemia at merely a nominal price, and by the adulteration of coin,* Wallenstein became possessed of such enormous wealth, as to be, next to the emperor, the richest proprietor in the empire. The emperor requesting him to raise a body of ten thousand men, he levied forty thousand, an army of that magnitude being solely able to provide itself in every quarter with subsistence, and was, in return, created duke of Friedland and generalissimo of the imperial forces. A few months sufficed for the levy of the troops, his fame and the principles on which he acted attracting crowds beneath his standard. Every religion, but no priest, was tolerated within his camp; the strictest discipline was enforced and the greatest licence permitted; merit met with a princely reward; the commonest soldier, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the highest posts; and around the person of the commander was spread the charm of mystery; he was reported to be in league with the powers of darkness, to be invulnerable, and to have enchained victory to his banner. Fortune was his deity and the motto of his troops.. In his person he was tall and thin; his countenance was sallow and lowering; his eyes were small and piercing, his forehead was high and commanding, his hair short and bristling. He was surrounded with mystery and silence.†

Tilly, jealous of Wallenstein's fame, hastened to anticipate that leader in the reduction of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Danish monarch, who held Schleswig and Holstein by right of inheritance, and Ditmarsch by that of conquest, whilst his son, Frederick, governed the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, attempted to encroach still further on the German

* He purchased property to the amount of 7,290,000 florins, a fifth of its real value, and the coin with which he paid for it was, moreover, so bad, that the emperor was compelled to secure him against enforced restitution by an express privilege.

† Two portraits of this singular man are to be seen at Dux near Tœplitz, one of the country residences of the present counts of Waldstein. One represents him as a fair youth, whose smooth and open brow is still unsullied by crime; the other bears the dark and sinister aspect of a man whose hands have been imbrued in blood, whose seared conscience hesitates at no means, however base, cruel, or unholy, for the attainment of his purpose. TRANSLATOR.

empire and long carried on a contest with Lubeck and Hamburg. During peace time, in 1619, he seized the free town of Stade, under the pretext, customary in those times, of protecting the aristocratic council against the rebellious citizens. He also built Glückstadt, and levied high customs on the citizens of Hamburg. The avarice and servility of the princes of Wolfenbüttel and Lüneburg-Zelle had also at that period rendered them contemptible and deprived them of much of their former power and influence. Christian the Wild, of Brunswick, was appointed generalissimo of the circle of Lower Saxony, but was no sooner opposed by Tilly than his brother, George Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbüttel, and the Danish king, withdrew their troops and dissolved the confederacy. Christian, nevertheless, still kept the field with those of his allies who remained faithful to him, among others, William and Bernard of Weimar, and a bloody engagement took place at Stadtloo, in which Tilly was victorious and William of Weimar was wounded and taken prisoner. He returned to East Friesland to Mansfeld. The noble Danish body-guard, that had been sent to Wolfenbüttel, was attacked and driven across the frontier by the enraged German peasantry, and the Hanse towns, flattered by the emperor and embittered against Denmark by the erection of Stade and Glückstadt, were almost the first to recall their troops and to desist from opposition, whilst George of Luneburg, attracted by the report of the great arrondissements projected by the emperor, preferred gain to loss and formally seceded.

The Danish monarch now found himself totally unprotected, and, in order to guard his German acquisitions in case Brunswick followed the example of the Hansa and embraced the imperial party, set himself up as a liberator of Germany, in which he was countenanced and upheld by England, Holland, and Richelieu, the omnipotent minister of France. He, nevertheless, greatly undervalued the simultaneous revolt of the Upper Austrians, to whom he impolitically offered no assistance. The German princes remained tranquil and left the Dane unaided. The Hessian peasantry rose in Tilly's rear, and those of Brunswick, enraged at the cowardly desertion of the cause of religion by the princes and the nobility, killed numbers of his soldiery in the Sollinger forest, captured the garrisons of Dassel and Bodenwerder, seized a large convoy

near Eimbeck, destroyed the castles of all the fugitive nobility, and hunted George's consort, the daughter of the treacherous Louis of Darmstadt, from one place of refuge to another. The citizens of Hanover, where the magistrate was about to capitulate to Tilly, also flew to arms and appointed John Earnest of Weimar commandant of their city, A. D. 1625.

Tilly, at first worsted at Niemburg by the Danish general, Obentraut, who fell shortly afterwards at Seelze, spread the terror of his name throughout Hesse, Brunswick, and the rest of the Lutheran provinces. The Spaniards in the Netherlands, encouraged by this example, again resorted to their ancient practices, and, during the winter of 1626, Henry, Count von Berg, made an inroad, still unforgotten by the Dutch, into the Velau, where he burnt down the villages, butchered all the men, and left the women and children naked and houseless, exposed to the inclemency of the season.

In the ensuing year, the approach of Wallenstein caused Tilly, anxious to bind the laurels of victory around his own brow, to bring the Danish campaign to a hasty close, and, taking advantage of the state of inactivity to which the Danish monarch was reduced by a fall from horseback, seized Hameln and Minden, where the powder magazine blew up during the attack and destroyed the whole garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, A. D. 1627. Havelberg, Göttingen, and Hanover next fell into his hands, and a pitched battle was fought on the Barenberg near Lutter, which terminated in the rout of the whole of the Danish forces and the surrender of Holstein.

Mansfeld and John Earnest of Weimar, too weak, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent to their aid by England and Holland, to take the field against Wallenstein, who, at the head of a wild and undisciplined army of sixty thousand men, was advancing upon Lower Germany, attempted to draw him through Silesia into Hungary and to carry the war into the hereditary provinces of the emperor, but were overtaken and defeated on the bridge of Dessau. Mansfeld, nevertheless, escaped into Silesia, where his popularity was so great, that in the course of a few weeks he found himself once more at the head of an army consisting of twenty thousand evangelical volunteers, four thousand Mecklenburgers, and three thousand Scots and Danes. Wallenstein pursued him, and the

contending armies lay for some time in sight of each other on the Waag, without venturing an engagement. Wallenstein, meanwhile, gained over the Hungarian king, and Mansfeld, once more abandoned, attempted to escape to Venice, but, worn out by chagrin and fatigue, expired, standing upright in his armour, at Uracowicz, in Bosnia. He was buried at Spalatro. His ally, John Earnest of Weimar, died in Hungary. A body of his troops under Colonel Baudis fought their way, although opposed even by Brandenburg, to Denmark. Bethlen Gabor expired, A. D. 1629, leaving no issue.

The triumph of the Catholics was complete. As early as 1625, a jubilee had been solemnized and public prayers for the extirpation of the heretics had been ordained throughout the whole of the Catholic world by the pope, Urban VIII., who also founded the celebrated Propaganda, *congregatio de propaganda fide*, whose members were instructed in the task, whenever violence failed, of alluring apostates, more especially the princes, back to the bosom of the one true church.

The Protestant cause was lost. The more powerful and influential among the princes of the Lutheran Union had turned traitors ; the lesser potentates had, after a futile contest, been compelled to yield. Christian of Brunswick expired at Wolfenbüttel. The Margrave of Baden had fled into Denmark. Maurice of Hesse was finally reduced to submission by Tilly, and died, [A. D. 1632,] after abdicating in favour of his son, William, who, not bound, like his father, by an oath to maintain tranquillity, was free to seize any opportunity that offered during the war for his restoration to power. The Hessian nobility, supported by Tilly, had acquired great privileges by the stipulations of the peace concluded between that general and Maurice, of which they made use to raise a tumult against their sturdy opponent, Wolfgang Gunther, the Landgrave's privy-counsellor, whom they sentenced to execution.

The opposition offered by the people had also been stifled in blood. The peasants in Upper Austria and Brunswick had fallen a prey to the soldiery, and an insurrection of the Bohemian peasantry, under Christopher von Redern, who had taken Kœnigsgrætz by storm and laid waste the property of Wallenstein's brother-in-law, Terzki, was speedily quelled ; five hundred were slain, the rest branded and deprived of their noses.

Wallenstein became the soul of the intrigues carried on in the camps and in the little courts of Northern Germany, and had not the Catholics, like the Protestants at an earlier period, been blinded by petty jealousies, Europe would have been moulded by his quick and comprehensive genius into another form. He demanded a thorough reaction, an unconditional restoration of the ancient imperial power, a monarchy absolute as that of France and Spain. In order to carry out his project for securing the submission of the southern provinces of Germany to the imperial rule by the firm and peaceable possession of those in the north, the seat of opposition, he invaded Holstein, defeated the Margrave of Baden near Aalborg, and made Christian IV. tremble in Copenhagen. Tilly, meanwhile, garrisoned the coasts of the Baltic and seized Stade, whilst Arnheim, with the Saxon troops sent by the elector to Wallenstein's aid, held the island of Rügen. Rostock fell into the hands of Wallenstein, John Albert and Adolf Frederick of Mecklenburg were driven out of the country, Stralsund was besieged, and the people were laid under heavy contributions. Wallenstein had already come to an understanding with Poland, and the Hanse towns were drawn into his interests by a promise of the annihilation of the Dutch, of the traffic of the whole world being diverted from Amsterdam to Hamburg,* and of the monopoly of the whole of the commerce of Spain. The emperor, in order to counterpoise the power of the ancient princely families which threatened to contravene the schemes laid for his aggrandizement by his favourite, bestowed upon him the principality of Sagan, in Silesia, and the whole of Mecklenburg, whilst he in his turn proposed to gain the crown of Denmark for his master, to create Tilly duke of Brunswick-Calenberg and Pappenheim duke of Wolfenbüttel, and, in order to evade George's pretensions, that prince was sent to Italy under pretence of securing the succession of the petty duchy of Mantua for the emperor.

Wallenstein's projects were, nevertheless, frustrated by his own party. The emperor objected to the Danish crown as too precarious a possession, whilst Tilly, a zealous Catholic and Jesuit, the slave of his order, by which the schemes of the

* These promises were indeed vain; the last Hanseatic diet was held, A. D. 1630. The Hansa had fallen never again to rise.

duke of Friedland were viewed with suspicion, and which solely aimed at the suppression of the Reformation, not that of the princely aristocracy, which it hoped to restore to the Catholic Church, gave him but lukewarm aid, and his attempts upon Stralsund were, consequently, unsuccessful, and, after losing twelve thousand men, he was compelled to raise the siege.

The Danes were, meanwhile, forced by the treaty of Lübeck [A. D. 1629] to abandon the Protestant cause. Denmark, actuated by jealousy of Sweden, consented to all the terms proposed, and a marriage between Ulric, the crown prince of Denmark, and Wallenstein's only daughter, was even agitated. Arnheim was sent to aid Poland against Sweden. England, whose king, James II., had been won over by the Jesuits, also abandoned the Protestant cause.

The heroic defence of Stralsund decided the fate of Europe. Wallenstein's pride received a deep blow. The emperor, already doubtful of his fidelity, now lost his belief in his unvarying good fortune and threw himself into the arms of the Jesuits, who chiefly dreaded a schism among the Catholics. Maximilian of Bavaria, jealous of the supremacy of Austria, had already entered into negotiation with Richelieu and even with the Lutheran princes, and threatened to take the field against the emperor, were Wallenstein further permitted to exercise arbitrary rule throughout the empire and to treat the dignities and privileges of the princes with contempt. Richelieu also dreaded the unity of Germany, and offered to invade the empire in order to curb Wallenstein, whose genius he dreaded, by force.

The emperor, undeterred by repeated warnings, abandoned his great general, and published, [A. D. 1629,] in the spirit of the League, the infamous edict, enforcing the restitution of all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau. By this edict the Protestant archbishopries of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Cammin, and numberless monastic lands, were restored to the Catholics. The imperial commissioners intrusted with the execution of the edict, protected by the Friedlanders and Leaguers, exercised the greatest tyranny, enforcing the restoration of lands confiscated prior to the term

fixed and the recantation of their proprietors. The Catholic ritual was re-established in all the free imperial cities, even in those where, as for instance in Augsburg, it had been abolished and replaced by that of Luther long before the treaty of Passau. The emperor appropriated the greater part of the booty to his own family, and encouraged plurality by appointing his son, Leopold, archbishop, and bishop of Bremen, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Passau, Strasburg, and abbot of Hersfeld, which placed all those rich ecclesiastical demesnes in his hands, and thus, whilst seemingly defending religion against the political egotism of the Protestant princes, emulated them in stripping the church. The whole of the confiscated monastic property, without distinction, fell to the Jesuits.

Lay property shared a similar fate. Every nobleman who had served under Frederick of Bohemia, Mansfeld, or Brunswick, was deprived of his estates, and the emperor's and the Leaguers' troops, under pretext of protecting the commissioners in the performance of their duty, were stationed in and allowed to pillage the Protestant provinces. The Catholics, nevertheless, generally viewed their success with distrust, and it was remarked that, in Wurtemberg, the monasteries, instead of being taken into possession, were merely plundered, that the booty was carried into Bavaria and Austria, that even the forests were cleared and the timber sold. John Frederick, duke of Wurtemberg, had expired, A. D. 1628, leaving his infant son, Eberhard III., under the guardianship of his uncle, Louis Frederick, who died shortly afterwards of chagrin at the devastation of his territories.

The cruelty and tyranny practised by the emperor remained wholly unopposed by the Protestant princes. The city of Magdeburg alone maintained her ancient fame by defending her walls against the whole of the imperial forces. The free imperial cities had been delivered up to the emperor and were purposely unrepresented in the council of princes, which usurped the prerogatives of a diet of the empire, held at Ratisbon, A. D. 1630. The restoration of the ecclesiastical property sorely displeased the Lutheran princes. Saxony and Brandenburg beheld with pain the archbishoprics and bishoprics in the north torn from their families and bestowed upon the Archduke Leopold, Hildesheim on Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, elector of Cologne, Minden and Verden on Francis William,

Count von Wurtenberg, (a side-branch of the Bavarian dynasty,) who, as commissioner for the whole of Northern Germany, superintended the execution of the edict. But their dread of Wallenstein smoothed every difficulty. The elector of Saxony and all the Lutheran princes, bribed with Wallenstein's dismissal, gave their consent to the edict and tolerated its transgression in the free imperial cities. The complaints against his administration were studiously brought forward, as if to veil the robberies committed under the edict. The duke of Friedland was made the scapegoat for the crimes of others. The man, to whom the emperor owed all he possessed, was dismissed, A. D. 1630. Nor was this the least important triumph of the princely aristocracy over all the contending parties in Germany in the course of this century. The hope of restoring the unity of the empire was once more frustrated and the ancient polyarchy saved.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed at this conjuncture on the coast of Pomerania. His arrival was viewed with pleasure by the cabinet of Vienna, as a means of humbling Bavaria and the League, and, in case of necessity, Wallenstein would still be able to raise the Austrian standard when Bavaria and Sweden should have mutually weakened one another. Wallenstein's offer to defend the coasts in his right as Prince of Mecklenburg was rejected, and he withdrew, with the wealth he had amassed, to Prague.

A groundless fear of opposition on the part of Wallenstein had induced the emperor to draw off twenty thousand of his men, and to send them into Italy in order to secure to the imperial house the succession to the duchy of Mantua, to which Charles, duke of Nevers, a French prince, laid claim. France eagerly seized this opportunity to take a footing in Italy. The pope, Urban VIII., a worldly-minded, warlike, intriguing prince, and Venice, alarmed at the emperor's successes in Germany and dreading anew the supremacy of Austria in Italy, leagued with France and countenanced the invasion of Northern Germany by Sweden. The concessions made by the emperor to Bavaria probably arose from a dread of Maximilian's open accession to this dangerous confederacy. Ferdinand, meanwhile, enraged at the defiance of his power by the Italians, levied a numerous body of troops for the relief of Spinola, who with difficulty kept his ground in Upper

Italy, and, after gallantly defending Casale, died of chagrin, caused by the ingratitude with which he was treated by the Spanish court. The imperialists were victorious, took Mantua, which was strongly fortified, by storm, and committed the most horrid outrages in the city and its vicinity. The duchy was, nevertheless, ceded to Nevers for the purpose of conciliating France and of securing the allegiance of Bavaria, which threatened to side with France unless Mantua was sacrificed. The accession of Savoy to his party, through dread of the supremacy of France, little availed the emperor; that duke being compelled to cede to France some of the most important passages into Italy, Piquerol, Riva, and Perouse. In this war, six thousand Swiss fought under French colours. It also appears that the Catholic generals at that period in Italy, Gallas, Altringer, Colalto, Egon von Fürstenberg, entered into the Jesuitical conspiracy and were ever false friends to Wallenstein. George von Lüneburg, who had been sent to Italy, and had there become acquainted with the treacherous projects cherished by the pope and the Jesuits and the chequered fate of his inheritance, repented of his treason, sought a pretext for his return, and fled to the Swede.

The cowardly Lutheran princes, before the dissolution of the council of princes at Ratisbon, deemed themselves called upon to make some demonstration in favour of their oppressed religion, and——protested against the improved Gregorian calendar, for which they evinced far deeper horror than for the edict of restitution.

CCVII. *Gustavus Adolphus.*

From Holland to the mountains of Carniola, from Prussia to the Bernese Alps, wherever German was spoken, had the tenets of Luther and Calvin spread and found a harbour in the hearts of the people. Bavaria and the Tyrol excepted, every province throughout Germany had battled for liberty of conscience, and yet the whole of Germany, notwithstanding her universal inclination for the Reformation, had been deceived in her hopes, a second imperial edict seemed likely to crush the few remaining privileges spared by the edict of restitution, and Magdeburg alone, with unflinching perseverance, ventured to oppose the imperial commands.

Gustavus Adolphus, one of the most zealous and conscientious of the advocates of the Reformation, reigned at that time in Sweden. His father, Charles, a younger brother of King John, of the house of Wasa, had been placed on the throne by the Protestant Swedes instead of the actual heir, Sigismund, king of Poland, who had embraced Catholicism. The attempt made by Maurice of Hesse, in 1615, to place Gustavus, then a youth, at the head of the Union, had been frustrated by the jealousy of Denmark and the war between Sweden and Poland, which terminated in Sigismund's defeat and the annexation of Livonia to Sweden. Riga fell into the hands of the Swedish monarch, A. D. 1621. Elbing shared the same fate. Dantzig offered a successful resistance. The elector of Brandenburg, Poland's vassal, preserved a strict neutrality. Gustavus, on the defeat of Denmark, no longer hesitated in joining the German Protestants. His flag speedily waved in Stralsund. Arnheim, (Arnim,) sent by Wallenstein to the aid of Poland, was at first successful, but was afterwards defeated at Marienburg by Gustavus, whose army was reinforced by numbers of imperial deserters. The elector of Brandenburg, bribed by the cession of Marienburg and Werder, forgot his jealousy and passed from neutrality to demonstrations of amity. Peace was, by the intervention of France, finally concluded with Poland and Denmark, and Gustavus, urged by his sincere piety, resolved to take up arms in defence of Protestantism and to free Germany from the yoke imposed by the Jesuits. The love of fame and the chance of placing the imperial crown on his own brow were other, but secondary inducements. His military genius, developed in the war with Poland, the internal state of Germany, and the excellence of his well-disciplined troops, inured to hardship and fatigue, accustomed to victory, and filled with enthusiasm for their faith and for their king, vouched for his success. In his army were several German refugees of distinction, the grey-headed Count Thurn and his gallant son, who died of fever during this expedition, Otto Louis, Rheingrave of Salm, and the three brave Livonian brothers, Rosen. The cause for which he fought had, it is true, gained for him the hearts of the Protestant population throughout Germany; his arrival was, nevertheless, viewed with greater dissatisfaction by the Protestant princes than by either of the Catholic parties. The

League, France, Bavaria, and the pope hoped, by means of the Swede, to reduce the emperor to submission, whilst the emperor and Wallenstein on their side secretly aimed at weakening the League by similar means; both sides, consequently, greatly favoured Gustavus's chance of success by their hesitation in taking strong measures against him. The greatest obstacles were, on the contrary, thrown in his way by the Protestant princes, whom he came to defend, and who refused to second his efforts. The extension and confirmation of the power of Sweden to the north were, in point of fact, at the sole expense of Brandenburg, of the house of Guelph, and of that of Saxony. The jealousy with which the German princes viewed the entry of a warlike and powerful neighbour on their territory was also natural; their late reconciliation with the emperor, moreover, rendered them peculiarly disinclined to favour the Swedish expedition, by which the flames of war were again to be lighted throughout unhappy Germany, where every province, ancient Bavaria and the Tyrol alone excepted, had been ravaged by fire, sword, and pillage during the religious war. A dreadful famine, caused by the Mansfeld expedition, by the rapine of Wallenstein's soldiery, and by the pillage carried on by the Jesuits, raged in Silesia; the citizens and peasantry died by thousands of starvation, and many instances occurred of parents devouring their children, and of brethren destroying one another for the last mouthful of bread. This misery, fearful as it was, was, however, a mere prelude to the horrors that ensued. The arrival of the Swedish king was but the opening of the war.

Gustavus Adolphus cast anchor on the 24th of June, 1630, the anniversary of the Confession of Augsburg, near to the little island of Ruden, and landed, during a violent thunderstorm, at Usedom. His army consisted of sixteen thousand men, comprising forty German companies, under Colonels Falkenberg, Diedrich, Holl, Kniphausen, Mitchefahl. His first object was to take firm footing in Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Bozislaw, duke of Pomerania, was, accordingly, compelled to join his cause, and the imperial garrisons were driven out of the minor towns during the winter of 1631. Torquato Conti, the imperial stadtholder in Pomerania, unable to keep his ground, laid the whole country waste during his retreat. Tilly evinced no anxiety to oppose the advance

of the Swedes, but Pappenheim, unable to restrain his impatience, attacked Charles, duke of Lauenburg, who had ventured, in the service of the Swedes, as far as Ratzeburg, and carried him off prisoner. New Brandenburg, Demmin, where he took the duke di Savelli captive, Gartz, Wolgast, Anclam, Stargard, Colberg, fell into the hands of the Swedish king. Mecklenburg, and the ancient Hanse towns, Griefswald and Rostock, were still maintained by the imperialists.

The vain negotiations between Bavaria, the pope, and France were at length terminated by the necessity of opposing the Swedes, and Tilly received orders to take the field. New Brandenburg was speedily retaken, but the perfidy with which he, contrary to the terms of capitulation, butchered two thousand of the Swedes, was bitterly avenged on the capture of Frankfurt on the Oder by Gustavus, who, as a warning to Tilly to desist from imitating the cruel practices of the Croatians during war, put two thousand of the imperialists to the sword. Numbers of the fugitives were drowned in the Oder, the bridge giving way beneath the crowd.

A treaty was, meanwhile, concluded at Bærwald between Gustavus and the French monarch, who promised to pay him annually the sum of four hundred thousand dollars and to grant him his aid, now rendered requisite owing to the lukewarmness of the Lutheran princes; and Gustavus, deeply disgusted at their conduct, was alone withheld from abandoning his purpose, from returning to Sweden and coming to terms with the emperor, by the consciousness that to him alone did Magdeburg and the people throughout Germany look for succour. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony brought about a council of princes at Leipzig, in which they sought to persuade the princes of Northern Germany, Lutherans and Calvinists, who, on this occasion, offered an example of rare unity, to maintain a system of armed neutrality and to await the course of events in order to turn them to their own advantage. The emperor, who, meanwhile, pursued a similar policy, made every effort to gain over the neutral princes, more particularly Saxony, who, in return, insolently renewed his ancient complaints. The urgent entreaties of Gustavus Adolphus for aid from Saxony before Magdeburg fell were equally futile; the elector shared the hatred cherished by the rest of the princes against the free

towns and gloried in their destruction. The citizens of Magdeburg, meanwhile, performed prodigies of valour. Although twice besieged since 1629 by Altringer and by Pappenheim, they repulsed, unaided, every attack. As early as 1621, the citizens had given themselves a more liberal constitution, and it was not until they were threatened with destruction that an imperial party created a schism among them. Falkenberg was sent by Gustavus to take the command of the city, which he entered after passing through the enemy's camp disguised as a skipper. The princes of Hesse and Weimar were alone withheld from aiding the city by their inability to cope with Tilly, who, at the head of an immense body of troops, closely blockaded the walls, and, notwithstanding the desperate defence made by the citizens, gradually took all the outworks. During the night of the 20th of May, 1631, whilst Falkenberg was engaged in the council-house opposing the imperial party among the citizens, who loudly insisted upon capitulating, Pappenheim, unknown to Tilly, mounted an unguarded part of the walls, and, being speedily followed by the rest of the imperial troops, poured suddenly through the streets. Falkenberg instantly rushed to their rencontre and was shot. The citizens, although without a leader or a plan of defence, fought from street to street with all the energy of despair, until overwhelmed by numbers. The soldiery, maddened by opposition, spared neither age nor sex. Some of the officers, who entreated Tilly to put a stop to the massacre, were told to return to him on the expiration of an hour. The most horrid scenes were meanwhile enacted. Every man in the city was killed, numbers of women cast themselves headlong into the Elbe and into the flames of the burning houses in order to escape the brutality of the soldiery; fifty-three women were beheaded by the Croatians whilst kneeling in the church of St. Catherine. One Croat boasted of having stuck twenty babes on his pike. One hundred and thirty-seven houses and the fire-proof cathedral, in which four thousand men took refuge, were all that remained of the proud city. The rest of the inhabitants had fallen victims to the sword or to the flames. The slaughter continued until the 22nd, when Tilly appeared and restored discipline and order. The refugees in the cathedral were pardoned and for the first time for three days received food. Tilly, a tall haggard-looking man, dressed in a short slashed

green satin jacket, with a long red feather in his high-crowned hat, with large bright eyes peering from beneath his deeply furrowed brow, a stiff moustache under his pointed nose, ghastly, hollow-cheeked, and with a seeming affectation of wildness in his whole appearance, sat, mounted on a bony charger, on the ruins of Magdeburg, proudly looking upon the thirty thousand bodies of the brave citizens now stiffening in death, which, at his command, were cast into the Elbe. The river was choked up by the mass near the Neustadt.

The news of this disaster filled Gustavus with rage and sorrow, and, probably reckoning upon aid from the people, panic-struck by the destruction of Magdeburg, in case the princes still maintained their neutrality, he entered Prussia, surrounded Berlin, and, stationing himself sword in hand before the city gates, demanded a definite declaration. The relation in which he stood with the elector, George William, was somewhat extraordinary. This prince had an extremely beautiful sister, named Eleonore, whose hand had, ten years before the present period, been demanded by Wladislaw of Poland and by the Swedish monarch, then the bitterest foes. The elector, who merely held Prussia in fee of Poland, naturally favoured the former suitor, but Gustavus, habitually bold and daring, visited Berlin, [A. D. 1620,] during the elector's absence, gained the princess's affection, and returned with her as his queen to Stockholm. The Polish king, in revenge, incited the fanatical Lutherans in Prussia against the elector. Jægerndorf, the heritage of Brandenburg, was, on the other hand, bestowed by the emperor on Lichtenstein, but the elector, instead of openly ranging himself on the side of his brother-in-law, allowed himself to be swayed on the one hand by his dread of Poland, whilst on the other he was indemnified with the imperial party by the intrigues of his minister, Adam von Schwarzenberg, a tool of the Jesuits, and by those of his favourite, Conrad von Burgsdorf. The female part of the family, encouraged by the presence of Gustavus, now opposed the obnoxious favourites, and the elector, to whom the Swedish monarch offered the alternative of his alliance or the reduction of Berlin to a heap of ashes, was compelled to yield. Berlin, Spandau, and Küstrin were garrisoned by the Swedes.

The cruel persecution was, meanwhile, unavailing totally to repress the courage of the citizen and the peasant. Strass-

burg followed Magdeburg's glorious example and took up arms in defence of the gospel. Numbers of Swabians, tremblingly countenanced by the regent of Wurtemburg, Julius Frederick, flocked to the aid of their brethren in belief. Egon von Fürstenberg was, consequently, recalled from Mantua and despatched by the emperor into Swabia, at the head of fifteen thousand men. Memmingen, Kempten, and the little Protestant settlement of Austrian refugees, Freudenstadt in the Black Forest, fell a prey to the licence of his soldiery. Julius Frederick yielded without a blow. Strassburg, nevertheless, proved impregnable, and Fürstenberg hastened to join his forces with those of Tilly, at that time hard pushed in the north. The insurgent peasantry of the Harz had greatly harassed him on his passage through the mountains. His invasion of Hesse had been opposed by the Landgrave William. The important fortress of Wesel had been taken by the Dutch. Gustavus had also advanced to the Elbe and intrenched himself near Werben, where Tilly, venturing an attack, was repulsed with considerable loss. The troops under Fürstenberg, Altringer, etc., sent to his aid by the emperor, alone enabled him to make head against the Swede; this aid was, however, coupled with the condition of the pillage of Saxony in order to imbitter the wavering elector, John George, against Bavaria and the League, and to compel him to declare himself. Halle, Merseberg, Zeiz, Weissenfels, Naumburg were, accordingly, plundered, and the great plain of Leipzig was laid waste. John George, roused by this proceeding, obeyed the pressure of circumstances and fulfilled the warmest wishes of his Protestant subjects by entering into alliance with Sweden. Arnheim, who had quitted the imperial service, and whose diplomatic talents well suited the intriguing Saxon court, was placed at the head of his troops. Eighteen thousand Saxons coalesced with the Swedish army near Düben on the Heath, and the confederated troops marched upon Leipzig, which had just fallen into Tilly's hands.

The Swedes and imperialists stood opposed to each other for the first time on the broad plains of Leipzig. The Swedes were distinguished by their light (chiefly blue) coats, by the absence of armour, their active movements, and light artillery; the imperialists, by their old-fashioned close-fitting (generally yellow) uniforms, besides armour, such as cuirasses, thigh-

pieces, and helmets, their want of order and discipline, their slower movements, and their awkward, heavy artillery. The battle was commenced, contrary to the intention of Tilly, who awaited the arrival of the corps under Altringer and Fugger, (Fürstenberg had already joined him,) by Pappenheim, who, being attacked whilst reconnoitring, Tilly was compelled to hasten to his aid. Gustavus Adolphus, dressed in a simple grey great-coat, with a green feather in his white hat, rode along the Swedish ranks animating his men to the fight. The Swedes were stationed in the right wing, the Saxons in the left. Tilly's army was drawn up, according to ancient custom, in one long line; that of Gustavus was, on the contrary, separated into small movable masses, which, marching off to the right and left, charged Tilly's flank. Adolf von Holstein unwarily advancing, was consequently taken between two fires, his whole corps destroyed, and himself mortally wounded. The Pappenheim cuirassiers were seven times repulsed. The Saxons' wing was turned by Tilly, but the Swedes, falling on his flank, captured his artillery, turned it upon him and beat him off the field, September 7th, 1631. The imperialists fled in wild confusion to Halberstadt, where Tilly, who had been rescued by Rudolf, duke of Luneburg, and the Walloons, who, since the revolt of the Netherlands, had fought with distinction in the Catholic cause, collected the remnant of his army.

The Saxon peasantry, filled with confidence at Tilly's defeat, rose throughout the country, killed all the fugitives from the imperial army, and flocked in numbers under the Swedish banner. The princes even regained courage, and all the minor aristocracy came in person to offer their aid. The road to Vienna lay open. The annihilation of the imperial power and the ruin of the house of Habsburg appeared inevitable. France, and even the pope, Urban VIII., were, consequently, zealous in their efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Sweden and Bavaria, but Gustavus, aware of the enthusiasm with which he was regarded by the whole of Protestant Germany, too noble to sacrifice the cause of religion to an intriguing pontiff, and the German empire to French rapacity, acted in the spirit of a future Protestant emperor, and, instead of joining the Catholic and anti-imperial League, unhesitatingly fell upon it, crushed Bavaria, intimidated France, and freed himself on every side before attempting to annihilate the little

remaining power of the Habsburg. George von Lüneburg was sent into Brunswick to regain that province with troops that were still unlevied. Baudis, General Banner, and William, Landgrave of Hesse, were ordered to support him and to purge the whole of Northern Germany of the Leaguers. Gustavus marched in person through Merseberg, where he cut to pieces two thousand of the imperialists, and Erfurt, where he was received with open arms, through the Thuringian forest to Bamberg and Wurzburg, the latter of which he took by storm. The garrison and a number of monks were put to death. The intervention of France was a second time refused by the Swedish conqueror, who advanced on the Rhine with the intention of throwing himself between France and Bavaria, of aiding the Dutch, and of liberating the Protestants in Upper Germany. Hanau, Aschaffenburg, Rothenburg opened their gates to him. Frankfurt on the Maine was entered in triumph. Mayence was taken. The archbishop, Anselm Casimir, fled. Charles of Lorraine, who still maintained his position on the left bank of the Rhine, and the imperial Colonel Ossa, on the right, were repulsed. Spires, Landau, and numerous other towns opened their gates to the Swedes. The fortresses of Kœnigstein, Mannheim, Kreuznach, Bacharach, and Kirchberg fell into their hands. The whole of the Pfalz was once more freed from the Spanish yoke. The garrison of Heidelberg, under Henry von Metternich, alone held out. The arrival of the Swedes was hailed with open demonstrations of delight along the Neckar and the Rhine. Horn, sent by Gustavus into Swabia, took Mannheim, Oppenheim, Heilbronn, and Mergentheim, and extirpated the bands of robbers, composed of the fugitive troops of Charles of Lorraine. The Pfalzgrave, Christian von Birkenfeld, raised troops for the Swedish army. Frederick, the ex-Pfalzgrave and ex-king of Bohemia returned, but was not formally reinstated by Gustavus, who hoped by this refusal to spur England into action. The queen of Sweden, Eleonore, also came to Frankfurt to share her husband's triumph.*

"The old devil" Tilly, as Gustavus wrote to the Pfalzgrave, meanwhile retook the field. Rotenburg on the Tauber and Bamberg once more changed masters, but he was compelled

* On meeting him, she threw her arms around him, and, holding him fast in her embrace, exclaimed, "Now is Gustavus the Great a prisoner!"

to raise the siege of Würzburg in order to cover Bavaria against Gustavus, whilst Pappenheim threw himself alone into Northern Germany. Donauwœrth fell. The battle of Rain on the Lech, where Tilly and Maximilian had intrenched themselves, proved fatal to the former; a cannon-ball shattered his thigh, and he expired in excruciating agonies, A. D. 1632. His last injunction to Maximilian, at any price to garrison Ratisbon, the key to Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria, without delay, was instantly obeyed. Horn was already en route thither, but was forestalled by the Bavarian duke, who threw himself with his troops, disguised as Swedes, under cover of the night, into that city.

Gustavus, after restoring liberty of conscience to Augsburg, and receiving the homage of the citizens, entered Munich, which surrendered at discretion, in triumph with the ex-king of Bohemia and Queen Eleonore, at whose side rode a monkey with a shaven crown, in a Capuchin's gown, and with a rosary in his claws. A fine of 40,000 dollars was laid upon the town. One hundred and forty cannons, within which 30,000 ducats and a quantity of precious stones were concealed, and which had been buried for security, were betrayed into the hands of the conqueror. Maximilian's proposals for peace were scornfully rejected.

CCVIII. *Wallenstein's second command.—The battle of Lützen.—The Heilbronn confederacy.—Death of Wallenstein.*

THE advance of the Swedish king, who, during his Rhenish conquests, had afforded the emperor time to create a most dangerous diversion, now received a check.

In Northern Germany, the imperial garrisons of Rostock and Wismar had capitulated, but Gronsfeld still kept the field, George von Lüneburg, unaided by his brother, having with extreme difficulty succeeded in setting an army on foot. William of Hesse also met with little success. The Dutch took Maestricht. Pappenheim appeared in the Netherlands, but a dispute arising between him and the Spanish leaders, he returned to Central Germany, where his presence was loudly called for. He retook Hildesheim en route.——The arrival of the Swedes had roused the fanaticism of the Catholic population in the South, and a general rising, similar to that of the

Lutheran peasantry against the Catholic soldiery in Hesse and the Harz, took place among the Catholic peasantry against the Swedes. In Bavaria, every straggler from the main body was murdered by the country people; in Weissenburg, one thousand men, who capitulated, were butchered. Ossa endeavoured to organize a great insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Swabia, but was defeated at Biberach by the Swedes, in Bregenz, by Bernard von Weimar, and the town of Friedstadt, where several Swedes had been murdered by the people, was burnt to the ground by General Banner, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword. Horn, on the other hand, laid siege to Constance.

The movement to the rear of the Swedes was, nevertheless, of far less importance than the proceedings of France. Richelieu, after vainly urging Gustavus to spare Bavaria and to direct his whole force against the emperor, had thrown fresh troops into Lorraine and the electorate of Treves, whose prince, Philip Christopher, had voluntarily placed himself beneath his protection, and Gustavus, who was on the point of conquering Bavaria and Austria, was compelled to permit the occupation of Coblentz, Ehrenbreitstein, and Philipsburg, by the French.

Maximilian, whose correspondence with Richelieu had been intercepted by the imperialists and sent to Vienna, now saw himself constrained to cast himself unconditionally into the arms of the emperor. The Upper Austrian peasantry, attracted by the approach of the great northern magnet, once more dreamed of liberty, and six thousand men had already taken up arms in the Hausruckviertel, when the news of the return of the Swedes northwards once more crushed their hopes.

The elector of Saxony had gone into Bohemia; Arnheim into Silesia. The imperial forces, in this quarter numerically weak, fell back. Schaumburg was beaten at Steinau in Silesia. The retreat of the Croatians was traced by rapine and desolation. The elector entered Prague with a number of Bohemian prisoners. Wallenstein had withdrawn to Znaim. On the death of Tilly, the rapid advance of the Swedes and the threatening aspect of Hungary, where a new popular leader, Ragoczy, had arisen, all seemed lost. The intrigues of France, Bavaria, and the pope, compelled the

emperor to seek for aid in his own resources, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Jesuits and of Spain, again to have recourse to Wallenstein, who, the moment of danger passed, was once more to be thrown aside and to be sacrificed to the Jesuitical party. Wallenstein, fully aware of the emperor's design, coldly refused his aid until his demands, justified by "the weakness and disunion of the empire, the duplicity of his friends, the perfidy of the confederates, the anarchy consequent on polyarchy, the necessity of sole command, of a dictatorship," had been complied with. His conditions, that the imperial troops throughout Germany should be placed wholly and solely under his command; that the emperor should in no wise interfere with military affairs; that every conquest made by him should be entirely at his own disposal; that he should be compensated by the formal grant of one of the hereditary provinces of Austria and of another; that he should be empowered to confiscate whatever property he chose for the maintenance of his troops; were conceded by the emperor on the day on which his rival, Tilly, expired, April, 1632, and, within a few months, his wonderful genius had, as if by magic, raised a fresh and numerous army from the clod.

The Saxons were speedily driven out of Bohemia. The Voigtland was ravaged by Wallenstein's infamous partisan, Holk, who advanced as far as Dresden and burnt the neighbouring villages as a bonfire for the elector, who was at that time solemnizing a festival. Wallenstein meanwhile guarded Bohemia. The entreaties of his ancient foe, Maximilian, for the liberation of Bavaria, were unheeded; his views for the present turned upon Saxony, and the consequent retreat of the Swedes northward, instead therefore of advancing upon Bavaria, he forced Maximilian to join him at Eger, where he publicly embraced him, and marched thence to Leipzig, which shortly capitulated.

Wallenstein had now gained his purpose. Gustavus, through dread of the defection of the vacillating and timid elector, was compelled to renounce his projects against the South and to turn his arms against the imperial leader; but, unwilling entirely to cede the South, he took up a strong position with sixteen thousand men near Nuremberg, where he awaited the arrival of reinforcements. Wallenstein, although at the

head of an army of sixty thousand men, was too well acquainted with the advantageous position of his antagonist to hazard an attack, and took up an equally impregnable position on the Old Mountain close to the Swedish camp. Three months passed in inactivity, and a famine ere long prevailed both in Nuremberg and in Wallenstein's camp. The peasantry had fled in every direction from the pillaging troops, who destroyed whatever they were unable to carry away. The Swedes succeeded in seizing a large convoy of provisions intended for Wallenstein, and were shortly afterwards reinforced by the chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstierna, by Bernard von Weimar, and by Banner. The Swedish army now amounted to seventy thousand men. Nuremberg, Gustavus's firm ally, could send thirty thousand into the field. Wallenstein, who patiently awaited the destruction of the enemy by famine, kept close within his camp. The Swedes at length, rendered furious by want, attempted to take the imperial camp by storm, but were repulsed with dreadful loss. The Swedish general, Torstenson, was taken prisoner, and Banner was wounded. The imperial general, Fugger, was killed whilst pursuing the Swedes. Another fourteen days elapsed, when Gustavus, unable to draw his opponent forth, was compelled, after losing twenty thousand men, and the city of Nuremberg ten thousand of her inhabitants, to quit this scene of death and famine. Pestilence had, however, raged with still greater fury in Wallenstein's camp, and had cut his immense army down to twenty-four thousand men, September, 1632.

Gustavus, in the hope of carrying the war into Bavaria and into the heart of the Catholic states, marched southwards; whilst Wallenstein, anxious to render Northern Germany the theatre of war, took a contrary direction. Leaving a hundred villages around Nuremberg in flames, he marched, with terror in his van, through the Thuringian forest to Leipzig, which, panic-stricken, threw wide her gates. Pappenheim joined him, but, unaware of the rapidity with which Gustavus had turned in pursuit, again set off for Lower Saxony. Gustavus, in the hope of bringing Wallenstein to an engagement on the plains of Leipzig, now rapidly advanced through the country lately pillaged by his foe, and summoned his ally, George von Lüneberg, to his assistance. The confidence of that prince in the fortune of the Swede had been, however, severely shaken

by the re-appearance of Wallenstein, and he refused to obey. Arnheim, who had quitted Silesia, also tarried at Dresden. At Erfurt, Gustavus bade adieu to his queen, Eleonore.

The battle of Lützen commenced early in the morning of the 6th of November, 1632, not far from the scene of Tilly's former defeat. Gustavus would have scarcely ventured, without first awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, to have attacked Wallenstein, had he not learnt the departure of Pappenheim, who was now hastily recalled from Halle, which he had just reached. A thick fog, that lasted until eleven o'clock, hindered the marshalling of the troops, and gave the Pappenheimers time to reach the field before the conclusion of the battle. Wallenstein, although suffering from a severe attack of gout, mounted his steed and drew up his troops. His infantry was drawn up in squares, flanked by cavalry and guarded in front by a ditch, defended by artillery. Gustavus, without armour, on account of a slight wound he had received at Dirschau, and exclaiming, "At them in God's name! Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! let us vindicate to-day the honour of thy holy name!" brandished his sword over his head, and charged the ditch at the head of his men. The infantry crossed and seized the battery. The cavalry, opposed by Wallenstein's black cuirassiers, were less successful. "Charge those black fellows!" shouted the king to Colonel Stalhantsch. At that moment the Swedish infantry, which had already broken two of the enemy's squares, were charged in the flank by Wallenstein's cavalry, stationed on the opposite wing, and Gustavus hurrying to their aid, the cavalry on the nearest wing also bore down upon him. The increasing density of the fog unfortunately veiled the approach of the imperialists, and the king, falsely imagining himself followed by his cavalry, suddenly found himself in the midst of the black cuirassiers. His horse received a shot in the head, and another broke his left arm. He then asked Albert, duke of Saxon-Lauenburg, who was at his side, to lead him off the field, and, turning away, was shot in the back by an imperial officer. He fell from his saddle; his foot became entangled in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his horse, maddened with pain. The duke fled, but Luchau, the master of the royal horse, shot the officer who had wounded the king. Gustavus, who still lived, fell into the hands of the cuirassiers. His German page,

Lubelfing, a youth of eighteen, refused to tell his master's rank, and was mortally wounded. The king was stripped. On his exclaiming, "I am the king of Sweden!" they attempted to carry him off, but a charge of the Swedish cavalry compelling them to relinquish their prey, the last cuirassier, as he rushed past, shot him through the head.*

The sight of the king's charger, covered with blood, wildly galloping along the Swedish front, confirmed the report of the melancholy fate of his royal master. Some of the Swedish generals, more especially Kniphausen, who drew off his men in reserve, meditated a retreat, but Duke Bernard of Weimar, spurning the idea with contempt and calling loudly for vengeance, placed himself at the head of a regiment, whose colonel, a Swede, he ran through for refusing to obey him, and regardless, in his enthusiasm, of a shot that carried away his hat, charged with such impetuosity that the ditch and the battery were retaken and Wallenstein's infantry and cavalry were completely thrown into confusion. The latter fled; the gunpowder carts were blown up; the day was gained. At that moment, Pappenheim's fresh troops poured into the field and once more turned the battle. The body of the king, defended by Stalhantsch, was sharply contested by Pappenheim, who fell, pierced with two bullets. His men fought with redoubled rage on the death of their commander; Wallenstein rallied his troops, and a desperate conflict of some hours' duration ensued, in which the flower of the Swedish army fell and the ditch and battery were lost. Bernard was forced to retreat, and the battle was for the third time renewed by Kniphausen's reserved corps, which pressed across the ditch, followed by the rest of the weary Swedes. This last and desperate charge was irresistible. Wallenstein, driven from the field, fled across the mountains of Bohemia, and his brutal soldiery were scattered in every direction. Numbers were slain by the Protestant peasantry. Those of his officers who had first fled were afterwards put to death at his command.

The bloody corpse of the king was found by the great stone, still known as the Swedish stone. It was laid in state before the whole of the Swedish army, which responded to Ber-

* Gustavus was extremely fine and majestic in person, his eyes were blue and gentle in expression, his manners commanding, noble, and conciliating. His countenance was open and attractive.

nard's enthusiastic address, with a vow to follow him wherever he led. This enthusiasm, however, speedily cooled. Bernard's sole command of the troops was frustrated by the jealousy of the Swedish officers. In Sweden, Gustavus had merely left an infant daughter, Christina. The ex-king of Bohemia died of horror, at Mayence, on receiving the news of the death of his friend and protector. His consort, Elisabeth Stuart, resided for many years afterwards at Rhenen* near Utrecht. The battle of Lützen filled the imperialists, notwithstanding their defeat, with the greatest delight. Public rejoicings were held at Madrid. The emperor, Ferdinand, discovered no immoderate joy at his success, and even showed some signs of pity on seeing the blood-stained collar of his late foe. The pope, Urban VIII., ordered a mass to be read for the soul of the fallen monarch, whose power had curbed that of the emperor. The emperor's foes have, at every period, been regarded with secret good-will by the pope.

* Elisabeth Stuart dwelt for a considerable period at Rhenen under the protection of the States-general, mourning for her husband, whose place of burial was unknown, her brother, Charles I. of England, whose head had rolled on the scaffold, and her unfortunate children. Her eldest son, Henry Frederick, was drowned [A. D. 1629] at Amsterdam. The second, Charles Louis, became, on the termination of the war, elector of the Pfalz, but lived unhappily with his wife, and, taking a mistress, his mother refrained from returning thither. The third, Robert, after distinguishing himself against Cromwell and Spain, remained with his mother and occupied himself with the study of chemistry. The fourth, Maurice, disappeared after a naval engagement with the Spanish flotilla, and was supposed to have been lost in a storm at sea. The fifth, Edward, dishonoured his family, that had suffered so much for the sake of religion, by turning Catholic, and entered the French service. The sixth, Philip, a brave adventurer, murdered a nobleman and fled into France. He was killed in the French service, during a siege. The seventh, Gustavus, died in his boyhood. The eldest daughter, Elisabeth, rejected the hand of Ladislaw of Poland from a religious motive, studied philosophy, was a friend of Descartes and of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, and died Lutheran abbess of Herford. The second, Henrietta Maria, married Ragoczy, Prince of Transylvania, but died shortly after the wedding. The third, Louisa, had a talent for painting and remained for a long time with Robert in attendance on her mother, whom she suddenly quitted in order to take the veil. She became Catholic abbess of Manbuisson. The fourth, Sophia, married a poor prince, Earnest Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the youngest of four brothers.——Elisabeth and her son Robert, the only one of her numerous family left in her old age, repaired to England on the restoration of the Stuarts. She died there, A. D. 1662. Robert also died in England, leaving no legitimate issue.

Axel Oxenstierna, Gustavus's minister, and his most faithful friend, became regent of Sweden during the minority of the queen, Christina, and followed in the footsteps of his noble master. But he was merely a statesman, not a military leader; a minister, not a king. Sweden, instead of placing a Protestant emperor on the throne of Germany, could henceforward merely endeavour to secure liberty of conscience to the German Protestants. Gustavus's ambition had embraced the whole of Germany; that of Oxenstierna simply extended to the possession of one of her provinces. Had Gustavus lived, Germany might have become great, united, and happy; France would have been confined within her limits; Sweden would have become a German province; the German provinces on the Baltic would have been incorporated with the empire; Livonia would have been saved, and the Russians checked. Oxenstierna, by his project for the dismemberment of Germany and his consequent coalition with France, was, instead of the friend, the most dangerous foe to the German cause. The coalition of the Catholics and Protestants for the expulsion of the foreigner was urgently necessary for the salvation of the empire, but the Protestants, intimidated by the edict of restitution, placed no confidence in the promises of their jesuitical sovereign. The confederated princes, bribed by French gold, promises, and grants, still carried on the war and remained true to Oxenstierna, who, notwithstanding the opposition offered by France and Saxony, was elected head of the confederacy in a convocation of the princes, held at Heilbronn.

The Swedish troops were once more thrown into Upper Germany, and Bernard von Weimar set off for the Upper Danube in order to form a junction with Horn, in the spring of 1633. The Bavarian cavalry, under John von Werth, vainly intercepted him; they were repulsed, and a junction took place with Horn at Neuburg, where the clamour raised by the officers for the payment of their long arrears was silenced by the seizure of the ecclesiastical property and its partition among them. Bernard received, as his share of the booty, the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg as a new Franconian duchy, whilst Horn usurped the government of Mergentheim. Night skirmishes conducted by the cavalry

and light troops became from this period more frequent, and pitched battles of rare occurrence.

Wallenstein, meanwhile, remained immovable in Bohemia. France attempted to shake his fidelity to the emperor by an offer of the Bohemian crown. Spain, actuated by her ancient distrust, sent an army under Feria, with orders to join the division of Wallenstein's army under Altringer at Kempten, in which he succeeded, notwithstanding the advance of French troops into the Grisons. Horn, who had, meanwhile, laid siege to Constance, now rejoined Bernard, and offered the Spaniard battle near Tütlingen. Feria, however, declined coming to an engagement, and, after entering Alsace and relieving Breisach, at that time besieged by the Rhinegraves von Salm, dragged the remainder of his army, which during the winter had fallen a prey to pestilence and famine, through Swabia to Munich, where he expired, whilst Horn remained tranquilly at Balingen.

France, in the hope of confirming her possession of Lorraine, still kept that country garrisoned with her troops. In the North, George von Lüneburg continued to oppose Gronsfeld; William of Hesse and his brave general, Holzapfel, took Paderborn, and, uniting with George and a small Swedish army under Kniphausen, laid siege to Hameln. Gronsfeld and his Dutch allies, the Counts Merode and Geleen, hastening to the relief of that town, were completely routed at Hessisch-Oldendorf. Hameln and Osnabrück capitulated. Böninghausen, the imperial partisan, and Stalhantsch, the Swedish colonel, took up their quarters in Hesse.——Wallenstein's partisan, Holk, meanwhile, laid Thuringia waste, took and plundered Leipzig, and burnt Altenburg, Chemnitz, and Zwickau to the ground. In Zwickau, a pestilence, caused by the famine and the heaps of putrid dead, broke out and raged like an avenging spirit among Holk's troops. He sought safety in flight, but the pestilence kept pace with his movements, strewing his path with the dying and the dead, and at length made him its victim at Tirschenreuth. Wrung with anguish and remorse, he sent his horsemen out in every direction, and offered six hundred dollars to any one who would bring a Lutheran pastor to administer the sacrament before he expired; but shortly before this he had ordered the assassin-

ation of every ecclesiastic in the country, and the few who remained having taken refuge in the forests, he died in agonies of despair before one could be found to perform that office.

Wallenstein's officers, Illow, Gœtz, and Octavio Piccolomini, a venal Italian mercenary, the most depraved wretch that appeared on the scene during the war, also carried fire and sword into Silesia and completely destroyed the city of Reichenbach. Some thousand Poles under Dohna aided to ravage the country. These flying corps, however, retreated to Bohemia on the arrival of Arnheim with his Saxons and of a Swedish troop under Colonel Duval. The Protestant towns, particularly Breslau, gave them a hearty welcome. Dohna, who had defended that city, narrowly escaped assassination by the enraged citizens. Duval, however, treated the city with extreme severity, plundered the Catholic churches and ecclesiastical property, destroyed the ancient and magnificent cathedral library, and converted the church of St. Bartholomew into a stable. The bishop, Charles Ferdinand, fled into Poland. A multitude of Silesians, who had been compelled to embrace Catholicism, again recanted. The whole of the imperial garrison in Strehlen was massacred by the Swedes, A. D. 1633. Wallenstein now appeared in person in Silesia, out-manœuvred Arnheim, with whom he carried on a secret correspondence, and surprised the small body of Swedes remaining at Steinau, where he captured the aged Count Thurn, whom he restored to liberty in order to mortify the Viennese, and to flatter the national feeling of the Bohemians, whose sovereign he might one day become. Grœdizberg, where he seized the treasures of Frederick, duke of Liegnitz, was taken, Nimptsch burnt to the ground, and the wretched inhabitants throughout the country were massacred and tortured, without regard to age or sex. Arnheim was pursued into the Lausitz. Gœrlitz and Bautzen capitulated. Terzky took Frankfurt on the Oder, and Wallenstein suddenly returned to Bohemia in order to oppose Bernard of Weimar.

Bernard, unopposed by John von Werth, who had merely beaten a few Swedish regiments under Sperreuter from their quarters in the vicinity of Augsburg, had marched down the Danube, and in November taken possession of Ratisbon. Wallenstein looked on with indifference, and when at length in-

duced to return by the urgent entreaties of the Bavarians and of the Viennese court, evaded coming to an engagement and went back to Bohemia. John von Werth gained a slight advantage at Straubing.

It is a well-confirmed fact that Wallenstein carried on negotiations with Saxony and Brandenburg, and that the latter hoped by his aid to restore the intermediate power so long desired between the emperor and Sweden. It is also indubitable that France favoured this intrigue and assured to Wallenstein the possession of Bohemia. If, at the same time, he secretly corresponded with Oxenstierna, it was solely for the purpose of compelling the others to accede to better terms; the Swede did not believe him to be in earnest. It is impossible to discover to what lengths Wallenstein intended to go. His first object was at all events to secure a support in case he should again fall a victim to the Spanish-Bavarian faction. At the same time, he confided the fact of his negotiations to the emperor, who, believing their sole object to be to sound all parties, authorized him to carry them on. The ambiguity and reserve with which he consequently acted rendered him an object of suspicion to all parties, and, moreover, no one valued his alliance unless he was backed by his army. The cessation of hostilities, caused by continual negotiation, was, meanwhile, highly distasteful to his soldiery, in whose minds prejudices were busily instilled by the Jesuits, who, at the same time, whispered to the bigoted Catholics that the duke of Friedland was on the point of going over to the Protestants. The foreign troops were easily gained; the German soldiery remained firm in their allegiance to Wallenstein. Ulric, prince of Denmark, who had entered the camp to negotiate with Wallenstein, was shot, as if by accident, by one of General Piccolomini's body-guards. Wallenstein, either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the enemy unless secure beforehand of the co-operation of his army, endeavoured to outwit the Jesuits by offering to resign his command. The conduct of the army appeared to meet Wallenstein's highest expectations. A violent commotion ensued in the camp at Pilsen; the whole of the officers entreated Wallenstein not to abandon them, and, at a banquet given by his confidant, Field-marshal Illow, a document, by which they in their turn bound themselves never to desert him, was signed

by them all. The foreign officers also added their signatures, but with intent to betray him.

The jealousy of the emperor was, meanwhile, inflamed by the insinuations of the Jesuits. The Spanish ambassador exclaimed, "Why this delay? a dagger or a pistol will remove him!" His assassination was resolved upon by the emperor, who, in perfect conformity with his character, wrote to him continually in the most gracious terms, for twenty days after having signed the warrant for his death. The voluptuary, Octavio Piccolomini, in whom Wallenstein, blinded by a superstitious belief in the conjunction of their stars, placed the most implicit confidence, betrayed all his projects to the emperor, who committed to General Gallas the decree for the deposition of Wallenstein, his nomination as generalissimo in his stead, and a general amnesty for the officers. This secret order was solely confided by Gallas to the foreign officers, to the Piccolomini, to Isolani, Colloredo, Butler, etc.; and the general amnesty was afterwards exchanged for a decree, depriving all the German generals of their appointments and replacing them with foreigners.

Wallenstein, suddenly abandoned by Piccolomini and the rest of the foreign generals, fled with the few regiments that still clung to him (there were traitors among them) to Eger. Driven by necessity, he now demanded aid from Bernard von Weimar, who had taken Ratisbon and was in his neighbourhood. The astonishment caused by this message was extreme, and Bernard, who believed Wallenstein in league with the devil, exclaimed, "He who does not trust in God can never be trusted by man!" Wallenstein's hour was come. Colonel Butler, two Irish officers, named Lesley, and a Scotchman, named Gordon, who were probably in league with the Jesuits, conspired, in the hope of being richly rewarded by the emperor, against the life of their great leader and common benefactor. The soldiers used by Butler for this purpose consisted of Irishmen, two Scotchmen, and an Italian. Illow, Terzky, Kinsky, and Captain Neumann were murdered during a banquet held in the castle of Eger.* The door of Wallenstein's apartment was burst open. Wallenstein sprang from his bed and was met by Devereux, who cried out to him,

* The banqueting-hall, where this tragic scene took place, is now all that remains of the castle of Eger. TRANSLATOR.

"Are you the villain who would sell the army to the enemy and tear the crown from the emperor's head?" Wallenstein, without replying, opened his arms and received a mortal wound in the breast, February 25th, 1634.*

Bernard von Weimar reached Eger shortly after the murder, and found the town in the hands of the imperialists. Butler and Lesley were created counts and richly rewarded by the emperor. Neustadt was bestowed upon Butler, the whole of Terzky's possessions upon Lesley, those of Kinsky upon Gordon. Devereux received a badge of distinction and a pension. Wallenstein's possessions were divided among his betrayers, Gallas receiving Friedland; Piccolomini, who, on the murder of his former friend had helped himself richly to his treasures, being merely rewarded with the gift of Rachod, Colloredo with Opotschno, Altringer with Tœplitz, Trautmannsdorf with Gitschin. The emperor appropriated Sagan to himself. The money left in Wallenstein's treasury by Piecolomini was scattered as a largesse among the soldiery. The officers who had most firmly adhered to their former leader, were, although guiltless of participation in his political schemes, banished, in order to make room for foreigners; twenty-four of their number were beheaded at Pilsen. The emperor, at the same time, published a manifesto, in which he attempted to justify Wallenstein's base assassination by loading his memory with false aspersions, the very negotiations carried on by him at his command and with his knowledge being brought forward in proof of the criminality of his designs.

CCIX. *The battle of Nœrdlingen.—The treaty of Prague.—Defeat of the French.*

WALLENSTEIN'S army, a few regiments excepted, which dispersed or went over to the Swedes, remained true to the emperor. The archduke, Ferdinand, was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, which were placed under the command of Gallas. Another army was conducted across the Alps by the Cardinal Infanto, Don Fernando, brother to Philip IV. of Spain, A. D. 1634. Had Bernard been aided by the Saxons or by Horn, the whole of the imperial army might

* The room in the burgomaster's house, where this murder was committed, may still be seen by the inquisitive traveller. TRANSLATOR.

easily have been scattered during the confusion consequent on the death of its commander, but the Saxons were engaged in securing the possession of the Lausitz, and it was not until May that Arnheim gained a trifling advantage near Liegnitz. Horn laid siege to Ueberlingen on the Lake of Constance, with a view of retarding the advance of the Spaniards. A small Swedish force under Banner retook Frankfurt on the Oder and joined the Saxons. The little town of Hœxter was plundered, and all the inhabitants were butchered by Geleen, George von Lüneburg delaying to grant his promised aid in the hope of seizing Hildesheim for himself. Hildesheim capitulated in July. The country swarmed with revolutionary peasant bands, whom hunger had converted into robbers. The upper Rhenish provinces were equally unquiet. Bernard remained inactive on the Danube, alone disturbed by John von Werth, who once more drove him from his quarters at Deggendorf. Feuquières, meanwhile, strenuously endeavoured to win the Heilbronn confederation over to the interests of France, and to dissolve their alliance with Sweden. Lœffler had abandoned the Swedish service for that of France, and his master, the young Duke Eberhard of Wurtemberg, was, like William of Hesse, in the pay of that crown.

The whole of the Protestant forces were thus scattered when the great imperial army broke up its camp in Bohemia and advanced upon Ratisbon, with the design of seizing that city and of joining the Spanish army then advancing from Italy. Bernard vainly summoned Horn to his aid; the moment for action passed, and, when too late, he was joined by that commander at Augsburg, and the confederates pushed hastily forwards to the relief of Ratisbon. Landshut was taken by storm and shared the fate of Magdeburg. Altringer, whilst vainly attempting to save the city, perished in the general conflagration. The castle, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was blown up, A. D. 1634. The news of the capitulation of Ratisbon on the 26th of July, reached the victors midway. Arnheim and Banner appeared on the same day before Prague. The imperialists, nevertheless, indifferent to the fate of Bohemia, continued to mount the Danube. The advanced Croatian guard committed the most horrid excesses. At Nœrdlingen, a junction took place

with the Spanish troops. The imperial army now amounted to forty-six thousand men under Ferdinand III., the Cardinal Infanto, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Lorraine, Generals Gallas and John von Werth. The Protestants, although reinforced by the people of Wurtemberg, merely numbered thirty thousand. Bernard, too confident of success, and impatient to relieve the city of Nœrdlingen, at that time vigorously besieged by the imperialists, rejected Horn's advice to await the arrival of the Rhinegrave, and resolved to hazard a battle. On the 26th of August, A. D. 1634, he made a successful attack and gained a favourable position, but was, on the following day, overwhelmed by numbers. The explosion of his powder-magazine, by which numbers of his men were destroyed, contributed to complete his defeat. Count Thurn the Younger vainly endeavoured to turn the battle and led his men seventeen times to the charge. Horn was taken prisoner, and twelve thousand men fell. Bernard fled. His treasures and papers fell into the hands of the enemy. The Rhinegrave, who was bringing seven thousand men to his aid, was surprised and completely routed by John von Werth and Charles of Lorraine. Heilbronn was plundered during the retreat by the Swedish Colonel Senger, who fled out of one gate with his booty as the imperialists entered at another to complete the pillage.

The horrors inflicted upon Bavaria were terribly revenged upon Swabia. The duke of Wurtemberg, Eberhard III., safe behind the fortifications of Strassburg, forgot the misery of his country in the arms of the beautiful Margravine von Salm. Waiblingen, Nürtingen, Calw, Kirchheim, Bœblingen, Besigheim, and almost every village throughout the country were destroyed; Heilbronn was almost totally burnt down; the inhabitants were either butchered or cruelly tortured. To pillage and murder succeeded famine and pestilence. The population of the duchy of Wurtemberg was reduced from half a million to forty-eight thousand souls. The Jesuits took possession of the old Lutheran university of Tübingen. Osiander, the chancellor of the university, unmoved by the example of his weaker brethren, who recanted in order to retain their offices and dignities, bravely knocked down a soldier, who attacked him, sword in hand, in the pulpit. The Catholic service was, in many places re-established by force.

The whole of Wurtemberg was either confiscated by the emperor or partitioned among his favourites; Trautmannsdorf received Weinsberg; Schlick, Bablingen and Tuttlingen, etc.; Taupadel, who had been left by Bernard in Schorndorf, was forced to yield. Augsburg was again distinguished amid the general misery by the loss of sixty thousand of her inhabitants, who were swept away by famine and pestilence. The remaining citizens, whom starvation alone compelled to capitulate, were deprived of all their possessions, forced to recant, and refused permission to emigrate. Wurzburg, Frankfurt, Spires, Philipsburg, the whole of Rhenish Franconia, besides Mayence, Heidelberg, and Coblentz, fell into the hands of the emperor. The whole of the Pfalz was again laid waste, and the inhabitants were butchered in such numbers that two hundred peasants were all that remained in the lower country. Isolani devastated the Wetterau with fire and sword, and plundered the country as far as Thuringia. The places whither the Swedes had fled for refuge also suffered incredibly. The fugitive soldiery, without provisions or baggage, clamoured for pay, and Oxenstierna, in order to avoid a general pillage, laid the merchants, assembled at the fair held at Frankfurt a M., under contribution. The sufferings of the wretched Swabians were avenged by the imbittered soldiery on the Catholic inhabitants of Mayence.

The imperial army, although weakened by division, by garrisoning the conquered provinces, and by the departure of the Infanta for the Netherlands, still presented too formidable an aspect for attack on the part of Bernard, who, unwilling to demand the aid he required from France, remained peaceably beyond the Rhine. The Heilbronn confederacy had, independently of him, cast itself into the arms of France. Lœffler, the Swedish chancellor, and the chief leader of the confederation, had contrived to secure to France, without Bernard's assent, the hereditary possession of Alsace, for which he was deprived of his office and banished by Oxenstierna. The celebrated Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, replaced him as Swedish ambassador in Paris. Wurtemberg and Hesse had long forwarded the interests of France.

The sin committed by the Heilbronn confederation against Germany by selling themselves to France is alone to be palliated by the desperate situation to which they were re-

duced by the defection of the Protestant electors. Saxony and Brandenburg again concluded peace, A. D. 1635, at Prague, with the emperor, to whom they abandoned all the Protestants in southern and western Germany and the whole of the Heilbronn confederation, under pretext of the urgent necessity of peace, of the restoration of the honour of Germany and of the happiness of the people by the expulsion of the foreigner. Saxony was reinstated in the territory of which she had been deprived by the edict of restitution, and received the Upper-Lausitz as an hereditary fief. Augustus, elector of Saxony, was also nominated administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in the room of the Archduke Leopold. A Saxon princess, the daughter of the electoress, Magdalena Sibylla, was given in marriage to Prince Christian of Denmark as an inducement to that kingdom to take the field against Sweden. Brandenburg received the reversion of Pomerania, whose last duke, Bogislaw, was sick and childless. The princes of Mecklenburg and Anhalt, and the cities Erfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, also conformed to the treaty for the sake of preserving their neutrality, for which they were bitterly punished.

Had the emperor taken advantage of the decreasing power of Sweden, of the procrastination on the part of France, and of the general desire for peace manifested throughout Germany, to publish a general amnesty and to grant the free exercise of religion throughout the empire, the wounds inflicted by his blood-thirsty policy might yet have been healed, but the grey-headed hypocrite merely folded his hands, dripping in gore, in prayer, and demanded fresh victims from the god of peace. Peace was concluded with part of the heretics in order to secure the destruction of the rest. The last opportunity that offered for the expulsion of the foreign robber from Germany was lost by the exclusion of the Heilbronn confederation from the treaty of Prague by the emperor; and although they in their despair placed the empire at the mercy of the French, and their country for centuries beneath French influence, their crime rests on the head of the sovereign, who by his acts placed the empire on the brink of the precipice, and on those of the dastardly electors, who, for the sake of securing an enlarged territory to their houses, basely betrayed their brethren. The elector of Saxony, for the

second time unmindful of his plighted faith, abandoned Protestant Silesia to the wrath of the Jesuits, and the fate of the remaining Protestant provinces, excluded from the treaty of Prague, may be read in that of the Pfalz and of Wurtemberg.

Oxenstierna hastened in person to Paris for the purpose of making terms with Richelieu, and thereby counterbalancing the league between the emperor, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and Bernard von Weimar was compelled passively to behold the dispute between Sweden and France for sovereignty over Protestant Germany. The French soldiery were, moreover, so undisciplined and cowardly that they deserted in troops. Bernard was consequently far from sufficiently reinforced, but nevertheless succeeded in raising the siege of Heidelberg. The death of the energetic and aged Rhinegrave took place just at this period.

Whilst matters were thus at a stand-still on the Upper Rhine, success attended the imperial arms in the Netherlands. The French, victorious at Avaire, were forced to raise the siege of Louvain by the Infanto and Piccolomini, A. D. 1635. The Dutch were also expelled the country. Bernard, fearing to be surrounded by Piccolomini, retired from the Rhine into Upper Burgundy. Heidelberg fell; two French regiments were cut to pieces at Reichenweiher by John von Werth; Hatzfeld took Kaiserslautern by storm, and almost totally annihilated the celebrated yellow regiment of Gustavus Adolphus. Mayence was closely besieged, and France, alarmed at the turn of affairs, sent the old Cardinal de la Valette to reinforce Bernard, who advanced to the relief of Mayence and succeeded in raising the siege, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French, who were forced by threats to cross the Rhine. John von Werth, meanwhile, invaded Lorraine, and, with Piccolomini and the Infanto, made a feint to cross the French frontier. La Valette and Bernard instantly returned, pursued by Gallas and already surrounded by Colloredo,* who was defeated by Bernard at Meisenheim, where he had seized the pass. Hotly pursued by Gallas and hard pushed by the Croatians, Bernard escaped across the Saar at Walderfingen on a bridge raised on wine-casks, before the arrival of the main body of the im-

* The Colloredo are descended from the Swabian family of Walsee, which, in the fourteenth century, settled in the Friaul, and, at a later period, erected the castle on the steep (collo rigido).

perialists, which came up with his rearguard at Boulay, but met with a repulse. After a retreat of thirteen days, the fugitive army reached Metz, in September, 1635. Gallas fixed his head-quarters in Lorraine, but the country had been already so completely pillaged that he was compelled to return in November, and to fix his camp in Alsace-Gabern, where he gave himself up to rioting and drunkenness, whilst his army was thinned by famine and pestilence. Mayence was starved out and capitulated, after having been plundered by the Swedish garrison.

In the commencement of 1636, Bernard visited Paris, where he was courteously received by Louis XIII. The impression made upon his heart by the lovely daughter of the Duc de Rohan was no sooner perceived than a plan was formed by the French court to deprive him of his independence as a prince of the empire. Bernard discovered their project and closed his heart against the seductions of the lady. The aid promised by France was now withheld. Both parties were deceived. France, unwilling to defray the expenses of a war carried on by Bernard for the sole benefit of Protestant Germany, merely aimed at preserving a pretext for interference in the political and religious disputes agitating that country, and, for that purpose, promised Bernard a sum of four million livres for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men.

The reconquest of Alsace followed; at Gabern, which was taken by storm, Bernard lost the forefinger of his left hand, and the bed on which he lay was shattered by a cannon ball. He returned thence to Lorraine, where he carried on a petty war with Gallas and took several fortresses. The humanity evinced by him at this period, so contrary to the licence he had formerly allowed his soldiery from a spirit of religious fanaticism, proceeded from a desire to please the French queen, the celebrated Ann of Austria, the daughter of Philip III. of Spain. He surprised Isolani's Croatians at Champlitte, deprived them of eighteen hundred horses and of the whole of the rich booty they had collected, A. D. 1636.

In the beginning of the year, John von Werth had, independently of Gallas, ventured as far as Louvain, where a revolution had broken out. The Gallo-Dutch faction, nevertheless, proved victorious, and the imperialists were expelled.

Werth, unable to lay siege to the town with his cavalry, revenged himself by laying the country in the vicinity waste. In April, he joined Piccolomini with the view of invading France and of marching full upon Paris. This project was, however, frustrated by Piccolomini's timidity and by the tardy movements of the infantry. This expedition, undertaken in defiance of the orders of the elector of Bavaria, forms one of the few amusing episodes of this terrible tragedy. Werth, advancing rapidly with his cavalry, beat the French on every point, forced the passage of the Somme and Oise, and spread terror throughout France. The cities laid their keys at his feet, the nobles begged for sentinels to guard their houses, and paid them enormous sums. Paris was reduced to despair. The roads to Chartres and Orleans were crowded with fugitives, and the metropolis must inevitably have fallen had Werth, instead of allowing his men to remain behind plundering the country, pushed steadily forwards. By this delay, Richelieu gained time to levy troops and to send the whole of the disposable force against him. A part of the French troops were, nevertheless, cut to pieces during a night-attack at Montigny, and it was not until the autumnal rains and floods brought disease into his camp that Werth retired. He remained for some time afterwards at Cologne, where he wedded the Countess Spaur (of an ancient Tyrolese family). Ehrenbreitstein, still garrisoned by the French, who had long lost Coblentz, was closely besieged by Werth, and forced by famine to capitulate, A. D. 1637.

William of Hesse, instead of joining Bernard after the battle of Nœrdlingen, had raised troops with the money received by him from France and had seized Paderborn, which was retaken by the imperialists, A. D. 1636. George von Lüneburg, who had, in 1684, become the head of the Guelphic House on the death of Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbüttel, long hesitated to give in his adhesion to the treaty of Prague, but Oxenstierna, on becoming acquainted with his intercourse with the emperor, depriving him, by means of Sperreuter, of his best regiments, his hesitation ceased and he acceded to the emperor's terms. Sperreuter, who had deserted with the Lower Saxon regiments to the Swedish general, Banner, now went over to the emperor, and Baudis to Saxony. A reaction took place in all the German regiments under the Swedish

standard, of which the Prague confederation failed to take advantage, and their commanders were bribed by Kniphausen to remain in the pay of Sweden. This general fell, in January, 1636, at Haselüne, during an engagement with Geleen, who was beaten off the field. Minden was betrayed, in May, by the commandant Lüdingshausen, Kniphausen's son-in-law, to the Swedes.

The remnant of the old Swedish army under Banner found itself exposed to the greatest danger by the conclusion of peace at Prague. Banner had, together with the elector of Saxony, advanced upon Bohemia, whence he was now compelled to retreat. On the alliance between George von Lüneburg and Saxony, Baudis was despatched against him, November, 1635, but was defeated at Dœmitz, and Banner, dreading to be cut off by an imperial corps under the Bohemian, Marzin, who had taken Stargard by storm and pillaged that town, withdrew to Pomerania. During this autumn, the French ambassador, d'Avaux, had succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between Wladislaw of Poland and Sweden, and in terminating the long war between those countries. The Swedish regiments under Torstenson consequently evacuated Livonia and Prussia and united with those under Banner; whilst, on the other hand, a wild troop of Polish Cossacks marched to the aid of the emperor. This cunning policy on the part of France caused the war to rage with redoubled fury. Banner and Torstenson defeated the Saxons in the depth of winter at Goldberg and Kiritz, and, in February, Banner again invaded Saxony and cruelly visited the defection of the elector on the heads of his wretched subjects. The arrival of Hatzfeld at the head of a body of imperialists compelled him to retire behind Magdeburg, where Baudis was severely wounded and relinquished the command. Each side now confined itself to manœuvring until the arrival of reinforcements. The Swedish troops arrived first, and Hatzfeld and the Saxons, being drawn into an engagement at Wittstock, before Gœtz was able to join them, were totally defeated. Hatzfeld was wounded, and the elector lost the whole of his baggage and treasure. Saxony was again laid waste by Banner's infuriated troops. The gallant defence of Leipzig increased their rage. All the towns and villages in the vicinity were reduced to ashes. A similar fate befell Meissen, Wurzen, Oschatz, Col-

ditz, Liebwerda, and several smaller towns. The peasants fled in crowds to the fortified cities and to the mountains, and, to complete the general misery, famine and pestilence succeeded to the sword and the fire-brand. A bloody revenge was taken by Derflinger with a Brandenburg squadron on a thousand Swedish horse that ventured into the province of Mansfeld. Banner finally assembled his troops and intrenched himself in Torgau, which he stored with provisions, whilst Gallas, Gœtz, Hatzfeld, and the elector of Saxony advanced to the attack.

CCX. *Death of Ferdinand the Second.—Pestilence and Famine.—Bernard von Weimar.—Banner.*

THE favour of the electoral princes being secured by the treaty of Prague, they were, in the autumn of 1636, convoked by Ferdinand II. to Ratisbon, for the purpose of electing his son, the Archduke Ferdinand, as his successor on the throne. Ferdinand II. expired A. D. 1637, after having the gratification of quelling the revolt of the peasantry in Carniola and Upper Austria. In Erfurt, the imperial general, Hatzfeld, seized the government, imprisoned and tortured the Lutheran clergy and drained the coffers of the citizens. Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm met with an almost similar treatment.

Ferdinand bequeathed the empire to his son, Ferdinand III., a man of insignificant character, whose mother, Maria, also a Habsburg, was daughter to Philip III. of Spain. The late emperor, notwithstanding the immense scale on which he performed his part and the unheard-of calamities which, worse than the worst of despots, he inflicted upon his subjects, did not live to witness the triumph of his party. Napoleon, who carried fire and sword almost throughout Europe, brought less death and sorrow on the world than this quiet and devout emperor, to whose religious and political fanaticism ten millions of his fellow men were sacrificed. The people were deprived by him of their political and religious liberty. The ancient German constitution was annulled, and the principles of absolute monarchy, like those of Spain, were for the first time carried into practice in the hereditary provinces of the Habsburg, and ere long in those of Germany. The assembling of the Estates became an empty court-ceremony. Had

the emperor triumphed, Germany would at least have been rewarded with the acquisition of unity for the loss of her liberty, but her evil destiny deprived her of the one without granting the other.

During the year in which the old emperor closed his eyes that had so long gloated on blood, the misery that reigned throughout Germany had reached the highest pitch; the horrors of the long war, the destruction of the towns and villages by fire, the torture and murder of the citizens and peasantry by the soldiery, were accompanied by a famine, which depopulated whole districts; the land remained uncultivated, and a pestilence resulted from want, bad food, and the putridity of the air occasioned by the heaps of unburied dead. The soldier, driven by necessity as well as by love of rapine, snatched the last morsel from the hands of the famishing wretches that remained. Bands of Marauders (Merode-brothers, so called from their leader, the Count von Merode) composed of peasantry and of homeless wanderers, who sometimes aided one party, sometimes another, cruelly avenging themselves on the soldiery or joining them in their predatory excursions, ranged the country, and forced the inhabitants, by the infliction of the most horrid tortures, to open their concealed hoards of provisions or of treasure. Whole provinces were so completely pillaged as to afford no sustenance to the troops, and men and children fought like wolves for a morsel of carrion.

The historians of this period graphically describe this excess of misery. Ferdinand II., on his accession to the throne, found Austria Lutheran, thickly populated, and prosperous; he left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three million Hussites dwelling in flourishing cities and villages, he left merely seven hundred and eighty thousand Catholic beggars. Silesia, happy and blooming, was laid desolate; most of her little cities and villages had been burnt to the ground, her inhabitants put to the sword. Saxony, the Mere, and Pomerania had shared the same melancholy fate. Mecklenburg and the whole of Lower Saxony had been ruined by battles, sieges, and invasions. Hesse lay utterly waste. In the Pfalz, the living fed upon the dead, mothers on their babes, brethren on each other. In the Netherlands, Liege, Luxemburg, Lorraine, similar scenes

of horror were of frequent occurrence. The whole of the Rhenish provinces lay desert. Swabia and Bavaria were almost entirely depopulated. The Tyrol and Switzerland had escaped the horrors of war, but were ravaged by pestilence. Such was the aspect of Europe on the death of Ferdinand II., who, like an aged hyæna, expired amid mouldering bones and ruins.

Bernard von Weimar a second time visited Paris, where he was now upheld by Oxenstierna through his friend, Hugo Grotius (the Swedes being unable to take any measures in the North so long as he remained fixed in the South). He, in the mean time, allowed his troops to pillage Champagne, which speedily induced the French monarch to furnish him with the means of satisfying the demands of his soldiery. Charles, duke of Lorraine, and Mercy, the Bavarian, had, meanwhile, fixed their quarters in Burgundy. A bloody engagement took place with the latter at Besançon, in which Bernard, who crossed the Saone on horseback at the head of his men in the face of the enemy, was victorious. Isle, Lure, and several other Burgundian fortresses fell successively into his hands, and [A. D. 1637] he again pushed forwards as far as the Rhine, where he strongly fortified the islands. Twice surprised by John von Werth, he plunged into the stream and escaped by swimming. Still, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French troops, almost the whole of whom ran away, success crowned his efforts. The winter-quarters on the Rhine being insecure, he suddenly crossed the stream with his dismounted cavalry, a disease having carried off their horses, and threw himself amongst the mountains in the bishopric of Basle, where no enemy had yet penetrated, and which was well stored with supplies. The opposition made by the peasantry and the threats of the Catholic Swiss, whose Protestant countrymen sided with him, were equally unavailing. The fortifications on the Rhine were, meanwhile, speedily taken by Werth from the cowardly French garrisons, whilst his unworthy colleague, the Duke di Savelli, vainly sought to draw Bernard into the emperor's service. Hugo Grotius was equally unsuccessful in his project for regaining him for Sweden, by marrying him to the young queen, Christina, and a fresh dispute arose between Bernard and France on account of the cession of Veltlin by that kingdom to the Grisons and

the consequent abandonment of Duc Rohan, who capitulated to the Spanish under Serbelloni [A. D. 1637] and took refuge in Bernard's camp.

At the head of a hardy troop, merely six thousand strong, Bernard unexpectedly broke up his camp on the Dellsberg, January 17th, 1638, and penetrated into the Frickthal, firmly resolved to maintain himself on the Upper Rhine, and, by success and fresh levies of troops, to win for himself the power in Germany which he had so long and so vainly attempted to gain by means of France. Laufenburg and Waldshut were taken by surprise. Rheinfelden, where four hundred of the garrison were destroyed by the explosion of a mine, made a gallant defence. John von Werth and Savelli hastened to its relief, and, on the 18th February, a desperate engagement took place beneath the city walls. Bernard, overwhelmed by numbers, was forced to quit the field; the brave Rhinegrave fell, and Rohan was wounded. But, on the 21st, Bernard unexpectedly assailed the enemy whilst celebrating their victory in Rheinfelden and completely routed them. Both the leaders, the gallant John von Werth and the worthless Savelli, Generals Enkefort and Sperreuter, with almost the whole of the army, were taken prisoners. John von Werth, contrary to the promise given by Bernard, was sent a prisoner to Paris, where he was treated with great distinction. Savelli was sent on his parole to Laufenburg, whence he found means to escape.

Bernard continued to pursue the enemy and to collect reinforcements. His old school-fellow, Guebriant, joined him with a small number of French. Rheinfelden and Freiburg in the Breisgau fell into his hands. Taupadel took Stuttgard. The possession of Breisach, the key to the whole of Upper Germany, was keenly disputed. Gœtz, the field-marshal of the empire, hastening to its relief, was routed at Benfeld by Taupadel. The battle of Wittenweyer, in which Bernard, whose forces were far less considerable, was victorious over Gœtz and Savelli and an army of eighteen thousand five hundred men, followed. Taupadel, who had rashly ventured too far in pursuit, was captured by Savelli, who kept him in close imprisonment. Breisach still refused to capitulate, and the besieging army suffered a considerable loss from the attacks of the peasants of the Black Forest. Horst, who was bringing a supply of flour and powder, was forced to retreat, and was deprived of

part of his stores. Charles, duke of Lorraine, when attempting to relieve the city, was taken prisoner at Thann. Bernard, who had for some time been suffering from fever, being carried from the field half dead to his camp, Gœtz attempted to take him unawares, and had already reached the bridges over the Rhine, when Bernard, springing from his couch, bestrode his battle-steed, and rushed to the defence. The troops, inspired with enthusiasm at the sight of an eagle hovering over his head, pressed forward, and, after a dreadful struggle, succeeded in routing the imperialists, numbers of whom were drowned in the Rhine. Breisach was driven by famine to capitulate. The garrison was promised food and free egress. The treatment of the prisoners, taken by the imperialists during the siege, some of whom were starved to death, whilst the rest fed upon their comrades, was not known until the terms of capitulation had been acceded to; Bernard, nevertheless, although his heart burned within him, remained true to his given word.

Savelli, the fitting favourite of the Jesuits and of the Viennese court, had, with consistent baseness, affected the removal and imprisonment of his worthier rival, Gœtz. On the fall of Breisach, he had again recourse to diplomacy, and called upon Bernard, in the name of his country, to join the emperor. Bernard replied, "that a duke of Saxony needed no lesson in patriotism from an Italian duca," and, garrisoning Breisach with German troops, refused to deliver that fort into the hands of the French. But, either for the purpose of pacifying Richelieu, or of providing Breisach with fresh stores, he returned to Burgundy during the depth of winter, and seized that part of the earldom which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. The peasantry were defeated, the lofty, rocky strong-hold of Joux was taken, and an immense number of horses and stores of every description were carried to Breisach. Richelieu made fresh advances, but, being personally offended by Bernard's refusal of the hand of his niece and heiress, Margaret de Vignerot, he, from that moment, resolved upon his ruin. Erlach, one of Bernard's most confidential officers, was bribed with an annuity of 12,000 livres to betray his noble-spirited master. Bernard's intention to maintain himself independent of France was clearly evident. He placed German garrisons in all the strong-holds, received petitions as

the sovereign of Alsace, negotiated with Sweden, and, unadvised by France, sought an alliance with Hesse. His death speedily followed. On his way to Pfirt he was suddenly taken ill, and was carried to Neuburg, where he expired, A. D. 1639. Almost all contemporary writers assert his having been poisoned by a French emissary. "Germany," wrote Hugo Grotius, "was, in this prince, deprived of her greatest ornament and of her last hope, of almost the only one worthy of the name of a German prince."*

Bernard bequeathed his conquests and the whole of his personal property to his brother, to the express exclusion of France; but the traitor, Erlach, to whom he had intrusted Breisach, delivered that fortress up to France, seized the whole of his treasures, appropriated the most valuable portion to himself, and distributed 200,000 dollars among the soldiery as a French largesse, in consideration of which they were bound to serve France until the question of the inheritance was settled. This settlement never took place. The German officers and soldiers were kept in a state of uncertainty, and the possibility of a mutiny on their part was obviated by the fortresses being garrisoned half with French, half with Germans, until the inactivity of the Swedes, the helplessness of the dukes of Weimar, and the seduction practised upon the troops, left the German officers no alternative than to remain in the French service, to which they yielded the more readily on the appointment of their ancient comrade, Guebriant, to their command.

The young Pfalzgrave, Charles Louis, the son of the unfortunate king of Bohemia, made a futile attempt to replace the loss of Bernard. Assisted by the English, and by his gallant brother, Robert, (Bernard's rival with the beautiful Rohan,) he had raised a little army on the coasts of northern Germany, but was in October, 1638, defeated at Vlotho by Hatzfeld. He escaped with great difficulty. Robert was taken prisoner. Charles Louis returned to England, whence, in the hope of placing himself, on Bernard's death, at the head of

* Bernard von Weimar was a handsome man, scarcely in his thirtieth year, with a manly, sun-burnt countenance. His hair, which was remarkably long, lay in thick, bright curls upon his shoulders. He never married, and was equally chaste and pious. He daily devoted several hours to the study of the Bible, which he knew almost entirely by heart.

his leaderless army, he hastened, with a sum of money, to Alsace, but—through France, where, by Richelieu's order, he was deprived of his treasure, and kept prisoner at Vincennes, until Bernard's army had sworn allegiance to France, when, on his binding himself by oath never to act against the interests of that country, he was contumeliously set at liberty.

William, Landgrave of Hesse, meanwhile, driven out of his territories, which had been confiscated by the emperor, had thrown himself into East Frizeland, where he laid the country waste and raised fresh troops with the money taken from the inhabitants. He died, A. D. 1637. The contest with the emperor was carried on after his death by his widow, Amelia Elizabeth, whilst the Hessian Estates and their general Holzappel concluded a truce, in order to spare the country, three hundred villages having been burnt to the ground by Geleen. The duchess, a zealous Calvinist, demanded, as a pledge of the emperor's good faith, the toleration of Calvinism, Lutheranism being alone tolerated by the treaty of Prague. Had the three forms of worship been at once placed on an equal footing, how much needless misery might not Germany have been spared! Her demand was left unnoticed during a whole year.—George von Lüneburg, although a party to the treaty of Prague, remained in close alliance with Sweden, preserved a strict neutrality, and guarded his possessions. Königsmark of Brandenburg, a Swedish general, one of the boldest robbers of the day, devastated the Eichsfeld with German troops and levied contributions upon the bishop of Würzburg, Hatzfeld's brother, A. D. 1639.

The French confining themselves to the occupation of Alsace, the emperor, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg turned their united forces against the Swedes. The claims of Brandenburg upon Pomerania on the death of Bogislaw, the last of her dukes, A. D. 1637, had been treated with derision by the Swedes, and, from that moment, the elector George William, aided by his general Klitzing, had discovered the greatest zeal in opposing them. Arnheim, who had thrown up his command and was living peaceably at Boitzenburg, was seized by the Swedes, who dreaded lest he might replace himself at the head of the Saxons, and sent to Stockholm. Gallas, Hatzfeld, Gœtz, and Geleen, meanwhile, attacked Banner and drove him from his entrenchments in Torgau; but, although completely

surrounded, he contrived by means of a ruse to escape across the Oder to Landsberg, where, disappointed in meeting Wrangel, he found himself exposed to the most imminent danger, shut in between the imperial army, the Warthe, and the Polish frontiers, which the fear of involving Poland in a fresh war withheld him from crossing. With extraordinary presence of mind he made a feigned march towards Poland, drew the imperial army on that side, and succeeded in drawing himself out of his perilous situation without incurring the slightest loss, July, A. D. 1637. "They caught me in the sack," said he, "but forgot to tie it up!" He retreated to the sea, whilst Gallas laid the whole country waste, took Havelberg, Dœmitz, and Wolgast, where he destroyed the magnificent castle of the Pomeranian dukes; the more ancient one in Schwedt had, at an earlier period, been burnt by the Swedes. The Mere suffered in an equal degree, and, exactly at this moment, Klitzing, offended at the conduct of Burgsdorf, the elector's favourite, withdrew from the scene of action. The peasants in Drœmling rose against the plundering soldiery and captured their artillery. Gallas's men, neglected, as in Alsace, by their voluptuous general, were driven by famine to desert in troops to Banner, who had in the mean time again drawn George von Lüneburg on his side with a promise of confirming him in the possession of Hildesheim. A fresh treaty was concluded, A. D. 1638, between Sweden and France, and, in the spring of 1639, Banner again took the field, and, after defeating Marzin, who at that time headed the Saxons, near Chemnitz, and taking a corps under Hofkirch and Montecuculi prisoner near Brandeis, overran Bohemia as far as Prague, where he encamped on the Weissen Berg. A small Swedish corps under Stalhantsch occupied Silesia, where the famine was so dreadful that at Hirschberg, for instance, almost the whole of the inhabitants died of hunger, and the few who survived attached themselves to the Swedish troop for the sake of the remnants of food left by the soldiers. Banner, disappointed in his hope of finding some Hussites still in Bohemia, at length quitted that wretched country, which presented a complete scene of desolation, in order to join Guebriant and to prevent the formation of an intermediate party in Northern Germany.

The footsteps of the retreating Swedes were marked by

fire and blood. In Thuringia the people fled in crowds into the Harz forest. The duchess of Hesse sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men, and George of Luneberg sent Klitzing, whom he had taken into his service, with the whole of his forces, to his aid. The great imperial army, led by the Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, and by Piccolomini, who had stepped into Gallas's place and had just been created Duke d'Amalfi on account of a victory gained by him at Diederhoven in the Netherlands over the French, came up with Banner at Saalfeld, where both armies remained encamped opposite to one another, without venturing an engagement, and suffering terribly from famine, the whole country in the vicinity having been laid desert. Banner's wife, a Countess Erlach, dying in his camp, [A. D. 1640,] he bore her remains, accompanied by his whole army, to Erfurt, where his tears were speedily dried by a passion for the Princess Johanna of Baden-Durlach, whom he met there by chance. Piccolomini also quitted Saalfeld in order to join the Bavarians under Mercy, who had been employed in watching the movements of the Weimarians in Swabia and the Pfalz, and the two armies again met near Neustadt, but without coming to an engagement. Both sides, meanwhile, fell a prey to famine and pestilence. Holzappel, who had attempted to form a German party independent of France and Sweden, threw up his commission in disgust, and a separate alliance was formed between the duchess and George. Banner, equally indifferent to the movements of the imperial army and to the remonstrances of Guebriant, followed the Princess Johanna to Waldeck, where he solemnized his marriage with her. He took up his winter-quarters at Hildesheim with George von Lüneburg. Both George and Banner are said to have been poisoned during the festivities that took place; the ill-health of the former may, however, be ascribed, on stronger grounds, to mental anxiety, that of the latter to debauchery. Taupadel was exchanged for Sperreuter.

An attempt made during this winter by Banner to seize the person of the emperor, who had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, was frustrated by the rising of the Danube, occasioned by a sudden thaw. Guebriant, fearful of the desertion of the Weimar troops should he quit the Rhine, abandoning him to the emperor, who was advancing at the head of an overwhelming

force, he retreated through Bohemia into Saxony. Three Swedish regiments under Colonel Slangen were cut to pieces, after gallantly defending his rear, at Wald-Neuburg. Although rejoined by Guebriant, he was still unable to cope with his antagonists, and, after vainly attempting the defence of the Saal near Merseburg, was compelled to take refuge in Halberstadt, where, worn out with his lingering sickness, he expired, May, 1641. George von Lüneburg had preceded him to the grave, and Arnheim, who had escaped from his Swedish prison to place himself at the head of the intermediate party, had also died not long before.

The advance of Piccolomini to the relief of Wolfenbüttel, where the imperial garrison had long held out against the besieging Protestants, terminated the disputes already rife in the Swedish camp, and all the Protestant troops, those of Hesse alone excepted, instantly reuniting, a brilliant victory was gained beneath the walls of Wolfenbüttel by the Weimar troops under Guebriant, those of Banner under Wrangel, Pfuel, and Kœnigsmark, and the Lüneburg regiments under Klitzing. The Hessians rejoined them after the conflict, but Guebriant, attempting to follow up the advantage unaided by the Swedes, who refused to act until the arrival of Torstenson, was twice discomfited, and William Otto, count of Nassau, was slain.

Eberhard von Wurtemberg had, meanwhile, [A. D. 1641,] repaired to Vienna, made his submission to the emperor and been restored to his possessions, which had been entirely depopulated and laid waste by the imperial troops.

CCXI. *Torstenson.—John von Werth.—The peace of Westphalia.*

The listnessness with which the war was carried on in Germany proved that the moment for concluding the peace, so earnestly desired by all parties, had arrived. Ferdinand III., and even Maximilian of Bavaria, recognised the impossibility of completely suppressing the Reformation and the necessity of conciliation. Peace, nevertheless, could not be concluded; France and Sweden still sought to tear the prey from each other's grasp. In France, after the death of Cardinal Richelieu, [A. D. 1642,] and that of Louis XIII., [A. D.

1643,] the government had been undertaken, in the name of the youthful monarch, Louis XIV., by Cardinal Mazarin, who pursued a policy similar with that of his predecessor in office, and refused to bring the war to a termination until France had prostrated Germany at her feet. In Sweden, Oxenstierna and the Swedish aristocracy, instead of following in the footsteps of Gustavus Adolphus, who had projected the union of Sweden with Germany, the triumph of the gospel, and the marriage of his daughter, Christina, with Frederick William of Brandenburg, solely aimed at the conversion of the German coasts of the Baltic into a Swedish province, and rejected the alliance of the elector of Brandenburg, who, visiting Stockholm, [A. D. 1637,] Christina quitted that city without deigning to receive him. Her mother, the aunt of the intended bridegroom, was also compelled to quit the kingdom.

Frederick William, afterwards surnamed the Great Elector, succeeded his father, George William, in Brandenburg, A. D. 1640. This prince might easily have placed himself at the head of all the Protestants in Northern Germany, have concluded an advantageous peace with the emperor, and have chased the handful of Swedes and French, disputing like vultures over the remnants of their prey, across the frontiers; but distrust of the Catholics, of the sovereigns ruled by the Jesuits, had struck root too deeply, and the edict of restitution was still too recent for him at that period to pursue the policy he afterwards adopted. He might possibly have been also disinclined to play a part subordinate to that acted by Saxony, and have hoped, by opposing the false Saxon, to be recognised as the first Protestant prince in Germany on the demise of George, when Brandenburg, in fact, first superseded Saxony as the head of the German Protestants.

The Guelphs, Christian Louis von Calenberg, Frederick von Celle, and Augustus von Wolfenbüttel, went ver, notwithstanding the victory gained by them beneath the walls of Wolfenbüttel, to the emperor, who confirmed Calenberg in the possession of Hildesheim. The influence of this family was considerably weakened by the division of its possessions among its different members.

The war, meanwhile, continued, the Germans remaining true to the colours of both France and Sweden, the latter of which sent a small body of reinforcements, scarcely seven

thousand strong, and a fresh leader, Leonard Torstenson, who, late in the autumn of 1641, took the command of Banner's late troops. Guebriant separated from him in order to oppose Lamboy on the Lower Rhine. In the spring of 1642, after encamping at Salzwedel in sight of Piccolomini without being able to bring him to an engagement, he suddenly invaded Silesia, which Francis Albert von Lauenburg had just wrested from Stalhantsch, defeated Lauenburg near Schweidnitz, took him prisoner and entered Moravia, with the view of forming an alliance with Ragoczy, prince of Transylvania, and of besieging Vienna, but that prince, who, like Bethlen Gabor, merely made use of the Protestants for the purpose of extorting favourable terms from the emperor, showed no inclination to lend him aid. The siege of Brünn, which offered a steady resistance, was abandoned. Olmütz and the whole of Moravia, hitherto spared by the ravager, were plundered. Torstenson then returned to Silesia, burning Buntzlau and seizing Zittau en route, and was reinforced by Kœnigsmark and Wrangel. The imperialists, who had taken a terrible vengeance on the Protestant Silesians, by whom Torstenson's arrival had been hailed with delight, had, meanwhile, fruitlessly blockaded Glogau, gallantly defended by Wrangel. Torstenson, on the arrival of a large body of Hungarian reinforcements in the imperial camp, retreated from the Oder to the Elbe and laid siege to Leipzig, whither he was pursued by the imperialists, who, not far from Leipzig, near Breitenfeld, twice already the scene of their discomfiture, met, November 2, 1642, for a third time, with a total defeat. Torstenson's horse was killed under him. The Swedish generals, Lilienhœk and Slangen, were slain. Two of the imperial colonels, Madlo and Defour, who had been the first to quit the field, were put to death. A reunion afterwards took place between Torstenson and Guebriant, who concerted an attack upon Bavaria, which, however, was not put into execution, Guebriant returning to the Rhine, and Torstenson, after spending the winter months in a futile siege of Freiberg in Saxony, again fixing himself in Moravia, with the view of carrying the war into the emperor's hereditary provinces and of awaiting aid from Ragoczy.

The campaign of 1643 was opened by Gallas, Piccolomini having, after the disaster of Breitenfeld, re-entered the service of Spain, and the archduke having withdrawn to his

bishopric of Passau; but Torstenson, after a second and futile attempt upon Brünn, unexpectedly received orders to advance upon Denmark, by whose humiliation alone Sweden could hope to secure her conquests in Northern Germany. The superiority of the Danish over the Swedish fleet, moreover, rendered the presence of the army indispensable. Austria and Saxony were also busily intriguing with Denmark. The urgency of the circumstances demanded instant action; by a sudden stroke alone could the movement to the rear of the Swedes be checked; Torstenson, accordingly, mounting almost the whole of his infantry, hurried through Silesia, and in fifteen days reached Holstein. The Danes, taken by surprise, submitted. Jutland was as rapidly conquered, and his hungry soldiery took up their winter-quarters in these fertile countries, which had, until now, escaped the ravages of war. The brave Ditmarses alone ventured to oppose their unwelcome guests. Ragoczy, meanwhile, advanced upon Hungary and kept a part of the imperial troops occupied, so that Gallas was unable to follow the Swedes at the head of a strong enough force until 1644, when, strengthened by the junction of the Danish army at Kiel, he shut Torstenson up in Jutland. That commander, nevertheless, contrived to elude his vigilance, and, remounting his infantry, unexpectedly passed his opponents and re-entered Germany, where Kœnigsmark had, in the mean time, made head against the Saxons, and, after losing Chemnitz, had taken Torgau. Ragoczy had been driven out of Hungary by Gœtz. Torstenson was pursued by Gallas, whom he in his turn shut up in Bernburg, whence, after losing a number of his men by famine, he escaped to Magdeburg. Enkefort, marching to his relief, was defeated and taken prisoner by Torstenson at Jüterbok. In the winter of 1645, Gallas, who, in the midst of the want by which he was surrounded, continued his drunken revels, found means to escape with two thousand men to Bohemia. Wrangel was, in the mean time, victorious over the Danes. Hatzfeld and Gœtz were hastily recalled, the former from Lower Germany, where he had watched the movements of the Hessians and of Kœnigsmark, the latter from Hungary, in order to protect the hereditary provinces, which again lay open to Torstenson. Bavaria also sent John von Werth, who had at length been exchanged for

the Swedish field-marshal, Horn, to their aid, and, in the spring of 1645, the imperialists took the field in considerable numbers. A bloody engagement took place at Jankau, in Bohemia. The imperialists, deeming the victory secure, dispersed for the sake of plunder and were overpowered. Hatzfeld was taken prisoner. The whole of Austria now lay open to the victor. Iglau, Krems, and Kornneuburg were taken, and the country was laid waste up to the gates of Vienna. Torstenson was, notwithstanding, unable, from want of artillery, to lay formal siege to Vienna, whence the empress and her court had fled into the mountains. Ragoczy, instead of supporting the Swedes, accepted a bribe from the emperor, and Count Buchheim, who had until now been engaged in opposing the Hungarians, advancing to the relief of Vienna, Torstenson retired and finally evacuated Moravia after another ineffectual attempt upon Brünn. His restless lieutenant, Kœnigsmark, who now aided the French, now the Hessians, now rejoined the main body of the Swedes or pillaged the country on his own account, had, in the interim, blockaded Dresden and compelled the elector of Saxony to accede to a truce, consequently to recede from the imperial party, A. D. 1645. This important success brought repose to the Swedes. Torstenson, long a victim to gout, finally ceded the command to Gustavus Wrangel and returned to Sweden. During this year Denmark also purchased peace with Sweden by the cession of the island of Oesel.

In 1642, Guebriant had set out for the Lower Rhine and had defeated and captured Lamboy on the Hulser heath, near Kempen. Hatzfeld, who was at that time watching the movements of the Hessians and guarding Cologne, retreated before his superior forces into the Alps, leaving the Catholic provinces on the Rhine at the mercy of the foe, who laid the country waste with fire and sword. The Prince of Orange advanced in order to unite his forces with those of Guebriant, who at length received a reinforcement of French troops, four thousand strong, all of whom shortly afterwards ran away. John von Werth, who had been exchanged for Horn, also appeared in Cologne, where the citizens, imbittered by Hatzfeld's inactivity, embraced his knees as their deliverer. Both sides were, however, too weak to hazard an engagement. Guebriant returned in autumn to Central Germany with the

view of attacking Bavaria in conjunction with Torstenson; this project was, however, abandoned, and, finding himself hard pushed by the Bavarians under the Lothringian, Mercy, and John von Werth, he once more retreated upon Breisach, and after being beaten from his quarters in Gœppingen, Ofterdingen, and Hemmendorf, reached the Kinzigthal with his half-famished troops. Swabia was reduced to a state of indescribable misery by the depredations committed by both parties.

Banner's German army having been reintegrated by several thousand Swedes under Torstenson, France reinforced that under Guebriant with a body of troops under the Count de Ranzau, Anne of Austria's handsome and gallant favourite, who, in the summer of 1643, laid siege to Rotweil, which was betrayed into his hands. Whilst encamped, during November, in and around Tuttlingen, he was suddenly surrounded by Mercy, Charles, Duke of Lorraine, Hatzfeld, and John von Werth, and fell, with the greater part of his army, into their hands. Taupadel, who lay sick in the town, contrived to escape, and the evening before this unexpected disaster, Guebriant, who had been severely wounded during the siege of Rotweil, expired. Numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the German peasants, who, throughout the war, took a bloody but just vengeance on the brigand invader. The military science displayed by Mercy on this occasion was rewarded with the appointment of generalissimo over the allied imperial, Bavarian, and Lothringian troops. During his stay in Swabia, where he fruitlessly blockaded Hohentviel, the fugitive Weimar troops pillaged Burgundy. Taupadel's regiment was almost cut to pieces by the enraged peasantry. In the summer of 1614, Turenne, who, as well as Guebriant, had served his apprenticeship of arms under Bernard von Weimar, crossed the Rhine at the head of a fresh French army, and advanced to the relief of Freiburg in the Breisgau, at that time closely besieged by Mercy. Freiburg, nevertheless, fell, uncontested by Turenne, who awaited the arrival of a second French army under the Duc d'Enghien, afterwards known as the great Condé. A dreadful battle was fought near Freiburg, in which Condé, who arrived too late to turn the fate of the day, was driven off the field, and Mercy, too much enfeebled by his victory to make head against the superior forces of the enemy, evacuated Swabia, where provisions were no longer

to be procured, and retreated on the Maine. John von Werth took Mannheim and Hœchst by surprise. The whole of the Bergstrasse was garrisoned by Bavarians. The French fixed their head-quarters on the Upper Rhine and seized Philippsburg. Nothing of importance occurred on the Lower Rhine.

Several skirmishes took place with various success on both sides in the opening of the campaign of 1645. Mercy was struck dead by a cannon-ball, August the 3rd, and Geleen was taken prisoner, in the battle of Allerheim in the Ries, which was gained and lost by both sides, Enghien, after routing the Bavarians, being himself driven off the field by John von Werth, who arrived at the termination of the conflict. The defection of the elector of Saxony from the imperial cause was now imitated by Maximilian of Bavaria, who also sought to promote his own interest by a renewal of amicable relations with France. Geleen was, consequently, exchanged for Grammont, who had been taken prisoner at Allerheim; the command of the Bavarian forces was, however, bestowed upon him in the place of the gallant John von Werth, whose principles were too favourable to the emperor. Enghien and Turenne withdrew. Peace was concluded at Ulm between Bavaria and France in November, 1646. The defection of Bavaria was deeply felt by the emperor. Geleen threw up his command in disgust, and John von Werth, who had simply regarded the Bavarians as troops of the empire, was released from his oath of allegiance to Maximilian, and attempted to desert with his entire army to the emperor. His project, however, failed; he was abandoned to a man by the Bavarian troops, and, with Spork and some other officers, narrowly escaped Wallenstein's fate. A price of 10,000 dollars was placed upon his head, and his possessions in Bavaria, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands were, at Maximilian's command, destroyed by fire.

Wrangel, meanwhile, invaded Upper Swabia in the depth of winter, plundered Ravensburg and Leutkirch, overcame the desperate resistance of the peasantry near Kempten and Isny, and, after laying a hundred villages in ashes, returned, in the spring of 1647, to Franconia, where he took Schweinfurt. Turenne, in the mean time, laid the country around Darmstadt waste. Paderborn, so often the bone of contention during this war, and which had been taken by the Land-

gravine of Hesse in 1645, was recaptured by Melander von Holzapfel, who had long quitted the service of the Landgravine, and, although a Protestant, was now appointed generalissimo of the imperial troops; such vicissitudes were there in a war which had originally been a religious one! Gallas was dead. Piccolomini, now Duke d'Amalfi, again displayed great activity in the Netherlands and even invaded France. The great imperial leaders had disappeared one by one, and had been succeeded by Montecuculi, who was now recalled from Silesia, where he had greatly harassed the little Swedish garrisons, to Melander's aid.

Turenne, covered to the rear by the Bavarians under Gronsfeld, hastened to the Netherlands in order to check the progress of Piccolomini. The German cavalry, the Weimar veterans, however, refused to follow the infantry across the French frontier, and, on the 21st of June, 1647, turned back from Saarbrück, and, recrossing the Rhine, advanced upon Swabia. Turenne vainly sought to restrain them by force. Headed by William Hempel, a student from Jena, they fought their way back to their native country, and two thousand of their number joined Kœnigsmark in Westphalia.

Eger falling into the hands of Wrangel, who, in July, 1647, again invaded the hereditary provinces, the emperor, accompanied by Melander and John von Werth, took the field in person at the head of the whole of his forces. Both sides, nevertheless, contented themselves with petty skirmishes, and, although neither armies were considerable in number, the wasted country was unable to furnish them with supplies. In September, Maximilian of Bavaria renewed his alliance with Austria. Wrangel, compelled to retreat before the united forces of Melander and Gronsfeld, threw himself into Hesse, where he fixed his winter-quarters, in order to punish the Landgravine for her French policy. Turenne re-entered Germany, and, uniting with Wrangel, again invaded Swabia. Gœppingen, Heidenheim, Gmünd, Ehingen, were pillaged; Wiesensteig was burnt. Melander and Gronsfield were defeated at Zusmarshausen on the Bavarian frontier, May 17th, 1648. Melander was killed. The victors spread, robbing and murdering, over Bavaria, and Kœnigsmark was sent to invade Bohemia.—In this extremity, the emperor recalled Piccolomini and reinstated him in the command of his uni-

versally defeated troops, whilst Maximilian had once more recourse to Enkefort, who had again planted the imperial standard in Upper Swabia, and John von Werth retook the command of the imperial cavalry. Still one disaster followed another in rapid succession. Lamboy, who had been left in Hesse by Melander, was defeated by Geis near Grevenburg, and George of Darmstadt was finally compelled to make a formal cession of Marburg to the Landgravine. The Archduke was also defeated by d'Enghien near Lens in the Netherlands, August, 1648. Kœnigsmark had, meanwhile, appeared unexpectedly before Prague and taken the Neustadt, where he made an immense booty by treachery and surprise.* The Altstadt was gallantly defended by Rudolph Colloredo. The Pfalzgrave, Charles Gustavus, the newly-appointed generalissimo of the Swedish forces, followed with reinforcements, was joyfully welcomed in Leipzig, and marched rapidly upon Prague to the conquest of the Altstadt.

Peace was, at this conjuncture, proclaimed throughout the empire to all the armies, to all the besieged cities, to the trembling princes, to the wailing people. The wild soldiery were roused to fury at the news. At Feuchtwangen, Wrangel dashed his cocked hat to the ground and gave orders to let loose all the furies of war during the retreat. The beautiful city of Liegnitz in Silesia was wantonly set on fire by one of his men. The neighbouring city of Jauer was similarly treated by the imperial troops, who, shortly before the peace, had attacked the Swedes in that place. Turenne, the idol of France, acted in the same manner. Neresheim was sacked, and Weil was laid in ashes by his soldiery. This robber-band at length disappeared behind the Vosges, A. D. 1649.—— Had the disputes between the Royalists and Cardinalists in France been turned to advantage, a peace more favourable for Germany might have been concluded, but no one, with the exception of the indefatigable Charles of Lorraine, who joined the French princes, carried on the war at his own cost,

* The valuable collection of paintings of the emperor Rudolf II., among others, some fine Correggios, were carried away. The youthful queen, Christina, possessed little taste for the fine arts, and had the finest heads cut out of the pictures and pasted upon tapestry. The rest of this invaluable collection, 250 pictures, were purchased at a later period for the Orleans gallery at Paris. The most valuable part of the booty was the celebrated Bible of Ulphilas.

and, in 1649, defeated Mazarin's troops at Cambray, appeared conscious of the fact.

Plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers had, since 1644, been assembled at Osnabrück and Münster in Westphalia, for the purpose of concluding peace. The hatred subsisting between the different parties in Germany had insensibly diminished, and each now merely aimed at saving the little remaining in its possession. Misery and suffering had cooled the religious zeal of the people, licence that of the troops, and diplomacy that of the princes. The thirst for blood had been satiated, and passion, worn out by excess, slumbered. Germany had long sighed for the termination of a struggle solely carried on within her bosom by the stranger. The Swedes and French had, however, triumphed, and were now in a position to dictate terms of peace favourable for themselves, and a long period elapsed before the jealous pretensions of all the parties interested in the conclusion of peace were satisfied. The procrastination of the emperor, who allowed three quarters of a year to elapse before giving his assent to the treaty of peace, the tardiness of the French and Swedish ambassadors in appearing at the congress, the disputes between the members about titles, right of precedence, etc., carried on for months and years, are to be ascribed not so much to the pedantry of the age, to Spanish punctilio and to German tedium, as to the policy of the belligerent powers, who, whenever they expected a fresh result from the manœuvres of their generals, often made use of these means for the sole purpose of prolonging the negotiations.

The fate of our great fatherland, the prospects of the immense empire over which Charlemagne and Barbarossa had reigned, lay in the hands of Avaux, the shameless French ambassador, who cited the non-occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by France as an extraordinary instance of generosity, and of Salvius, the Swedish envoy, who, ever dreading to be outwitted by his principal antagonist, Avaux, vied with him in impudence. At the side of the former stood Servien, at that of the latter John Oxenstierna, the son of the great chancellor. Trautmannsdorf, the imperial envoy, a tall, ugly, but grave and dignified man, alone offered to them a long and steady resistance, and compelled them to relinquish their grossest demands. By him stood the wily Volmar of Wur-

temberg, a recanted Catholic. The Dutch ambassador, Paw, vigilantly watched over the interests of his country, in which he was imitated by the rest of the envoys, who, indifferent to the weal of Germany as a whole, were solely occupied in preserving or gaining small portions of territory from the great booty. Barnbühler of Wurtemberg, whose spirit and perseverance remedied his want of power, and the celebrated natural philosopher, Otto von Guerike, the inventor of the air-pump, burgomaster of ruined Magdeburg, might also be perceived in the background of the assembly, which had met to deliberate over the state of the empire under the presidency of foreigners and brigands.

The misery caused by the war was, if possible, surpassed by the shame brought upon the country by this treaty of peace. In the same province, where Arnim had once routed the legions of Rome, Germany bent servilely beneath a foreign yoke. At Münster, Spain concluded peace with Holland. The independence of Holland and her separation from the empire were recognised, and Germany was deprived of her finest provinces and of the free navigation of the Rhine; a fatal stroke to the prosperity of all the Rhenish cities. The independence of Switzerland was also solemnly guaranteed. Peace was concluded between France and the empire. France was confirmed in the possession of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace, with the exception of Strassburg, of the imperial cities and of the lands of the nobility of the empire situated in that province, in consideration of which, Breisach and the fortress of Philippsburg, the keys to Upper Germany, were ceded to her, by which means Germany was deprived of one of her finest frontier provinces and left open to the French invader, against whom the petty princes of Southern Germany being, consequently, unprotected, they fell, in course of time, under the influence of their powerful neighbour.—— At Osnabrück, peace was concluded with Sweden, which was indemnified for the expenses of the war by the payment of five million of dollars and by the cession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, the objects of Danish jealousy, of the city of Wismar, the island of Rügen, Stralsund, consequently, of all the important posts on the Baltic and the Northern Ocean.

One portion after another of the Holy German empire was thus ceded to her foes. The remaining provinces still retained

their ancient form, but hung too loosely together to withstand another storm. The ancient empire existed merely in name; the more powerful princes virtually possessed the power and rendered themselves completely independent, and the supremacy of the emperor, and with it the unity of the body of the state, sank to a mere shadow. Each member of the empire exercised the right of making war, of concluding peace, and of making treaties with every European power, the emperor alone excluded. Each of the princes possessed almost unlimited authority over his subjects, whilst the emperor solely retained some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The petty princes, the counts, knights, and cities, however, still supported the emperor, who, in return, guarded them against the encroachments of the great princes. The petty members of the empire in Western Germany would, nevertheless, have preferred throwing themselves into the arms of France.

Every religious sect was placed on an equal footing, their power during the long war having been found equal, and their mutual antipathy having gradually become more moderate. The imperial chamber was composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and, in order to equalize the power of the electoral princes, the Rhenish Pfalz, together with the electoral office, was again restored to its lawful possessor. Bavaria, nevertheless, retained both the electoral dignity and the Upper Pfalz, notwithstanding the protest made by Charles Louis, the son of the ex-king of Bohemia, against this usurpation. All church property, seized or secularized by the Protestants, remained in their hands, or was, by the favour of the princes, divided among them. The emperor and the Catholic princes yielded, partly from inability to refuse their assent, and partly because they began to perceive the great advantage gained thereby by the temporal princes; nor was it long before they imitated the example. The pope naturally made a violent protest against the secularization of church property. Innocent X. published a bull against the peace of Westphalia. The religious zeal of the Catholics had also cooled, notwithstanding the admonitions of the Jesuits; the princes, consequently, were solely governed by political ideas, which proved as detrimental to the papal cause after, as religious enthusiasm had been during the Reformation. The au-

thority of the pope, like that of the emperor, had faded to a shadow.

All secularized property reclaimed by the Catholics since the Normal year, 1624, consequently since the publication of the edict of restitution, was restored to the Protestants, and all Protestant subjects of Catholic princes were granted the free exercise of the religion professed by them in the said year, which, happening to have been that immediately after the battle on the White Mountain, and the emperor declaring that, at that period, his Reformed subjects no longer enjoyed liberty of conscience, the protests made by the emigrated Austrian Protestants remained without effect. The Silesian princes, still remaining in Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Oels, Münsterberg, and the city of Breslau, were allowed to remain Lutheran, and three privileged churches were, moreover, permitted at Glogau, Jauer, and Schweidnitz. The ancient system was strictly enforced throughout the rest of the hereditary provinces. The sole favour shown towards the Protestants was their transportation to Transylvania, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The Jesuits were invested with unlimited authority in that portion of the German empire which remained Catholic after the peace of Westphalia. In 1652, an imperial edict enforced the profession of Catholicism, under pain of death, by every individual within the hereditary provinces.

The disputes between the Lutherans and the Reformers were also brought to a close, and the senseless law, by means of which the faith professed by the prince was imposed upon his subjects, was repealed. The violence with which the doctors of theology defended their opinions, nevertheless, remained unabated.

Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one-half, by others, two-thirds of her entire population during the thirty years' war. In Saxony, nine hundred thousand men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia, the number of inhabitants, at the demise of Ferdinand II., before the last deplorable inroads made by Banner and Torstenson, had sunk to one-fourth. Augsburg, instead of eighty, had eighteen thousand inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the empire, had suffered at an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers

and had enjoyed the deepest peace during this period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost totally disappeared. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire, industry and commerce had passed into other hands. The products of Upper Germany were far inferior to those of Italy and Switzerland, those of Lower Germany to those of Holland and England. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees re-peopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery. The original character and language of the inhabitants were, by this means, completely altered. In Franconia, which, owing to her central position, had been traversed by every party during the war, the misery and depopulation had reached to such a pitch, that the Franconian Estates, with the assent of the ecclesiastical princes, abolished [A. D. 1650] the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, and permitted each man to marry two wives, on account of the numerical superiority of the women over the men. The last remains of political liberty had, during the war, also been snatched from the people; each of the Estates had been deprived of the whole of its material power. The nobility were compelled by necessity to enter the service of the princes, the citizens were impoverished and powerless, the peasantry had been utterly demoralized by military rule and reduced to servitude. The provincial Estates, weakly guarded by the crown against the encroachments of the petty princes, were completely at the mercy of the more powerful of the petty sovereigns of Germany and had universally sunk in importance. Science and art had fled from Germany, and pedantic ignorance had replaced the deep learning of her universities. The mother tongue had become adulterated by an incredible variety of Spanish, Italian, and French words, and the use of foreign words with German terminations was considered the highest mark of elegance. Various foreign modes of dress were also as generally adopted. Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future.

PART XIX.

THE INTERNAL STATE OF GERMANY DURING THE REFORMATION.

CCXII. *The Jesuits.*

THE Reformation had, in its results, fallen far short of the anticipations cherished by the more lofty-minded among its promoters. The church, instead of being generally and thoroughly reformed, had been but partially freed in the north from her external shackles and remained internally almost as deeply as ever enslaved; the new church was, like her elder sister, a prey to superstition and fanaticism, and modern scholastic controversy, belief in witchcraft and ghosts and in involuntary works of grace, were, with the bloody persecution of heretics, the wretched results of a struggle that, for two hundred years, had drenched Europe in blood.

The Reformation had, notwithstanding, followed its natural course. Ideas, when novel, are necessarily slow and difficult in their realization, and many are the transitions, many the transformations, they are destined to undergo as time and events roll on.

The deeper and more lasting the reform in a nation's mode of thought and action, the more surely will it raise the most obstinate resistance, the more surely will it rouse every evil passion latent in the heart of man, and, according to an eternal and historical law, first lead, not to its prefixed aim, but to its opposite, to demoralization and tyranny instead of to civilization and liberty.

The south of Europe remained thoroughly Catholic, the north became completely Lutheran. Germany was both Catholic and Lutheran, a circumstance, politically speaking, greatly to her prejudice, but far from unfavourable to the progress of religion and civilization. The continued existence of the ancient church served a moral purpose, her errors offered a continual warning to her successor, whilst what was good in her gained time to overcome Protestant prejudice and to regain its influence; the vicinity of the Catholics, moreover, rendered

the Protestants less liable to laxity and carelessness. The Catholic church still preserved her great and ancient idea of one universal Christian church, and, with justice, refused to sink the religion superior to all temporal power and comprehending all the nations of the earth to a slavish service in separate and petty provincial churches. She preserved the idea of the freedom and independence of the church, and, with justice, refused to envelop the anointed priests of the Lord of lords in the state-livery of a petty prince; and, finally, she preserved the idea of a magnificent soul-stirring service as that most worthy of the Deity, and, with justice, blamed the banishment of all that is striking and beautiful from the Protestant form of worship. The Protestant church, on the other hand, possessed equal advantages. She adopted as one of her fundamental principles, the non-exercise of temporal power by a minister of God, and, with justice, opposed the hierarchy. She required morality and piety in her priests, and, with justice, condemned the debauchery and immorality consequent upon celibacy. She demanded freedom of conscience and of thought in religious as well as all other matters, reason being not the least of the talents bestowed by God upon man to be used to his honour and glory, and reason being the only safeguard against the errors into which the church had so deeply fallen; and, with justice, she opposed scholasticism, by which reason was oppressed and nations were kept in dark ignorance.

The defection of the whole of Northern Europe dealt a severe blow to the external power of the hierarchy, but, at the same time, more firmly established its sway in the South, where the Catholics were driven by necessity to coalesce and to take extraordinary measures. The Reformation also exercised a powerful influence upon its opponents. The pope, it is true, did not relinquish the least of his pretensions,* but an end was put to the most glaring vices of the church. The

* The infamous bull in Cœna Domini, which, anterior to the Reformation, condemned all those disagreeing with Rome, added the following anathema, under Urban VIII., during the thirty years' war: "Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, etc. Quoscunque Hussitas, Wichlefistas, Lutheranos, Zwinglianos, Calvinistas, Ugonottos, etc. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes ad universale futurum concilium appellantes. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes Piratas, cursarios et lutrunculos maritimos." Lutherans, Calvinists, and pirates were thus classed together!

justice of the reproach cast upon her by the Reformers was felt, and the clergy reformed themselves, or, at all events, externally practised the most rigid morality. Licence was solely difficult to check among the lower clergy, men of more refined and elevated minds being, generally speaking, inclined for reform, and leaving behind them an ignorant scum, who were, nevertheless, consecrated for the priesthood, principally for the sake of giving occupants to the livings. Discipline was first reintroduced into the church by the Jesuits, who were, however, fully conscious of the influence of rough manners and speech, nay, even of that of the ridiculous upon the people; nor did the fact escape them of the disadvantage under which Lutheranism laboured, owing to its gloom and austerity. By a bold artifice they brought the laugh on their side and permitted the Capuchins* to attract their audience by jocose sermons, Capucinades or *Salbadereien*, so called from the opening words of their discourses, "*dixit Salvator noster.*" The toys with which the people, "like children of a larger growth," were amused, served a similar purpose; the spiritual shops, the small retail trade in pictures of Madonnas and saints, in consecrated amulets possessing the power of guarding the purchaser against every ill; the consecration of houses, tables, beds, kitchens, cellars, and stables, and the abuse of religion by its application in the most ludicrous or the most unholy matters. This sacred buffoonery was directed in the cities and towns by the Jesuits, in the country by the Capuchins, who were hence nicknamed the Jesuits' poodles. Every other monkish order was deemed inferior to them and merely vegetated in the rich monasteries. Not only the old Benedictines, who, through jealousy of the Jesuits, again applied themselves to learning, chiefly to the study of history, in contradistinction to the dogmatism and dialectics of their opponents, but also the strict Carthusians, who had completely renounced the world, were immeasurably wealthy, and the contrast between their marble palaces, their gold and diamonds, and their original vow of external poverty, afforded a significant proof of the unnatural position gained by the church.

* So named, [A. D. 1536,] owing to a ridiculous dispute among the Franciscans, whether their holy founder, St. Francesco d'Assisi, wore a pointed capuchin or not. The party in favour of the latter formed themselves into a distinct order.

Rome ruled over the church by means of the Jesuits and Capuchins. The council of Trident attempted the partial re-establishment of episcopal power in order to check the local and national opposition raised against Rome, but was unsuccessful, owing to the rapid progress of the Reformation. The bishops, consequently, sank to their former state of subordination, and all ecclesiastical affairs were henceforward solely controlled by the pope and his Jesuitical propaganda, who were, nevertheless, always compelled to secure the assent of the princes by means of the nuncios accredited to the great Catholic courts; the bishops were simply subalterns, except when, at the same time, sovereign princes.

The church required expert champions, and therefore did not fail to oppose similar weapons to the mass of learning among the Protestants. The necessity of borrowing the weapons of her opponents and of intrusting the defence of her system, merely founded on unreasoning credulity, to reason, was, however, of itself productive of a great internal change. The Catholicism of the Jesuits, although externally unaltered, totally differed from that of the middle ages. Even in its exaggerations it had until now been nature, an overdrawn effort, an abuse of nature, but now it became art, a creation of Jesuitry. The people had formerly been left to their simplicity, of which it was perhaps excusable to take advantage, but now they had attained knowledge, and the Jesuits made use of art for the purpose of restoring ignorance. This formed the essential difference between former and modern times.

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola, an enthusiastic Spaniard, for penitents, who, in those heretical times, ere long made it their business to confirm the faith of the wavering, and, consequently, became the tools of Rome. Benedict XIV. named them St. Peter's Janissaries. Their object was the restoration of unlimited hierarchical power, and they despised no means, however base, that might conduce to success, according to their celebrated maxim, "The end justifies the means." The society was intended to form an aristocracy of talent, whose office it was to guard the avenues of knowledge against the rest of mankind; and, as a precaution against individual treachery, no member was permitted to quit the order except to take the vows of a Carthusian, by which he bound himself to silence and solitude for

the rest of his days. The heads of the society had unlimited power to remove, punish, and assassinate the members. The first vow taken by the initiated was that of unconditional obedience. A system of secret espionage pervaded the whole society; suspicion was condemnation; and the victim was sentenced to die in seclusion of starvation, as is expressly directed by Suarez, the great Jesuitical casuist. The members were divided into classes, the highest of which, the professors, elected the head or general of the whole order, who resided at Rome. Every province of the order was under the superintendence of a *pater provincialis.* The higher grades were kept strictly secret from the lower classes, who were merely the blind tools of the former. The pope conferred the most extensive privileges upon the order, which was empowered to interfere every where with the clergy and with all other orders.—And, in order to renew the times of the first apostles, the Jesuits sent out missionaries, who visited the most distant parts of the globe, for the purpose of converting the heathen and—of taking possession of the New World. They brought countless treasure into Europe, by means of which they placed themselves on a firm footing and acquired immense influence at a period when money was power.

The most celebrated of these missionaries was St. Xavier, who met with a martyr's death in India. Numbers of the Jesuits shared the same fate; many, in particular Germans, were distinguished for piety and learning and by their exploration of unknown countries. Among the European Jesuits were many fervent spirits actuated by the purest zeal; many simple and poetical minds unstained by hypocrisy, for instance, Balde; many deeply learned men, sincere lovers of truth. It would be unjust to pass a sweeping condemnation upon all the Jesuits. But the ruling spirit and the political effect of the order were immoral. The manner in which they denied the truths brought to light during the Reformation, sought to veil them by bringing to view the weaknesses and errors of Protestantism, or to suppress them by force, cannot be justified. The sophistry with which they still defended undeniable and long-sensible abuses was revolting to reason. The means by which they bent the powerful and wealthy to their purposes were often the most unholy.

One of the principal objects of the Jesuits was to replace

the sale of dispensations, which had fallen into bad repute since the Reformation, and which was, moreover, almost indispensable to the church. This was done by means of the lax morality of the confessional. The more luxurious court life became the more easily did the Jesuits forgive the sins committed by the aristocracy; in order to pacify the new conscientious scruples awakened by the Reformation, they became the advocates instead of the judges of sins, from every description of which they, by their casuistry, exculpated the offender. The Spanish Jesuits went furthest. The book of Escobar, the confessor's manual, passed through thirty-six editions, which were printed under the direction of the society and of the church. The church closed her eyes to any measures taken by the confessors, provided they made proselytes and gathered the stray sheep into the fold.

According to their casuistical system, all sins were exculpated, 1st, By the doctrine of *probabilismus*, that is, by the mildest of all possible interpretations. A says, "Such a sin is too horrible to be forgiven." B says, "Certainly; still it might thus be exculpated, etc., etc." Upon this C says, "According to A's opinion it cannot be forgiven; but it can be according to B's, and as an authority is all that is requisite, and the mildest point of view is admissible, I agree with B." 2ndly, By the *directio intentionis*, that is, by the thoughts being occupied during the performance of a bad action with an innocent object. Thus, for instance, one might bribe another or accept of a bribe and, at the same time, be merely thinking of civility or gratitude. 3rdly, By the *reservatio mentalis*. It was allowable to take a false oath by voluntarily adding a mental reservation, as, for instance, a man might swear he had no money, although he had some, provided he mentally added "none to lend," etc. One might take an oath thus, "I swear (that I say here, although it is untrue) that I, etc.," or, "I swear that I did not do that (a hundred years ago or a hundred miles hence)," or, "I swear to do so (if I cannot think of something else)." 4thly, By *amphibologia*, or equivocation; for instance, one can deny any thing touching the French by thinking of the word "gallus" as implying a cock instead of a Gaul. 5thly, By the *intentio bona*, which was the principal thing. Strictly speaking, the only virtue required in a Jesuit was the promotion of the intentions of

his order; whoever did this, merited eternal bliss, which was ever the case. The sins of the wealthy and powerful, whom it was to the interest of the order to treat with lenity, were excused on the ground of their having no *intentio mala*, that is, that the sin had not been committed for the sake of sinning. Thus, for instance, adultery was allowable in princes and nobles, because the marriage vow had been broken, not for the sake of committing adultery, but for the sake of another woman. 6thly, and lastly, By *pia opera*, by good works; whoever honoured the Jesuits, built colleges for them, gave them money, etc., whoever, in general, did good service to the Catholic church, diligently observed her ceremonies, purchased a dispensation, etc., was completely free from guilt.

Means such as these easily gained over the wealthy and the powerful. The Jesuits displayed the greatest activity at court, their maxim being to influence the flock through its leaders. They long governed all the Catholic courts of Europe, sometimes as confessors or tutors to the sovereign, sometimes as counsellors and negotiators, the most talented men of their order especially devoting themselves to political matters; but their principal profession was that of a procurer; the secrets of the confessional rendered them masters of the weaknesses of the princes and princesses, whom they doubly flattered, by affording them opportunities to satisfy their inclinations, and, at the same time, giving them full absolution. Like the Lutheran court-chaplains, they ever found means to secure the eternal salvation of the sovereign, whatever might have been his crimes. They even succeeded in creeping into Protestant courts for the purpose of converting the prince or of corrupting his counsellors. It was in this manner they converted Queen Christina of Sweden, the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The most important projects of the Protestants have been frustrated by the secret intrigues of Jesuitical emissaries at the courts of the Protestant princes. The Jesuits also applied themselves to the study of medicine, by which means they got the life of the sovereign, in whose service they were, into their power, and many of the poisonings which took place at that time may be placed to their charge, no less than many of the assassinations, by which they removed the leaders of the opposite party. In 1614, the general of the order, Aquaviva, prohibited the public defence

of regicide by the Jesuits, probably from fear of giving offence to their royal patrons. In order to work with greater security, they had secret members among the laity; princes were even enrolled in their ranks. These members were termed the short-robed Jesuits.

Education was almost entirely controlled by the Jesuits, who, by this means, secured the rising generation and methodically implanted in the people the spirit requisite for their purposes. The most fitting members of the order were placed in their schools or colleges. Every science was turned to suit their purposes. Every thing that might prove prejudicial to themselves was carefully avoided in the schools and in their writings and all Protestant books were strictly prohibited. Although there were many deeply learned and shrewd-minded men among the Jesuits, the want of truth in their discourses rendered their schools far inferior to those of the Protestants; nor could the knowledge they acquired ever benefit the people, owing to their almost constant use of the Latin tongue, which was at first natural, the first Jesuits having been Spaniards or Italians, but which was afterwards purposely persevered in with a view of preventing the students from studying German and, more particularly, Protestant works.

The inclination of the Jesuits to place themselves as an intermediate class between the priests and the laity, and, by this means, to govern both, is clearly discernible in their new forms. They avoided the old terms of "monastery, monks," etc., and termed themselves a "society;" their houses, "colleges and residences." In South America, in the province of Paraguay, they even usurped sovereign rule, but had the prudence to veil their model-monarchy, in imitation of which they one day hoped to rule the whole world, from the eyes of the curious.

It was the Jesuits who desecrated the spirit of the venerable mother-church whilst attempting to preserve her body, the tottering edifice of hierarchical tyranny. One of her heads had prophesied concerning them, "As lambs have we crept in, as wolves will we govern, as dogs shall we be driven out, and as eagles shall we return."

The most celebrated of the Jesuitical dogmatists of Germany, during the thirty years' war, were Gretser, self-named

malleus hæreticorum, and Tanner. During the subsequent peace, the Bollandists gained great celebrity in the Netherlands by their *acta sanctorum*, a continuation, principally by Bolland, Papebrochius, etc., of the legends of the saints, formerly collected by the industrious Benedictius. The Annals, published by Baronius, up to 1607, in opposition to the Magdeburg Centuries of Flacius, were the greatest historical work of the Catholic church. Leisentritt Juliusburg, of Vienna, who produced a Catholic hymn-book in opposition to that of Luther, belonged to the peaceful Catholics.

Although Germans served the society of Jesuits, they never gained the upper-hand in that order, the German character being antipathetical to its institutions, which were brought from Spain to Germany and ever remained foreign to the soil. The first opposition raised against the order in the Catholic church originated from a German, Jansen, [A. D. 1638,] in the university of Louvain, in the Spanish Netherlands. Jansen demanded sincerity in religious feeling instead of Jesuitical hypocrisy and external works; humility, piety, and fear of God, instead of the intolerable priestly pride of the Jesuits. His doctrine, Jansenism, spread principally throughout France, replacing all that had been lost by the suppression of the Huguenots; and, at the very time that France was sending disease and incendiaries into Germany, did German genius nobly avenge its fatherland by imparting a benefit to its foe.

CCXIII. *The Lutheran and Reformed Churches.*

THE Reformers were as disunited as the Catholics were the contrary. The doctrine of the Lutherans, or Protestants, stood opposed to that of the Calvinists, the Reformers in the stricter sense, and these two great sects were again internally divided. The political distribution of the Reformers also affected the external constitution of the church, each principality or republic having its separate church.

The bonds of the universal church had thus been torn asunder, and separate provincial churches alone existed. The independence and liberty of the church were by this means destroyed, and, instead of the ancient hierarchy, which had asserted its superiority over or its equality with temporal

power, there was merely a political church subservient to the temporal government of each province. The whole of the hierarchical power had passed into the hands of the princes. The prince inherited the ecclesiastical property, and, at the same time, exercised all spiritual power and jurisdiction. The ministry and the cure of souls were all that remained to the priest, whose nomination, removal, and even the doctrines he was to inculcate, depended upon the caprice of the prince. The curate was a salaried servant of the state. A number of parishes stood under an inspector, superintendent, or deacon, in imitation of the Catholic deaconries, all of whom were subordinate to a consistory, composed of spiritual and temporal members and forming a subdivision of the government. It was only in countries where the prince and his subjects differed in religion that the consistory maintained its independence. All temporal affairs, matrimonial causes alone excepted, were beyond its jurisdiction.—The poor country clergy were also generally dependent upon the nobility, who held the right of patronage, or the right of nominating one of the candidates for the ministry, who was examined by the consistory, to his village church; a right simply consequent on that of property, the village belonging to the noble in the same manner as the country belonged to the prince. The poor candidates, consequently, competed for the favour of the nobility, and, as the depravity of the courts gradually spread downwards, the Protestant clergy were exposed to the most unworthy treatment, serving as buffoons to their patrons or as convenient husbands for their cast-off mistresses.

The splendour of the Catholic church, her adoration of saints and relics, her ceremonies all too deeply calculated to impose upon the senses, had led the Lutherans and the Reformers into the opposite extreme in their inartificial, meagre, prosaic service, which merely consisted of listening to a sermon between bare walls, and of singing in chorus, which generally degenerated to a screaming sound little in harmony with the notes of the organ, the whole congregation, whether able to sing or not, joining in chorus. The sermon, the word of God, was the main point, and, until abused by hypocrisy, modern scholasticism, and oratory, had an extraordinary influence over the multitude. The Lutherans retained a greater degree of solemnity in their church service than the Reformers.

The Reformed churches were at first strictly democratic. The clergy were not even distinguished by their attire from the rest of the community; nor was it until the aristocracy gradually rose to power, as in Switzerland and Holland, that the Reformed churches also assumed an aristocratic appearance. In strictness of morals the Reformed maintained her superiority over the Lutheran church. At the present day, as in the sixteenth century, when church-going was considered in Switzerland, more particularly in Zurich, as an indispensable duty, the sabbath is observed at Zurich with a strictness unknown elsewhere, except in North America, owing to a similar reason, religion and morality being more rigidly practised by the people in a self-controlled republic than they ever can be under a monarchy. Berne first complained of the servility, and of the consequent laxity of the morals, of the clergy dependent upon the upper classes.

The theological uncertainty displayed in the composition of the Interim, the compliance of Melancthon, and, more particularly, that of Agricola, the separation of the strict Lutherans from the Swiss, and, in Holland, that of the strict Calvinists from the Arminians, have already been alluded to. The controversial writings of these sects and those of the Jesuits henceforth chiefly occupied the theological press, swelling the bombast of ancient scholasticism, and uniting indescribable coarseness and brutality with expressions of the most envenomed hate. Pamphlets from every corner of Germany disputed, like an immense flock of ravens over a carcase, over the rotten remains of the church, and the scholastics had no sooner triumphed over the anabaptistical dilettanti than they fell at strife among themselves. The first and most important point was to replace the inexhaustible means of grace possessed by the ancient church with something offering an equal guarantee to the people, whom former habits and the promulgation of fresh doctrines had rendered anxious for the salvation of their souls. The text of the Bible was open to various interpretations, and it was on all sides unanimously resolved that the cheap dispensation should be replaced by a justification of the easiest description. The mode by which this justification was to be obtained, however, produced a furious dispute. Luther and Flacius, who went still further, justified by blind faith in the word of God, independent of all good works; nay, Flacius

even condemned virtue without faith and justified every sinner who believed. Agricola and Osiander admitted the eternal grace of God by which man was justified and rendered, like Christ, devoid of sin. Calvin taught the doctrine of predestination, according to which certain individuals were from their birth destined to future bliss. On no sides were means for salvation wanting. These theological controversies being, moreover, without practical influence on the people or on public morals, again degenerated to mere scholastic cavils. The preponderance of justifying effect, which, independent of all good works and of morality, was by some ascribed to faith, by others to grace, might have endangered public morals, had not the people, with their sound sense, in spite of the absurdities inculcated by the theologians, chiefly comprehended the Reformation as a reform in their moral and social existence, and had recourse to that blessed gift, the German Bible, which even the theology of the schools was unable to pervert.

Modern Protestant scholasticism was necessarily opposed by modern mysticism. Pious and high-minded men were naturally driven to seek for salvation elsewhere than in verbal disputations. The gentle-minded Schwenkfeld had, even in Luther's time, taught that Christianity consisted not in controversy, but in purity of life and love of one's neighbour. John Arnd, who, towards the close of the sixteenth century, followed in Tauler's steps and led his hearers from controversy to devotion, met with less opposition on account of his not being the founder of any particular system; but Jacob Bœhme, the shoemaker of Gœrlitz, who, about the same time, irradiated Germany with his ideas, became the object of the bitter hatred and persecution of the Lutheran clergy. His "Rising Morn" broke with redoubled effulgence through the mists of ignorance and arrogance. When speaking of the controversies of his times, he says, "After the internal church, which he solely acknowledged, the Turkish appeared to him the most reasonable, as it had only one god and a moral code without dispensation; the next best was the strong church, (that of Rome,) with which something might still be done; but the most corrupt of all was the church of disputants (the Lutheran)."

CCXIV. *The Empire.—The Princes and the Nobility.*

THE emperor's title of "augmenter of the empire" had become a mockery, an empty sound. The Swiss and Dutch had asserted their independence, the Netherlands had been ceded to Spain, part of Lorraine and Alsace to France, part of Lower Saxony to Denmark, Pomerania to Sweden. Internally, the empire was torn and hung but loosely together, her constitution was a *monstrum reipublicæ*. The imperial diet was divided into three colleges or benches, those of the electors, princes, and cities. The elector of Mayence, as archchancellor of the empire, held the presidency, whenever the emperor was not present in person, and the secretaries received all petitions, etc. The electoral princes decided all questions by vote, of which each had one. The bench of princes was subdivided into two colleges, one of which consisted of the spiritual and temporal princes, who were not electors, the other of prelates (abbots) and counts. The spiritual princes were those who as princes of the empire were independent in temporal matters of the other princes. During the gradual decay of the ancient duchies, the subordinate bishops and even some of the abbots declared themselves independent, and it was only in the Habsburg-Burgundian hereditary province that they still remained subordinate to the princes; the powerful archbishops and bishops of Prague, Breslau, Olmütz, and the United Netherlands were, consequently, simply Austrian subjects, and were unrepresented in the diet. The numbers of the spiritual princes of the empire had been greatly thinned by the Reformation on account of the defalcation of the majority of those of Northern Germany. Of the temporal princes every house had a vote, and disputes often arose between the different lines, each of which claimed that right, or, on account of fresh houses raised to the dignity of prince. The numerous princes created by Ferdinand II. of Austria in imitation of the Spanish grandees were refused admission to the bench occupied by the houses of more ancient date. The prelates were divided into two benches, the Swabian and Rhenish, each of which possessed but a single vote. The counts were divided into two benches, the Swabian and Wetterauan, to which were, in 1640, added

the Franconian, and, in 1655, the Westphalian, and here again each bench, not each individual, possessed one vote. In the same manner, since 1474, the college of the cities consisted of two benches, each of which had one vote, the Rhenish, over which Cologne, and the Swabian, over which Ratisbon, presided. The barons of the empire, although not represented in the diet, were recognised as an Estate of the empire, and consisted of three circles, the Swabian, Franconian, and Rhenish, controlled by a directory selected from among themselves. The diet was, moreover, collectively divided into two bodies, according to the difference of religion, the *corpus Catholicorum* and the *corpus Evangelicorum*. Every question, however, naturally depended upon the great princes, whose separate votes always gave them the majority. The taxes and levy of troops were divided among the circles, each of which had a captain, generally the most powerful prince within its limits. The emperor, even in his character as president over the imperial chamber, the highest court of justice for the whole of the German people, and over the imperial aulic council, the highest court of justice for the princes, was dependent upon the voices of the princes, and was unable to execute any sentence he might venture to pronounce in condemnation of one of their number. The same was the case in regard to the appropriation of feofs lapsed to the crown. The most distant claims were asserted in defiance of the emperor, the whole of whose authority was limited to the grant of titles, the protection of the less powerful among the Estates, and the promotion of commerce. The powerful princes pursued a perfectly independent course.

In this manner, the diets naturally declined. Affairs of importance were transacted by writing or by diplomatic means through ambassadors between the potentates of the empire, and the weak were either compelled to yield, or, by their dissent, multiplied the negotiations without exercising any decisive influence over them. The princes rarely appeared in person at the diet, and their ambassadors, as well as the city deputies, whilst engaged in informing their master or their constituents of the progress of the question and in awaiting instructions, generally allowed the moment for action to slip by. This procrastination, however, suited the Estates, who, from selfishness or from jealousy of the house of Habsburg, ever re-

fused to assist the crown, however urgent the demand. Sultan Soliman II. justly remarked, "The Germans deliberate, I act!"

The election of the emperor and his coronation, meanwhile, still retained much of their ancient solemnity and splendour, but Aix-la-Chapelle had gradually sunk into oblivion. Both ceremonies now took place at Frankfurt a M., whither the regalia, kept at Nuremberg, were regularly carried. These consisted, first, of sacred relics, a piece of the holy cross, a thorn from the Saviour's crown, St. Maurice's sword, a link of St. Paul's chain, etc. Secondly, of the insignia of the empire, the massive golden crown, weighing fourteen pounds, of Charlemagne, set with rough diamonds, the golden ball, sceptre, and sword of that great monarch, the imperial mantle and robes, the priestly stole and the rings. The election over, a peal of bells ushered in the coronation day; the emperor and all the princes assembled in the Römer and proceeded thence on horseback to the cathedral, where, mass having been read, the elector of Mayence rose as first bishop and archchancellor of the empire, and, staff in hand, demanded of the emperor, "Vis s. fidem catholicam servare?" to which he replied, "Volo," and took the oath on the gospel. Mayence then asked the electors "whether they recognised the elected as emperor?" to which they with one accord replied, "Fiat." The emperor then took his seat, and was anointed by Mayence, whilst Brandenburg held the vessel and assisted in half disrobing the emperor, on the crown of the head, the breast, the neck, the shoulder, the arm, the wrist, and the flat of the hand; after which he was attired in the robes of Charlemagne, and the ceremony was concluded in front of the altar by Mayence, assisted by Cologne and Treves. The emperor, adorned with the crown, then mounted the throne, the hymn of St. Ambrose being meanwhile chanted, and performed his first act as emperor by bestowing the honour of knighthood with the sword of Charlemagne, usually on a member of the family of Dalberg of Rhenish Franconia, which became so customary that the herald demanded, "Is no Dalberg here?" The emperor headed the procession on foot back to the Römer. Cloths of purple were spread on the way and afterwards given to the people. The banquet was spread in the Römer. The emperor and (when there happened to be one) the Roman

king sat alone at a table six feet high, the princes below, the empress on one side three feet lower than the emperor. The electoral princes performed their offices. Bohemia, the imperial cup-bearer, rode to a fountain of wine and bore the first glass to the emperor; Pfalz rode to an ox roasting whole, and carved the first slice for the emperor; Saxony rode up to his horse's belly into a heap of oats and filled a measure for his lord; and, lastly, Brandenburg rode to a fountain and filled the silver ewer. The wine, ox, oats, and imperial banquet, with all the dishes and vessels, were, in conclusion, given up to the people.

According to the imperial register, A. D. 1521, under Charles V., the imperial Estates were divided as follows. 1st, Circle of Austria. Archduke of Austria (Habsburg). Bishops of Trient, Brixen, Gurk, Sekau, Lavant. 2nd, Circle of Burgundy. Duke of Burgundy (Habsburg). 3rd, Circle of the Lower Rhine. Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and the Rhenish Pfalzgrave, of the house of Wittelsbach, all four electoral princes. Also the city of Gelnhausen. 4th, Circle of Franconia. Bishops of Bamberg, Wurzburg, and Eichstadt. The master of the Teutonic order of Mergentheim. The Margraves of Brandenburg at Anspach, Bayreuth, Culmbach, (formerly Burggraves of Nuremberg,) of the house of Hohenzollern. The Counts of Hohenlohe, Erbach, and other petty nobles. The cities of Nuremberg, Windsheim, Weissenburg, Rottenburg, Schweinfurt. 5th, Circle of Swabia. Bishops of Augsburg, Constance, Chur. Abbots of Kempten, Reichenau, St. Gall, Weingarten, and numerous others. Duke of Wurtemberg, Margrave of Baden, Counts von Œttingen, Fürstenberg, Montfort, Eberstein, Lœwenstein, Helfenstein, etc. Innumerable petty nobles. Cities; Augsburg, Ulm, Kempten, Leutkirch, Wangen, Ravensburg, Ueberlingen, Pfullendorf, Schaffhausen, Esslingen, Weil, Wimpfen, Dünkelsbühl, Grüningen, Nœrdlingen, Buchan, Gengenbach, Rottweil, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Biberach, Issni, Lindau, Buchhorn, Constance, St. Gall, Reutlingen, Gmünd, Heilbronn, Hall, Bopfingen, Aalen, Donauwœrth, Offenburg, Zell. 6th, Circle of Bavaria. Archbishop of Salzburg. Bishops of Passau, Freising, Ratisbon, Kemsen (Chiemsee). Duke of Bavaria and Pfalzgrave of Neuburg, of the house of Wittelsbach. Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, (shortly afterwards extinct,)

Count von Ortenberg, and some others of lesser note. The city of Ratisbon. 7th, The circle of the Upper Rhine. Bishops of Worms, Strassburg, Besançon, Geneva, Metz, Verdun, Spires, Basle, Sion, Lausanne, Toul. Princely abbots of Fulda, Hirschfeld, and numerous others of lesser note. Duke of Lorraine and of Savoy, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Nassau, Rhinegrave von Salm, Counts von Bitsch, Hanau, Leiningen, Falkenstein, Isenburg, Solms, Wittgenstein, Waldeck, etc. Cities; Basle, Colmar, Türkheim, Obernebenheim, Roszheim, Hagenau, Landau, Worms, Friedberg, Metz, Verdun, Besançon, Gailhausen, Mühlhausen, Keysersberg, Münster, (in the Georgenthal,) Strassburg, Schlettstadt, Weissenburg, Spires, Frankfurt, Wetzlar, Toul, Saarbrück. 8th, Circle of Westphalia. Bishops of Paderborn, Utrecht, Cammerich, Verden, Liege, Münster, Osnabrück, Minden. Abbots of Corvey, Stablo, etc. Abbesses of Hervorden, Essen, etc. Dukes of Juliers and Berg, Cleve and Mark. Counts von Oldenburg, Bentheim, Wied, Manderscheid, Lippe, Mœrs, etc. Cities; Cologne, Wesel, Cammerich, Soest, Hervorden, Warberg, Verdun, Aix-la-Chapelle, Deubern, Dortmund, Duisburg, Bragkel, Lengad. 9th, Circle of Upper Saxony. Elector of Saxony, of the house of Wettin. Elector of Brandenburg, of the house of Hohenzollern. The master of the Teutonic order in Prussia, and the land-master in Livonia. Bishops of Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Camin; abbess of Quedlinburg, abbot of Saalfeld, Wolkenried, etc. Dukes of Saxon-Thuringia (the Albertine line of the house of Wettin). Dukes of Pomerania, princes of Anhalt, Counts von Mansfeld, Schwarzburg, Stolberg, Hohenstein, Gleichen, etc. Cities; Dantzig, Elbing, Wolkenried. 10th, Circle of Lower Saxony. Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen. Bishops of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Lübeck, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, Schleswig. Dukes of Holstein, (king of Denmark, of the house of Oldenburg,) Brunswick, (of the house of Guelph,) Saxon-Lauenburg, (of the house of Anhalt,) and Mecklenburg. Cities; Lübeck, Hamburg, Gœttingen, Goslar, Nordhausen, Mühlhausen, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Lemgo, Erfurt, Limburg.

Each of the Estates suffered by the religious war, the princes alone gained thereby. The aristocracy and the cities

sank in power and independence whilst the power of the princely houses rose by the establishment of the right of primogeniture. In 1621, the indivisibility of the hereditary provinces of the house of Habsburg was passed into a law; the house of Wittelsbach in Bavaria had done the same in 1545, but too late, the other branch having already fixed itself in the Pfalz, where the division of the family possessions still continued.

The electoral house lost the Upper Pfalz to Bavaria; the collateral line of Pfalz-Neuburg divided the Cleve inheritance with Brandenburg, and, in 1666, came into the actual possession of Berg and Juliers; in 1683, this line replaced the extinct electoral house. The other collateral line, Pfalz-Birkenfeld, surviving the rest of the Wittelsbacher, came into sole possession of the whole of the Bavarian inheritance. A descendant of this line, Charles Gustavus, mounted the throne of Sweden, A. D. 1654.——The house of Hohenzollern was also divided into the Brandenburg and Franconian lines, the house of Wettin into those of Saxony and Thuringia, the house of Guelph into those of Lüneburg and Wolfenbüttel. Hesse, Baden, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt were also subdivided. Wurtemberg formed a single exception among the Protestant houses and established the right of primogeniture at a much earlier period. The right of primogeniture in the Catholic reigning families and the subdivision of the possessions of the Protestant princes exercised a great influence over the war of religion. The subdivision of the possessions of the petty princes, Hohenlohe, Waldburg, Schwarzburg, Reuss, Lippe, etc., also contributed to diminish the little power they possessed.

The demoralization engendered by this subdivision and by the family disputes to which it gave rise, and which were, moreover, fed by the religious war and by the sovereignty usurped by the princes independent of both emperor and pope, and pervading most of the courts of Germany, has been already mentioned. The ancient sturdiness of the German character was long perceptible in the sports of the field, nor was it until vice had gradually sapped both mental and physical vigour that more effeminate amusements were introduced in their stead, that the ancient tournament yielded to the childish sport of running at the ring, and shallow wits were salaried for the entertainment of the great. Fools, misshapen dwarfs, moors, apes, etc., became

court appendages. Immoderate drinking was at first the fashionable vice among the princes, whose successors, enervated both in mind and body, brought licence on the throne. The nobles, degenerated by court-life, quitted their fastnesses, whose walls no longer resisted the artillery of the besieger, threw off their armour, that no longer protected them from the bullet, and exchanged their broad battle-swords for the pretty toy worn by the courtier. Here and there, however, might still be found a nobleman of the old school living on his estate, but the country nobility were regarded as far beneath the courtly aristocracy. The ancient and free-spirited nobility in the hereditary provinces had been almost entirely exterminated by war, the headsman's axe, and emigration, and had been replaced by proselytes and foreign adventurers, on whom the emperor had bestowed the titles of princes and counts with rich estates, in order to form a fresh nobility on the model of the Spanish grandees, in other words, a splendid household, from which the higher officers, both civil and military, were selected. The lower nobility, almost entirely expatriated, were replaced by a species of Hidalgo or noble by patent; titles being by the court lavished on or sold to its civic followers. The example given by Austria was followed by the other German courts, and the families of ancient nobility that still remained were compelled to admit very unworthy subjects, such as the families of favoured mistresses, etc., into their ranks. The ancient families, disgusted at this innovation, took refuge in pride of ancestry, to which those least distinguished by personal qualities the more obstinately clung. Duelling was also a noble prerogative.

The princes had reduced the clergy to submission by the Reformation, the nobility by modern military tactics, the cities by the decay of commerce, and the peasantry in the peasant war. The wretched results of the thirty years' war utterly annihilated the ancient power of the provincial Estates, which were either entirely dissolved or rendered a blind tool of the government. Wurtemberg, the sole exception, remained a miniature constitutional England in the heart of enslaved Germany.——The governments were formed on the French model. Up to this period, every German tribe had from the earliest times participated in the government. France first offered the example of a despotic monarchy modelled on

that of ancient Rome and Greece under the emperors, which now served as a pattern to the princes of Germany. The prince, either alone in his cabinet or aided by his chancellor and privy counsellors, deliberated over all affairs of state. His will was law. The provinces were governed by officers of the crown, who imposed and levied taxes. The chambers, by which the revenue and expenses of the state were controlled, were the most important care of the government. Funds were required for the maintenance of the splendour of the court; funds were required by the cabinet for the maintenance of ambassadors, for purposes of bribery and corruption at foreign courts, etc. Funds were required by the government for the maintenance of an army during war and peace, for the foundation of public institutions, etc. Every imaginable means of raising these necessary funds were consequently resorted to. The demesnes of the sovereign, confiscated church property, or lapsed fiefs were, like a large country estate, turned to the profit of the crown. The coinage, tolls, and mines were applied to the same purpose. Fresh royal dues were created by the sale of privileges, titles, offices, and even justice, or, by the reservation of immense monopolies. Whilst the revenue and prerogatives of the chambers were by these means extended, the people were oppressed with heavy taxes. The wealth possessed by the subject was estimated by the government as a capital, in point of fact, belonging to the sovereign, and lent by him to his subjects at an arbitrary per centage.

The general German and imperial courts of justice fell, like the local and private courts, into disuse, and were replaced by the provincial courts of the different principalities. The Roman law, which had long been in use, became general, and formed the substratum of all provincial law. All laws of German origin had fallen into contempt. The popular courts of justice, consequently, fell into disuse. Neither the commune, nor the elected judge, nor the Feme, the last free popular court of justice, could any longer hold a tribunal. The whole of the judicial power fell into the hands of the princes, who committed it to one particular class, the lawyers, who were instructed in the universities in the Roman law and appointed as judges and salaried by the prince. The people, ignorant of the Roman law, were compelled to intrust

their complaints and defence before the court to another especial class, connected with the law, that of the advocates, who aided the judges in deceiving their clients as interest or caprice prompted. Decisions were secret. The Feme had been dissolved, but its worst feature, secresy, was retained. Law-suits were conducted in writing, for the sake of greater exactitude, and, in case of appeal, for the delivery of documents to the higher courts. These written proceedings naturally required time, and the procrastination of a decision was advantageous to both judge and advocate, all costs being paid by the contending parties. This was the worst of all. Justice was no longer dispensed gratis. The poor were compelled to purchase their right, and the lawyers enriched themselves at their expense. People now frequently applied for justice to neutral judges, presumed to be masters of their profession and impartial, and who were to be found among the professors in the universities, to whom important suits were referred for decision. The ancient bench of justices at Leipzig, filled by the learned professors of that university, was raised in this manner to the dignity of a high court of appeal. The note to which it attained may be judged from the fact that the greatest lawyer of those times, Benedict Carpzow, who sat on the Leipzig bench from 1620 to 1666, decided no less than twenty thousand capital sentences.

The barbarous and dishonouring punishments inflicted by the degenerate Romans on their slaves were still enforced upon the free-born German. The punishment of the rack or torture was taken from the Roman law. The criminal code of Charles V., the Carolina, was an abridgment of all these barbarous and wicked innovations. Every township and provincial court had its torture-chamber, where the accused was racked in all his limbs, thumb-screwed, pricked under his nails, burnt with boiling lead, oil, or vitriol, until he confessed. The innocent, unable to bear the horrible torture, consequently often confessed the crimes with which they were charged and were condemned to death. Every township and court had also its place of execution. Wherever a hill commanding a lovely prospect rose in the vicinity of a town, its summit was crowned with a gallows and a wheel and covered with the bones of victims. The simple punishment of death no longer satisfied the pampered appetite of the criminal

judge. Torture was formed into a system, and the horrors practised by the ancient tyrants of Persia and of Rome, by the American savage in his warlike fanaticism, were, in cold blood, legalized by the lawyers throughout Germany. The chopping off of hands, the cutting out of tongues, blinding, pinching with red-hot tongs, cutting slices out of the back, tearing out the heart, empaling, wrenching off limb by limb with the iron wheel, quartering with four horses or with oxen in order to lengthen the torture, modified the simplicity of beheading, hanging, and burning. A species of tyrannical wit was sometimes displayed in the mode of punishment. In Switzerland, bigamy was punished by the criminal being cut in two, and one half of his person being given to each of his wives. In Augsburg, the clergy were enclosed in iron cages and hung as singing birds on the church towers, where they were left to perish with hunger, as grievous crimes could not be left unpunished, and the temporal power could inflict no corporal punishment on a member of the church. Jewish thieves were hanged by the legs between two dogs. Poachers were chained to the stag, which was turned loose into the woods, or were sewn into a deer-skin and thrown to the dogs. In the white tower at Cologne, bread was hung high above the heads of the criminals, who were thus compelled either to break their necks by clambering up to it, or to die of hunger; etc. etc.

The prince chiefly maintained his authority by means of his mercenaries. Formerly the whole of the population bore arms, afterwards only the feudal nobility and the citizens; the power was therefore formerly in the hands of the citizens, and afterwards in those of the nobility and citizens, who were in their turn ere long compelled to cede their arms to the soldiery and their power to the princes, the soldiers' paymasters. After the invention of gunpowder, of heavy artillery, the consequent introduction of the new method of carrying on sieges, and of modern tactics, a strong arm and a brave heart no longer guaranteed success in the battle-field, but the experience and discipline of regular troops. Corps consequently formed under experienced leaders, which, like the armed societies of the ancient Germans, were governed by their own laws and made war their profession. They had no fixed abode, only for a certain time serving those who gave them

highest pay; after which they were free, and would not unfrequently enrol themselves beneath the standard of their late opponent. They regarded war as a means of livelihood, without regard to its cause or object. They had their private treasury, their private tribunal that passed sentence of life or death, and, with their women and children, formed a petty migratory force, that partly recruited itself, their children and the boys that attached themselves to them becoming in their turn soldiers. The notorious black guard, which, for almost a century, maintained its full numbers and served under almost every prince in Europe, was a band of this description. On the gradual decay of the power of the aristocracy and of the cities and on the opening of the Reformation, when the mass throughout Germany was in a state of strong fermentation, the mercenary, particularly the foreign, troops, afforded a convenient means to the princes for keeping their refractory Estates or rebellious subjects in check and the people under subjection. They were consequently retained during peace as body-guards and household troops and as garrisons in the fortresses formerly defended by the nobles or the citizens. This foreign soldiery brought foreign terms into use during the thirty years' war. The various troops were formed into companies under a captain, a certain number of which composed a regiment, commanded by a colonel. Several of these regiments were again commanded by a general, and the generals were, in large armies, in their turn subordinate to the field-marshal, or generalissimo. The interior economy of the army, the court-martial, etc., also required a crowd of especial officers, such as master of the ordnance, quartermaster-general, provost-marshal, etc., whilst its spiritual wants were supplied by military chaplains and a chaplain-general.

The first mercenaries were Swiss, and merely consisted of infantry, that generally advanced to the attack in a wedge, armed with jagged clubs, (morning stars,) and with extremely broad, double-handed swords. They were succeeded by the German lancers, who bore immensely long pikes, at one end of which was a hatchet (halberds, partisans). To these were shortly afterwards associated the arquebusiers, who used the first guns, which, on account of their weight, were rested upon forks, for the purpose of taking aim. The Spanish arquebusiers were the most celebrated. Gustavus Adolphus intro-

duced a lighter gun, the musket, which has ever since been used by the infantry. The Croatians in the imperial armies first distinguished themselves as light infantry for skirmishing and for harassing the advanced guard and the rear flanks of the enemy. In the cavalry, the ancient knights and squires were succeeded by the troopers or cuirassiers, who still retained the armour and helmet. The dragoons, without armour, with a hat instead of a helmet, armed with the carabine, a species of light cavalry, that could also serve on foot, were first introduced by Mansfeld and were more systematically organized by Gustavus Adolphus. To these were finally added a body of light cavalry for outpost duty and skirmishing, the Hungarian Hussars and the Polish Cossacks in the imperial army.——The artillery at first bore great affinity to the gigantic and awkward catapult. The first light artillery was introduced by Gustavus Adolphus. Maurice, Prince of Orange, brought the art of siege to greater perfection. The first routine in tactics was practised by the Swiss, who also introduced the square, as affording the best protection to infantry against the cavalry. Gustavus Adolphus laid at first great, perhaps too great, weight on military science, and in his tactics decidedly favoured attacks on the enemy's flanks.

CCXV. *The Citizens and the Peasantry.*

The fourteenth century was the heroic age of the cities; in the fifteenth, they reached the summit of their power, but had already become disunited and slothful; in the sixteenth, they suffered by religious factions, by the attacks of the princes and by the decrease of commerce, which passed principally into the hands of the Dutch and English; the thirty years' war completed their ruin. The confederated cities of the Rhine and Upper Germany were included in the newly-constituted circles, although still regarded as free imperial cities; the single cities fell without exception to decay, whilst those of lesser importance became objects of ridicule with the imperial eagle over their low gates and with their petty corporations. The great cities on the Rhine, Mayence and Cologne, fell under the dominion of their ecclesiastical princes, which not a little contributed to the rise of the free imperial city of Frankfurt on the Maine. Of the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen,

and Lübeck alone retained their ancient independence; the rest fell, like Brunswick, partially, or, like Magdeburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, wholly under the princes of the North. In Central Germany, Nuremberg maintained her freedom against the petty princes of Franconia; Leipzig rose to prosperity through the favour of the elector of Saxony, who rendered her the seat of a general fair for the whole empire; and Ratisbon enjoyed a respectable neutrality as the principal scene of diplomatic affairs. In Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria, however, all the cities, Vienna, Prague, Breslau, Berlin, (the ancient frontier towns,) submitted, after a violent struggle, to the respective sovereigns of those countries. Bavaria even made an old imperial free town, Donauwœrth, one of her provincial cities.——Besides these towns of ancient date, there sprang up many others as the power of the princes increased, particularly princely residences and collegiate towns.

In the cities, the spirit of the government changed from democratic to aristocratic. The great commotions in the communes terminated in silent submission. In some of the cities of Southern Germany the ancient burgess families regained their former influence; in others, a new hereditary aristocracy, consisting of members of the town-council, sprang from the ruling corporations. The revolution in the government of the cities of Northern Germany, although violent, had taken place at a later period, in the sixteenth century, than in those of the South, and had been merely transient in its effects. In all the Hanse towns, the more influential among the burgher families had never raised a broad line of demarcation, as town-nobility, between themselves and the rest of the citizens, but had admitted among their ranks all the families whom wealth or merit gradually raised to distinction, and, by this means, gained an accession of wealth and talent, against which the lower classes, the workmen, vainly strove, the necessity of again having recourse to commerce and trade for the purpose of gaining a livelihood ever replacing the government in the hands of the merchants. The municipal government, once so powerful, had, nevertheless, fallen in the Hanse towns as it had every where else. Instead of bold speculations, the maintenance of prerogatives and of family wealth were alone thought of, and gave rise to the practice, bad even in a phy-

sical point of view, of intermarriage between near of kin. In Spires, which, anterior to the thirty years' war, numbered thirty thousand inhabitants, such timidity prevailed, that even the ancient burgher families were divided into three degrees, according to the antiquity of their races, and, with pedantic jealousy, looked with scorn upon each other and the rest of the citizens. The denization of rising families or of individuals was by this means rendered difficult, and any participation in the municipal government utterly impossible. The free, proud spirit of the citizens became petty and enslaved, and the burgher families aped, not the nobility, as their fathers had done before them, but the servile dependents of the court. They assumed proud titles, decorated themselves with chains and orders, played the diplomatist, and, notwithstanding their wise and dignified demeanour, were ever overreached or bribed.

Notwithstanding the declension of commerce, the cities continued for some time wealthy and prosperous, and civic luxury rose to its height at the moment when civil power first showed symptoms of decay. The citizens rested on their laurels; the children revelled in the wealth gained by their parents in the sweat of their brows. The love of luxury was strengthened by the example of the courts and by the immense quantities of colonial products poured into Europe. The wealthy citizens vied with the courtiers, nay, with the prince himself, in splendour. Fugger of Augsburg, so honourably mentioned by Charles V., was raised to the dignity of count and afterwards to that of prince. Nor was opulence simply confined to individuals; the excellent administration of the town-property and the public spirit of the corporations rendered prosperity general. But the citizens were enervated by luxury, and the hand that had wielded the sword now seized the bowl. Beer was at that time one of the principal productions of Northern Germany, and Magdeburg, Eimbeck, Zerbst, Goslar, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen were famous for their immense breweries.* Several of the princes even preferred it to wine. It afforded a wholesome beverage to the

* Berckenmeyer, in his antiquarian curiosities, gives the names of the different brews of Northern Germany, as, for instance, "Brunswick Mumme, Halberstadt Breyhan, Goslar Gose, Breslau Scheps, Hall Puff, Wittenberg Cuckoo, Liepzig Rastrum, Zerbst Würze, Osnabrück Buse, Münster Koite, Kiel Witte, Colberg Black."

people whom it guaranteed from the intoxicating fumes of brandy. How, may we ask, did Northern Germany lose this important branch of her industry and allow her population to be enervated with brandy, whilst Bavaria now solely maintains the reputation of the German breweries?——The citizens also vied with the nobility in magnificence of apparel. Fantastical modes, long-pointed shoes, immensely wide sleeves and hose, etc., which drew the public animadversions of the clergy, became general; but wigs, the most unnatural of all, did not come into fashion until after the thirty years' war. Since the council of Constance, theatrical performances, particularly during the carnival and the fairs, also came into vogue, under the name of farces or mummeries, the actors being (*vermumont*) masked. Fun and frolic characterized the popular festivals. Each guild had its Hanswurst (Jack-pudding) in imitation of the prince's jester, and, in the excess of their folly, they executed fantastical chef-d'œuvres, built gigantic tuns, like that at Heidelberg, founded enormous bells, like that at Erfurt, made gigantic sausages and loaves to match, etc.

Merely a shadow of the mad joviality of the citizens remained after the thirty years' war.

The cities had gradually gained in circumference. The danger to which they were continually exposed had caused the citizens to collect within the walls; hence the narrow streets and the tall, dark houses in the old part of the towns. The opulent citizens, nevertheless, nobly expended their wealth in the foundation of establishments for the public benefit, such as schools, libraries, hospitals, poor-houses, hotels, etc. The most magnificent of these establishments was erected in the sixteenth century, at Augsburg, by Fugger, who built upwards of a hundred cottages in the suburb of St. Jacob's, as refuges for the poor; it was not, however, until the ensuing century, that sanitary establishments and poor-houses were brought to perfection in Holland. The example offered in this respect by the free towns and republics had a beneficial influence upon the states. Luxury with her train of concomitant evils had, meanwhile, rendered an immoderate care of health necessary, and sent crowds to seek it at the baths of Germany, those abodes of licence and quackery.

The Jews were still confined to the Jewries or Jews'

quarters, where they were locked in at night-fall; and, although their lives were no longer unprotected by the laws, they were the objects of public contumely, which, however, did not hinder them from enriching themselves by usury at the expense of the Christians. The well-meant attempt made by Christopher the Wise, duke of Wurtemberg, to banish the Jews from the Roman empire as public nuisances, as the secret foes to the nationality and religion of Germany, as traitors ever on the watch to betray the empire to the foreigner, as crafty and demoralizing speculators on the improvidence, weaknesses, and vices of the Christians, failed, principally on account of the countenance at that time afforded to the Jews by some of the princes, who transacted business with them on an immense scale, and, by means of their court Jews, drained the coffers of their Christian subjects.——The gypsies, another foreign race, but harmless and unimportant in number, made their first appearance in Germany in 1422. They were probably an Indian race, flying before the conquering arms of Timur.

The peasantry suffered even more than the citizens by the thirty years' war. With the exception of the countries in which the peasants had preserved their liberties and rights, Switzerland, Holland, and Frizeland, the whole of Central and Eastern Germany was peopled with slaves, unpossessed of honour, wealth, or knowledge, the produce of whose toil was swallowed up by the nobility, the clergy, and the court. A distinction must, nevertheless, be made between the originally German and the originally Slavonian population. In the Slavonian East, there were fewer burthens and more personal slavery; in the German West, greater personal freedom and heavier dues. In Wurtemberg, for instance, the serf was not bound to the soil and was free to quit his lord; in Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and the frontier provinces, he was unpossessed of this privilege. The Wurtemberg peasant was, on the other hand, far more heavily laden with oppressive dues, soccage-service, and exposed to heavier punishments than the half-slave in the East. The former was an impoverished, fallen, ill-treated freeman, whose rebellious spirit hardships alone could tame; the latter was an hereditary bondman, whose patient content befitted the patriarchal position of his lord.

In olden times, when gold was scarce, the peasant, besides the tithes that fell to the church, paid his lord in kind, a por-

tion of grain, flax, fruit, grass, a cow from the herd, a hen and eggs from house and hearth. He also paid soccage-service, that is, worked in person and with his horses for his lord. These dues and services were originally moderate, but, as the wants of the nobility gradually increased, the peasantry became more heavily oppressed, and their consequent revolt merely afforded to the nobility an opportunity and an excuse for a more systematic mode of oppression.

Soccage-dues were arbitrarily increased. In the sixteenth century, the electors of Brandenburg were compelled to set a limit to the oppressive practices of the nobility and to fix the services performed by the peasant to his lord at two days in the week. The most oppressive of all was the hunting-average, which compelled the peasant to tread down his own crops whilst aiding his lord in chasing the deer. The peasantry were also exposed to the most unjust, most disgusting, and extraordinary dues. Soccage-duty was, moreover, remissible on payment of a certain sum, which was enforced upon all unable or unwilling to perform it in person. Rents or natural dues were, in course of time, also raised. On every parcel of land, every corner of the house, a new and especial impost, often distinguished by a whimsical name, was levied. Each season of the year, every change in the family by marriage or death, an additional building, etc., enriched the manorial lord. Besides the gift of the best head of the cattle, the best piece of furniture, or the best dress of the peceased peasant, to his lord, the *Landemium*, generally ten per cent. on the real value of the property, had to be paid into his coffers on its transition into other hands, besides innumerable other chance dues. Then came a number of new punishments and fines. Air and water, forest and field, were originally free to all. Villages were more scattered, the country more open, the nobles more contented and generally absent; but, by degrees, the lord of the manor insisted on the sole enjoyment of the chace, the stream, the forest, and the field, and inflicted the most terrible punishments on the serf who ventured to infringe his self-raised prerogative. These punishments were also profitable, being remittable by fine.

In the Catholic states, the cultivation of the land in large tracts, copyholds, was still continued; but, in the Protestant provinces, the subdivision of property became general; the

country people in the former were, consequently, more inclined to idleness and amusement, those of the latter to industry and care. The greatest evil was the general demand for money, which was made to replace personal service and payment in kind, and the peasant was constrained to borrow money and to pay interest, which was shamelessly raised and prolonged, for it, in kind. This system of exaction was, for instance, pursued by the Swiss burghers towards their bondsmen.

The peasant, miserably fed and lodged, daily overworked, physically and mentally degraded, gradually lost his ancient health and vigour. The gigantic frame of the free-born German withered beneath the hopeless unpaid toil of the soccager. The peasantry had, after a bloody contest, been disarmed. Instead of, as of yore, following their lord to the field, they were chained like oxen to the plough, and, degraded and despised, vegetated in ignorance and want. In the Protestant states, a few village schools were established, but it was long before reading and writing became general among the lower classes; nor did they derive much benefit from the instruction they received, as it merely consisted of religious precepts, which, although calculated to console the wretched peasant and to fortify his patience, neither improved nor altered his oppressed condition. Still, deeply as the peasant had fallen, his original nature was not utterly perverted, and the further he was removed from the higher classes, the less was he tainted with their despicable vices. Nor had his natural humour and good sense, his consciousness of higher worth, entirely quitted him. In the lowly hut were preserved those fine popular legends, thrown aside by the higher classes for awkward imitations of the foreigner. It was there that the memory of the wondrous days of yore still lived, that ideas both lovely and sublime were understood and cherished. Far away and forgotten by self-styled civilization, legendary lore took refuge among the poor and untaught children of nature. But, wherever oppression and contempt roused the bitter feelings of the boor, they found vent in mocking proverbs, popular ballads, and, more than all, in coarse but cutting jests.

CCXVI. *The erudition of the Universities.*

WHILST the people were thus enslaved by ignorance, learning made rapid strides at the universities, where the reputation of the scholars gradually rose as that of the churchmen sank; but the literati, after freeing themselves from the shackles of the Roman hierarchy, and, under Luther's powerful guidance, for some time forwarding the popular interests of Germany, ere long forsook their national literature for the exclusive study of the classics and introduced much that was heterogeneous into the literature of Germany.

The learned class, which provided servants for the state and for the church, was formed in the universities, which, since the Reformation, had increased in number and had been newly constituted.

The German universities were founded at the following periods:—Prague, 1348; Vienna, 1365; Heidelberg, 1387; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1392; Leipzig, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Griefswald, 1456; Freyburg in the Breisgau, 1457; Treves, 1472; Ingolstadt, 1472; Tübingen and Mayence, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfurt on the Oder, 1506; Marburg, 1527; Königsberg, 1544; Dillingen, 1549; Jena, 1558; Leyden, 1575; Helmstædt, 1576; Altorf, 1578; Olmütz, 1581; Würzburg, 1582; Franecker, 1585; Grætz, 1586; Giessen, 1607; Gröningen, 1614; Paderborn, 1615; Rinteln and Strassburg, 1621; Salzburg, 1623; Osnabrück, 1630; Utrecht, 1634; Linz, 1636; Bamberg, 1648. The Catholic universities were, previously to the Reformation, principally under the direction of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and, subsequently to that period, under that of the Jesuits, all of whom were equally imbued with the spirit of the Roman hierarchy. The Protestant universities were at first directed by the Reformed clergy; at a later period, by the lawyers and court-counsellors, in the spirit of Roman law and modern monarchy.

The German universities underwent a radical change immediately after the great catastrophe at Prague in the time of the Hussites. The professors and scholars, subdivided according to nations, no longer formed free republics as heretofore; the professors were paid by the government, and the

students were divided, not according to nations, but according to faculties and *bursa*. Bursa (Bœrse) were institutions for the maintenance of the students, who were thence termed *Burschen*. There were professor and burgher Bursa; the former of which looked down upon the latter and ill-treated them. The fresh students were also dreadfully abused by those of longer standing. These Bursa were put an end to by the free spirit of the Reformation, but the roughness and brutality inherent in them was imitated in the clubs, into which the students were again divided according to the country to which they belonged, a resuscitation of the ancient division according to nations, and also in the horrid Pennal system. In 1661, John George II. of Saxony was compelled formally to prohibit the robbery of the younger students, the Pennales, by the elder ones, the Schorists, who deprived them of their good clothes and gave them rags in return, obliged them to clean their shoes, etc.

Before the Reformation, scholasticism in theology, law, and grammar was chiefly taught at the universities. Cavils, poverty of idea, verbosity, dialectic controversy were fostered; science was but little studied. The pure conception of the Virgin formed, before the Reformation, the principal subject of controversy between the theologians of all the universities, and was for a whole century disputed with great subtlety and bitterness in controversial writings and in discourses in learned assemblies. The principal controversy between the profane masters concerned the *casus vocativus*, whether it was a *positio* or a *suppositio*, and an important congress was convoked at Heidelberg for the purpose of deciding the dispute. This scholastic spirit unfortunately also animated the Reformers, and, as the enthusiasm that prevailed during Luther's time disappeared, the divinity of the Protestant universities became as strongly impregnated with sophistry and cavilling as that of the Papists had formerly been. To these were added the scholasticism of the lawyers, the cavils of the commentators on the Roman law, who industriously sought to uproot all German customs, to annihilate German spirit and the poor remains of German liberty, by setting out with the principle of the worst period of the Roman empire, "that the will of the sovereign was the source of all law." The most distinguished of the Romanists in the sixteenth century were, Ho-

loander, Zasius, Henning von Göde or the *monarcha juris.* As early as the fifteenth century, Peter von Andlau, in a work on the German empire, attempted to reduce its constitution to a system, in which he was followed, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Arumæus of Jena. Chemnitz, (Hippolytus a Lapide,) however, acquired the highest repute by his work on the Peace of Westphalia, in which he condemned the unity of Germany and lauded her subdivision under petty princes and foreign brigands. Politics were studied in Holland, where a more liberal spirit reigned, with far greater assiduity than in the rest of Germany. Hugo Grotius, by his work *de Jure Belli et Pacis,* laid the foundation to a law of nations, based on natural right, reason, morality, and Christianity.

Grammar, hitherto a dry and unintellectual study, was animated with fresh life. The study of the dead languages rendered the Germans familiar with the poets, philosophers, and historians of Greece, and the dark shades of scholastic ignorance faded before the rising light of knowledge. The study of the humanities had greatly aided the Reformation and was therefore naturally carried on to a still greater extent in the Protestant universities. The founders of the first academies, in which the learned languages and humanities were taught, were Rudolf Agricola, of whom mention has already been made, at Heidelberg, Conrad Celtes, Wimpheling, Lange at Erfurt, Hegius; their most celebrated professors were Reuchlin and Erasmus; their most talented advocate was Ulric von Hutten; their intermediator with Luther's Reformation, Philip Melancthon. In the course of the sixteenth century, there appeared numbers of distinguished professors of Greek and Latin, grammarians, editors to the ancient authors, critics, etc., of which the following acquired the greatest note: Beatus Rhenanus, Conrad Gessner, Joachim Camerarius, Eoban Hessus, Gruterus, Crusius, Hermann von der Busch, the witty Bebel of Tubingen, the still wittier Taubmann of Wittenberg, the unfortunate Frischlin, Scioppius of the Pfalz, the Dutchman, Justus Lipsius, a second Erasmus in wit and learning, Meursius, Puteanus, Scaliger, Heinsius, Gerard Vossius, Willibald Pirkheimer, the learned citizen of Nuremberg, and Peutinger of Augsburg, Thomas von Rehdiger, a wealthy Silesian nobleman, the collector of a valuable library, etc. It

was certainly strange for imagination to digress so suddenly from the present in order to bury itself in the records of the past, but the contrast was natural. Who would not have sighed for deliverance from the theological nonsense at that time occupying the whole attention of the learned world? And what consolation could the earlier histories of Germany, which merely recorded the triumphs of Papacy, afford? It was at that period pardonable for the learned to fly for relief to the beautiful creations of the ancient Greeks, and, if this inclination has been carried to an extreme, if the lovers of classical antiquity have neglected to improve their mother tongue, this is but a natural and a temporary consequence of the enthusiasm with which the study of the ancients was pursued. The German enthusiast is apt to believe a useful thing the only one necessary, and, whilst straining his energies in one direction, to be blind to aught else; but, whilst mentally transported to the times of ancient Greece and Rome, he involuntarily formed himself on the models they presented.

Natural philosophy now came into repute. During the Catholic middle ages, every subject had been treated in a spiritual or religious point of view. Nature had been despised as an instrument of sin. Heaven was the Christian's highest aim, and his sojourn upon earth was to be spent in self-denial, celibacy, fasting, in mental and physical abasement. This sprang from the antithesis originally offered by Christianity to the heathen adoration of nature, and the inquirer into nature was consequently regarded as a student of the black art.

At Salerno in Italy medicine had been studied on the Mohammedan principle, but had been rendered incapable of being improved by experience, by its accommodation to the general scholastic notions. In the commencement of the fifteenth century, an Alsacian monk, Basilius Valentinus, inspired by his own genius, began, as he eloquently expressed himself, "to analyze nature." His first discoveries in chemistry formed a stepping-stone for all others. In this century, also, Conrad von Megenberg, deacon of Ratisbon, wrote a treatise on the nature of the heavenly bodies, on that of the earth, stones, plants, animals, and mankind. His notions were, it is true, extremely imperfect. This work passed through six editions between 1475 and 1499.

Almost a century, however, elapsed before the humanists

succeeded in forming physicians on the model of the ancient Greeks and Romans, of Hippocrates and Galen, in banishing the old scholastic dogmas and in taking experience as a guide. Koch of Basle, Winther of Andernach, Hagenbuch, Fuchs, Lange, Zwinger, and numerous others distinguished themselves as practitioners, as well as translators of the ancients and as commentators. Conrad Gessner [A. D. 1565] was the most noted among the humanists and naturalists. Botany and anatomy were also studied. Tabernæmontanus wrote a celebrated botanical work in the fifteenth century. In 1491, appeared the botanical work of John von Cube of Mayence, adorned with wood-cuts; and Ketham made anatomical wood-cuts for Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt. Werner Rolfing, a celebrated anatomist, was born in 1599, at Hamburg.

Theophrastus Paracelsus* opened a completely new path in the sixteenth century. The system of this great physician and philosopher was as far removed from that of the humanists, the Hippocratic physicians, as from that of the ancient scholastics. He was taught by self-gained experience, not by ancient assertions. The success of his cures, his simplification of medicaments, and his abolition of innumerable abuses gained him immense popularity during his continual journeys through Germany, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the older physicians, numbers of the medical students followed in his steps. He completely upset the prevalent system of natural philosophy and reduced the four elements, hitherto accepted, to three, corresponding with the three primitive elements in chemistry, mercurius, sulphur, and sal, so termed after the productions most nearly resembling them, quicksilver, brimstone, and salt. It was according to this theory that he divided the whole of the natural world, and, regarding man as an epitome (microcosm) of the universe (macrocosm), reduced medicine to a sympathetic and antipathetic system. Every thing in the universe, according to him, affected man either mentally, spiritually, or physically; consequently, the great study of the physician was the detection of whatever was injurious or beneficial in its effect in every case. Imperfect as his theory was, it greatly advanced the study and practice of

* Philip Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus ab Hohenheim, born at Einsiedeln, in Switzerland. His family came from Hohenheim, near Stuttgard.

medicine by promoting the comparative study of nature, by simplifying medicaments and by laying down as a general rule the choice of the remedy according to the symptoms of the disease. Art was at that period still so completely in her infancy, that Paracelsus was led from a belief in the sympathetic affinity pervading all nature to ascribe a corresponding quality to the stars; and one of his pupils, Crollius, supposed the external resemblance between the remedy and the symptoms of the disease to be a sign of their internal correspondence, and attempted, for instance, to cure the jaundice with saffron, diseases of the brain with poppy buds, etc. These errors were, however, founded upon truth, and, even at the present day, Paracelsus is allowed by the faculty to have greatly promoted science by his introduction of the use of baths, mercury, etc.; much of his system is still irrefutable, and many of his remedies are still in general use. He died in 1541, at Salzburg, and, during the raging of the cholera, in the present century, the people went in crowds to pray at his grave. The most celebrated among his numerous pupils was Thurneiser of Basle, who was born A. D. 1530. He was one of the most enterprising spirits of the age, began life as a soldier, and was in turn a miner, a great traveller, private physician to John George, elector of Brandenburg, treasurer to several princes, and, at the same time, financier, alchymist, physician, printer, and engraver in wood. He first brought the calendar, adorned with wood-cuts, into general use. After accumulating an enormous fortune, he was seized with home-sickness and returned to Basle, where he was accused of practising the black art and only escaped the stake by the sacrifice of the whole of his property and by a hasty flight into Italy. He died, A. D. 1595, in a monastery at Cologne. Erast of Heidelberg was Paracelsus's most noted opponent.

The followers of Paracelsus, undeterred by opposition, pursued his system throughout the whole of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries, gaining knowledge by their own experience; for instance, Crato von Kraftheim, Schenk von Grafenberg, Plater, the Dutchmen, Foreest and Fyres, the great anatomist, Vesalius of Brussels, the first surgeons of note, Braunschweig and Würz, the first great oculist, Bartisch, the first accoucheur, Rœsslin. Wyerus rendered great service to his age by his philanthropical work against the belief in

the existence of witches. George Agricola was the first mineralogist in Saxony, where the mines were industriously worked. John von Gmünden gained great repute at Vienna as an astronomer; his pupils, Peurbach and Regiomontanus, became equally celebrated. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fabricius of East Frizeland discovered the spots in the sun; Simon Mayer, the satellites of Jupiter; but the great Kepler, a Swabian in the service of the emperor Rudolph II., gained undying fame. After the discovery of the revolution of the earth with all the other planets around the sun, in 1545, by the Pole, Copernicus, Kepler discovered the laws, known by his name, regulating the distances between the planets, and their course. He also wrote the "Harmony of the Universe," in which he reduced numbers, tones, and forms to a universal law. The merit of this extraordinary man was but ill-appreciated by his contemporaries. Mathematics and mechanics were studied with great success by Regiomontanus in the fifteenth century, and by the celebrated painter, Dürer. These sciences were afterwards chiefly promoted by the Jesuits, who sought by their means to replace the deficiency in studies demanding freedom of thought. In the sixteenth century, Adam Riese of Annaberg in Saxony wrote a general account-book for the people, which was extensively circulated.

The era of the Reformation was remarkable for discoveries and inventions. The invention of gunpowder had been discovered shortly before; in the fifteenth century, printing was discovered; in the sixteenth, clocks were invented. In Nuremberg, thousands of watches, called Nuremberg eggs, were made after Peter Hele's invention. Homelius constructed a curious astronomical clock for the emperor, Charles V. In 1540, the surveyor's table was invented by Gemma. In 1590, the telescope and microscope were invented by Zacharias Jansen; and, in the seventeenth century, the laterna magica by father Kircher. The first spinning-wheel was made in Brunswick in 1530, by Master Jürgen.

CCXVII. *The dark sciences.—Superstition.*

The power of Satan upon earth had long been an article of faith, but it was not until the Reformation that it became

the general belief, and that attempts were made to exorcise spirits and to make use of demoniacal powers for the attainment of human aims. The studies of the humanists had led to a nearer acquaintance with the magic of the ancients and had produced a sort of partiality for ancient heathen practices. The principal source to these dark desires, however, lay in the Reformation. The bolt launched by Luther against St. Peter's chair at Rome drove the faith of the times into two opposite extremes; the soldier and the savant confessed the infidelity of the heathen philosopher, and the mass of the people was enslaved by the grossest superstition. The two extremes, nevertheless, met. The devil, the powers of darkness, the horror of the one, were diligently sought for by the other. There were some bold spirits, who, firmly persuaded of the power of Satan, instead of flying from, bound themselves to him for the purpose of attaining power, wealth, etc., or of guarding themselves against evil. Soldiers, consequently, believed in the Passau art, which was supposed to render them invulnerable, in the power of free-bullets, which never missed their aim, in the virtue of mandragore, spirits in crystal, the lucky penny, love-potions, etc., etc.——The fool-hardy spirit which led the lawless soldier and the lost female to invoke the powers of hell for the attainment of some low and worldly aim took a higher direction among the savants, and the well-known tale of Doctor Faust is founded upon a general fact. There were, in those wild times, speculative minds, which, rejecting the ancient belief in revelation, sought to resolve their doubts, not indirectly, by application to the Holy Scriptures, but directly, by intercourse with the world of spirits and with nature, as, for instance, Bacon of Verulam in England, and Agrippa of Nettesheim in Germany. Although free from the vulgar belief in the devil, they hoped by means of the correspondence between microcosm, the little world within man, and macrocosm, the great universe, nature and the world of spirits, to find out, either by raising spirits or by the discovery of the secret powers and primitive elements of nature, the secrets of the universe. It was from attempts of this nature, which gave birth to the most extravagant misconceptions on the part of the people, which were countenanced by the clergy, whose credit had fallen, that the legend of Faust arose, in which the hatred of the monks against the inventor

of printing is evidently mixed up, that art having been also ascribed by them to the devil.

As the study of natural philosophy advanced, the devil and his agents were discarded, although the hope of finding out the secret of their original connexion with external nature by the discovery of natural magic, of making gold, and of the universal elixir, still prevailed. Alchymy, or the art of making gold, was exercised as early as the commencement of the fifteenth century by some pupils of Basilius Valentinus, and avarice cherished the hope of making gold from a primitive matter, the philosopher's stone, whence all other matters were derived, which had been sought for by Basilius. Barbara, the infamous consort of the emperor Sigmund, was the first who retained a court-alchymist, John von Laaz, in her service. Her example was followed at Bayreuth by Albert Achilles, and by John, elector of Brandenburg, who, in the hope of discovering the primitive matters of which gold was composed, melted their wealth in the crucible. Alchymy became the rage. Almost every court had its alchymist. Hans von Dœrnberg reigned at the conclusion of the fifteenth century with uncontrolled power over Hesse, under the Landgrave Henry and his son William. The matter even attracted the attention of the learned, of the celebrated historical commentator Trithemius, of the philosopher Agrippa von Nettesheim, and of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who sought, not gold, but the philosopher's stone. This art was rendered general throughout Germany by the emperor, Rudolph II., who was termed the prince of alchymists. The adepts flocked to his court, and even princes vied with each other in the search. Augustus, elector of Saxony, occupied his whole life with this futile art; Christian II. displayed equal zeal and sentenced the unfortunate Setonius, who was generally believed by his contemporaries to possess the secret, to the wheel. Setonius's sole confidant, Sendivogius, was, like his master, chased from one court to another. He was thrown into prison by Frederick, duke of Wurtemberg; all the princes wanted gold, and the charlatans were no longer secure of their lives. The rage for discovering this secret was so excessive, that a certain potter seriously asserted that gold could be extracted from the Jews; that the bodies of twenty-four Jews, reduced to ashes, would produce one ounce of gold. Thomas Liber

[A. D. 1583] first strenuously opposed the prevailing superstition. Societies of alchymists were also naturally formed, either for the thing itself or for appearance' sake, the secret forming an irresistible attraction; and a mystical work was published, which set forth that the order of the Golden Fleece, instituted by Philip of Burgundy, had originally the object and the symbols of alchymy. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Valentin Andrea founded in Swabia the order of the Rosicrucians, who propagated the practices of the adepts and the mystical ideas of Paracelsus. The hope of discovering the universal medicine and the elixir of life was confined to some of the physicians of the time; the general thirst was more for gold than for prolongation of life. It was asserted of the adept Trautmannsdorf, A. D. 1609, that he had prolonged his existence one hundred and forty-seven years.

Astrology was, equally with alchymy, encouraged by the great and powerful. Rudolph II. and Wallenstein were its principal patrons. Paracelsus was firmly persuaded of the influence exercised by the stars on man's every action; nor was Kepler free from a similar superstition, which had, however, the good result of promoting his study of astronomy and of leading to scientific investigation, more particularly since the invention of the telescope in Holland, A. D. 1600.

Chiromancy, or the presaging of fate from the lines of the hand, and sympathetic cure were the most celebrated among the other dark sciences. The investigation of the lines of the hand, which was allied with that of the physiognomy and of the general appearance of the whole person, proves that the adepts were possessed of an extraordinary quickness of perception, unknown at the present day; and the sympathetic cures are so much the more important, owing to their being a remains of the ancient popular mode of cure practised by the heathens, which has, in our times, produced the theory of animal magnetism. Many ailments were ascribed to the power of Satan, and spiritual measures were resorted to for their cure, such as exorcism or expulsion of the devil, amulets, relics, etc. A peculiar healing property was ascribed to certain saints and holy places. Almost every member of the body had its patron saint. Mental aberration was especially regarded as demoniacal possession. In 1451, George, bishop of Lausanne, was persuaded of the potency of a spiritual anathema for driving

away grasshoppers and mice, and, not long afterwards, a bishop of Chur resorted to the same means for the riddance of cockchafers.

Ancient mysticism was also transformed by this novel and fantastical natural philosophy. Nicolas von Cusa, a countryman of Treves, formed [A. D. 1462] the transition from scholastic theosophy to natural philosophy by a mystic numeration, a system of the universe harmoniously regulated by numbers, the principles of all things. He was succeeded by Paracelsus, who completed the vague numerical system of Cusanus by declaring the principles divine effluences and living powers. As all numbers proceeded from one, so did the whole universe from God; as all numbers corresponded with each other, so did all things in the world. From the unity of God proceeded the primitive powers, mercurius, sulphur, and sal, which, although separated into a spiritual and an earthly sense, there as soul, mind, and body, here as water, air, and earth, nevertheless corresponded, and, consequently, there was nothing in man that had not its great antitype in nature. Valentin Weigel of Saxony [A. D. 1588] pursued a similar idea and founded an extremely simple system, which was afterwards improved upon by Spinoza and Schelling, the identity of the two great and universal antitheses, of the mind and body, of light and darkness, of good and bad, etc., which, ever externally at war, were united in God. The two Swabians, Sebastian Frank and Gutmann, the former of whom was an Anabaptist, the latter a Rosicrucian, and Khunrath, whose mania for mystery led him astray in the cabalistics of the ancient Jews, are less clear and profound. In the seventeenth century, the Moravian, Amos Comenius, produced a system which reunited the doctrine of Weigel with that of Paracelsus, by an endeavour to unite the two universal antitheses, body and mind, by a third, light. He was the first who attributed great importance to light, both outward and inward. We also owe to him an account of an extremely curious malady, with which a Bohemian girl, Christina Poniatovia, was visited. She was a somnambulist and had visions, which he has described with such accuracy as to leave no doubt of the coincidence of the symptoms with those of modern magnetism. The celebrated physician, von Helmont, who regarded nature as an effluence of spiritual powers and recog-

nised a pure spiritual cause in all her works, also flourished during the seventeenth century.

Agrippa von Nettesheim [A. D. 1535] stands alone. The foe of scholasticism and of theological controversy, an utter infidel, he hoped to attain to higher knowledge by means of magic, and for that purpose adjured all earthly and unearthly powers. During his restless wanderings over Europe, he studied every thing, saw every thing, took a degree in every faculty, practised theology at Paris, the law at Metz, physic at Freiburg in Switzerland, became private physician to the queen of France, and finally historiographer to Margaret, stadtholderess of the Netherlands. He travelled over the whole of Spain, Italy, France, and England, "seeking rest and finding none," and at length published a work "On the Uncertainty and Vanity of all Scientific Research," with which he bade adieu to the world. At an earlier period, when resting his hopes on magic, he had written a work "On Secret Philosophy," and, in spite of his later contempt for the world and for all that therein is, he left another, entitled "De Nobilitate Sexus Fœminini."

Quite otherwise, unvisited by fortune or by learning, without knowledge of the world, born beneath a lowly roof, where he passed the whole of his life, in the obscurity of a little town and of a miserable occupation, the shoemaker of Gœrlitz, Jacob Bœhme, [A. D. 1624,] placed an implicit confidence in Heaven and found the eternal wisdom which the proud Agrippa had vainly sought for throughout the world. The truths that escaped the perception of the great philosopher were clear as day to his pure and child-like mind, which, although untaught and uncultivated, was extraordinarily profound and comprehensive. Jacob Bœhme stands far above the rest of the mystics, all of whose various systems he has, in his own, formed into an harmonious whole. In him meet the three great founders of mysticism of the twelfth century, for in him are united the heroic morality, the chivalric self-sacrificing love of Hugo de St. Victoire, the eternal harmony and beauty of nature of Honorius Augustodensis, and the historical world of Rupert von Duiz. He also carried the doctrine of Paracelsus still higher, by seeking God in history as well as in nature. He was so wonderfully fertile in ideas,

that later philosophers have raised new systems on mere fragments of the one founded by him.

CCXVIII. *Witchcraft.*

THE burning of witches formed one of the most remarkable features of the age of the Reformation. It commenced at an earlier period, but first became a general practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The belief in witchcraft, universal before the migrations at the worst period of the Roman empire, had disappeared before the light of Christianity, and was more particularly discouraged by the German wanderers. Rotharis the Longobard, in his legislative code, especially prohibited the trial of witches, witchcraft being impossible.* Charlemagne was equally enlightened. In 1310, the belief in the existence of witches was condemned by the council of Treves, and the nightly expeditions of witches was declared a fabulous invention.† This belief was little general during the middle ages, but suddenly gained force in the fifteenth century.

Sprenger, a notorious Dominican inquisitor, is accused of having first disseminated this fearful superstition in Constance; the executions at the stake, until his time, of rare occurrence, becoming thenceforward extremely frequent. His work "The Witches' Hammer," (Malleus Maleficarum,) attracted general attention and inspired half Europe with a dread of witchcraft hitherto unknown; he also persecuted witches on principle, and is said to have burnt upwards of a hundred old women. On being bitterly reproached for his cruelty, he appealed to the pope, and [A. D. 1485] Innocent VIII., by a bull, affirmed the existence of witches and the necessity of their persecution. It was in vain that Sigmund, archduke of the Tyrol, caused a protest to be written by Ulric Müller of Constance and declared the belief in the

* Nullus præsumat aldiam aut ancillam quasi strigam aut mascam occidere, quod Christianis mentibus nullatenus credendum est aut possibile.

† Nulla mulier se nocturnis horis equitare cum Diana dea paganorum vel cum Herodiana innumera mulierum multitudine profiteatur. Hæc enim dæmoniaca est illusio.—*Martene Thes. Anecd.* IV.

existence of witches a mere superstitious delusion; the voice of the Dominican, supported by the authority of the pope, was alone heeded. On the commencement of the Reformation, this belief was recognised as a superstition, but, notwithstanding, continued to spread. Old women were more fanatically persecuted as suspected witches by the Lutherans than they had been by the Inquisition; the devil, in those times of terror, was present to every imagination and was portrayed on every wall.

Malignant females were supposed to conclude a bond with the devil, from whom they learnt the art of raising storms, of depriving their neighbours' cows of their milk, of carrying off their neighbours' corn through the air, of striking men and cattle dead or with sickness with the evil eye, of brewing love-potions, of awaking unnatural hate or love, etc. Almost all the women, accused of these practices, confessed, under torture. Most of the trials coincide in this point, that they had learnt the art from some other old woman, who had been taught by the devil himself in the form of a handsome young man, from whom she had received the witches' salve, which, when smeared over the whole body, gave her the power of flying up the chimney seated astride on either a broom, a spinning-wheel, a spit, a goat, or a cat, to the great witches' sabbath, held during *Walpurgis night*, that of the 1st of May, on the Blocksberg, where all the witches met, danced in a misty circle back to back, and worshipped a great black goat, which at length caught fire of itself and was reduced to ashes, which were collected by the witches for magical purposes, and each one, remounting her steed, whisked home. From this moment they were in partnership with the devil, who marked them as his own and gave them power to work harm, but treated them harshly and kept them in abject poverty. This formed the substance of most of the depositions. The accused was, in some instances, found lying stiff and apparently dead on the ground, and confessed, on regaining her senses, that she had been, during her state of torpor, absent at a witches' meeting. This proves a somnambulistic state. It has, at a more modern period, been believed, that the whole tale had been drawn by means of torture from women, who, in their agony, confessed themselves guilty of any thing laid to their charge; much, nevertheless, still remains that is ut-

terly inexplicable, particularly in reference to the somnambulistic visions, and, in the face of so many authentic proofs, there no longer exists a doubt but that the belief in all this nonsense was general among women, and that these ideas had become an epidemy, a contagious mania among them. Was it not natural that at a period when the worst qualities of the human heart had been excited and had actually gained the mastery, when men boldly cited the devil, that the worst portion of the female sex should also give way to horrid desires and imaginations?——The belief in the existence of witches was, however, evidently the offspring of ancient pagan superstition. The night of the 1st of May coincides with the great festival of Spring, which was anciently solemnized on the mountains. The burning of the goat, the symbol of fruitfulness, is an ancient heathen sacrifice. The transformation of the witches into cats or wolves is also a pagan notion.

As this superstition gained ground, every imaginable evil, such as, scarcity, damage done by the weather, loss of cattle, sicknesses, robbery, losses, etc., was ascribed to the witches, and suspicion generally fell on the oldest woman in the neighbourhood. Envy and unneighbourly grudge had full play, and revenge for suffered, or fear of future, evil, created a bitterness and rage which at once demanded and justified the ill-treatment of witches. The church, the state, and public opinion were generally unanimous in declaring that no means were to be left untried for the annihilation of the power of Satan upon earth. The form of trial was almost every where similar. The accused was subjected to the ordeal, that is, her hair, even her eye-brows, was entirely shaven off in order to discover the devil's mark, and woe to her if a mole or a mother's mark were discovered. It was also a popular notion, that by depriving a witch of her hair the devil lost his power over her. The second and more celebrated ordeal consisted in tying the witch's right thumb to the left great toe, and the left thumb to the right toe, and throwing her into the water. If she swam it was a certain proof of her being a witch. The third was by weight, witches being believed to be as light as a feather. They were accordingly tried by a certain measure, which, if it proved too heavy, condemned the unhappy woman to be tortured until she confessed, which inevitably doomed her to the stake, fire being the means by which witch-

craft could alone be totally extirpated and the world be purified from the incantations of the devil.

The suspicion, and the confession, wrung by torture, were often equally ridiculous. The most harmless things were attributed to the power of witchcraft. Luther once advised that a sick child of twelve years of age, who had an unnatural appetite, should be thrown into the Mulda. At Freudenstadt, in the Black Forest, a monthly nurse was accused of having murdered a hundred children and of having laid changelings in their cribs. At Frankfurt on the Maine, in 1536, a girl was accused of being in correspondence with the devil, by whom she had been endowed with the power of extracting gold from walls. At Wienerisch-Neustadt, in 1562, the sexton was burnt alive for having boiled a child and spread the plague by mixing some of the earth from the infected graves with the broth. During the same year, a hailstorm at Esslingen caused a severe persecution of witches, in which the parish-priest and the executioner discovered equal zeal and bade defiance to the more humane and enlightened town-council. At Horb, in the Black Forest, in 1578, nine women were sentenced to the stake in consequence of a hailstorm. At Quedlinburg, in 1589, a hundred and thirty-three witches were burnt in one day for having danced on the Blocksberg and for having emptied the cellars of fourteen of the wealthiest people in the neighbourhood of their wine on the occasion; all were put to death except four of the most beautiful, whom the devil, always in the shape of a handsome young man, is said to have carried away. At Spandau, in 1595, a great number of people were possessed, from having picked up gold, rings, buttons, hemp, etc., dropped by the devil in the streets. At Naumburg on the Saal, in 1604, a witch was burnt for depriving an absent person of one of his eyes by magic. At Hildesheim, in 1615, a boy suffered the same death for having transformed himself into a cat. At Strassburg, in 1633, a boy was also burnt for carrying letters by night to the Jesuits in a carriage drawn by six cats. At Solothurn, in 1549, a woman was sent to the stake for having ridden on a wolf through the forest. In 1725, a reward of five florins was offered at Hechingen to the captor of a cobold, a nix, etc.

Neither old age nor tender youth escaped. At Wolfenbüttel, in 1591, a woman a hundred and six years of age

was burnt; in Augsburg, A. D. 1688, a girl aged twenty, who was accused of having practised magic since her sixth year; and, A. D. 1694, a woman aged eighty-four, since her tenth. These accusations were generally made for the purpose of gain, either by confiscation of property or by perquisites. The trial of witches was equally profitable to the judge, the advocate, and the executioner. A deacon of Mayence caused upwards of three hundred people in the villages of Crotzenburg and Bürgel to be sent to the stake on a charge of witchcraft for no other purpose than that of adding their property to his cathedral. Executions in the mass were of frequent occurrence. Julius of Brunswick boasted of having planted a whole forest of stakes, near Wolfenbüttel, for the execution of witches. John, archbishop of Treves, sentenced the women in such numbers to the stake, in 1585, that in two districts but two remained; in 1589, he condemned Flade, the rector of the university of Treves, as a sorcerer, and, in 1593, thirty witches at Montabaur. Adolf, bishop of Augsburg, [A. D. 1627,] sentenced forty-two women to be burnt on one occasion, and, during the whole of his government, sent two hundred and nineteen witches and wizards, among which were four canons, eight vicars, one doctor, eighteen little schoolboys, a blind girl, another girl nine years of age, with her infant sister, to the stake. The bishop of Bamberg condemned six hundred witches, the archbishop of Salzburg ninety-seven, in 1678, to be burnt, on account of a great epidemic among the cattle. One of the curators of the bishop of Freisingen extirpated almost all the women in the neighbourhood of the castle of Werdenfels. In 1651, one hundred and two people were burnt at Zuckmantel in Silesia; among others, children of one to six years of age, who were said to be the offspring of the devil.

At Nœrdlingen, between 1590 and 1594, thirty-two innocent women were burnt as witches at the instigation of Pferinger, the fanatical burgomaster. The case of Rebecca Lemp, a paymaster's wife, who was universally honoured as a virtuous wife and mother, excited the greatest compassion; her trial and touching letters have been published by Weng. The representations of her husband, the entreaties of her tender children as they clung around her, the testimony of her neighbours, were alike unavailing; she was condemned to the

stake. The whole of these unfortunates steadily denied the truth of the accusation until forced by the rack to assent to all the questions put to them by the executioner. The thirty-third, Maria Holl, the wife of an innkeeper, however, heroically withstood fifty-six tortures of the most painful description without confessing; the people rose in her favour and even the clergy prohibited the continuance of this scene of horror; the lawyers finally, but very unwillingly, yielded, and the city of Ulm, of which Maria Holl was a native, interceding for her in the diet, she was restored to her friends.* Similar cruelties are to be met with in the history of Siegburg, where the fanatical Dr. Baumann conducted the trials from 1636 to 1638. Nails were, for instance, thrust into the moles and other flesh marks discovered on the bodies of the unfortunate women, in order to deprive the devil of his power over them.——The Jesuit, Frederick Spee, saw such a number of witches burnt in Paderborn that he was struck with horror, and his hair is said to have turned white in one night from sorrow for the fate of one of the victims, whom he had accompanied as spiritual adviser to the pile. In 1631, he published a work, in which he exhorted all the princes and people in authority to put a stop to these horrors. One single judge belonging to this district had condemned five hundred witches to the stake.

Cornelius Loos, the priest of Mayence, who declared the belief in witchcraft an error, was compelled by close imprisonment to retract, but, unable to overcome the dictates of his conscience, reiterated his entreaties for mercy towards the wretched women, whose innocence he again asserted, and was once more incarcerated. Tanner, the Bavarian Jesuit, was, on discovering a similarly humane spirit, denounced as a wizard. The Dutchmen, Wyerus and Bekker, were unable to check the prevailing superstition of the age. The piles smoked until far into the eighteenth century. In 1701, seven witches and one wizard were burnt at Zurich; in 1714, on the Heinzenberg in the Grisons, a girl sixteen years of age suffered; in 1725, there was an execution at Hechingen; in 1731, nine corpses were burnt at Olmütz owing to a notion of their being vampires, who sucked the blood of sleepers; in 1744, five witches were chained in a great tun, tortured and

* Weng, The Trial of the Witches at Nœrdlingen.

burnt, at Tepperbuden, near Kolditz, in Lower Silesia; in 1750, Renate Senger, prioress of the convent of Unterzell in Würzburg, was beheaded and burnt as a witch; in 1754, a girl of thirteen was beheaded for a witch in Bavaria; in 1755, another, aged fourteen, suffered at Landshut. In the same year, twenty corpses were burnt in Moravia, and [A. D. 1783] Anna Gœldlin, the last of the witches, was burnt at Glarus in Switzerland.

CCXIX. *Poetry and Art.*

On the fall of the Hohenstaufen, poetry declined, and the song of the Minnesinger ceased with the breath of the youthful Conradin. The enthusiastic feelings of the poet of olden times ill suited an atmosphere imbued with egotism and grovelling policy. The German, since the days of the emperor Rudolph, had been reduced to the prose of every-day life.

At the close of the fourteenth century, chivalric poetry ceased with Teichner and Suchenwirt, two noble Austrians, attached to the court. Hugo von Montfort and Wolfensteiner the Blind, a noble Tyrolese, are, up to the fifteenth century, the last of this school. The Minnesingers were succeeded by the civic master-singers, who carried on verse-making professionally in the cities and regulated the art according to prescribed laws. The characteristics of master-singing are pedantry and want of taste whenever the poet attempts a more elevated flight, whilst it ever more nearly attains excellence as it assimilates itself to the popular style. Most of the popular ballads that were sung in the streets, and some of which bear the impress of high antiquity, became general after the Reformation on the gradual dissolution of the master-singing guilds; these ballads, often vulgar, but still oftener of infinite pathos and harmony, are the best specimens of the poetry of the age. The composers of most of them were obscure travelling students or soldiers. To these belong the lays sung by the Flagellants, and numerous sacred songs, either original or translated from the Latin, borrowed from the Hussites and collected by Luther, who added to them some fine productions of his own. The whole of these songs were unrestricted by the rules prescribed by the guilds.

The first master-singers, Henry von Müglin and Musca-

blut, had numerous followers. Almost every town had its singer guild, and the most celebrated among the masters invented melodies or measures, which they distinguished by pompous epithets, and which merely aimed at the accurate measurement of the syllables. An inflated allegory, a pedantic moral, enigmas and sometimes ribaldry, formed their contents. The martial deeds of the time, even the most glorious, those of the Swiss and Ditmarses, were sung in the same wearisome measure and were disfigured by the pedantic versification composed in their praise. The Swiss ballads of Vitus Weber form an exception, and, like those of Ulric von Hutten of later date, breathe the free spirit of the mountains. The Thewrdank of Melchior Pfinzing proves the utter failure of the master-singers in epic poetry. The idea of describing Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who was ever helplessly entangled in the political intrigues of the day, as a knight of the olden time of fable and romance, was an anachrontic affectation. False sublimity became for the first time inherent in German poetry. The peasants' war, the feuds of Nuremberg, those of Würtemberg, were feebly sung. The legends, in which the spirit of the Minnesinger is still perceptible, are somewhat better; for instance, the Apollonius of Tyrlandt by Henry von Neustadt, the French king's daughter by Bühler, the Moorish girl by Hermann von Sachsenheim, etc., above all, the collection of amusing legends under the title of "The Seven wise Masters," and those of Dr. Faust, of Fortunatus, and of the Venusberg, so characteristic of the age. The ever increasing lust for wealth and pleasure is well and tragically represented in these last-mentioned legends. There were, besides these, numerous older legends from the book of heroes, of the holy Graal, etc., which were reduced to prose, and in this age appeared all the little popular books, which, in homely prose, repeated the contents of the finest of the ancient heroic ballads. Modern romances and novels in prose made their first appearance in Swabia. Nicolas von Wile, town-clerk of Esslingen, and Albert von Eyb were the first translators or writers of love-tales in prose, to which they were prompted by Æneas Sylvius, in imitation of Italian literature. Spee, a lyric poet in the spirit of the old Minnesingers, appeared at a later period [A. D. 1635] in Bavaria.

The transition to learned poesy caused the Dutch *Redery-*

kers, (rhetoricians,) who had already acquired a false taste for classical refinement, to compose didactic and satirical poems in the spirit of the Reformers. They formed themselves into chambers, which, for some time, had an extremely democratic bias. John of Leyden was one of these *Rederyker*. Anna Byms, on the other hand, gained for herself the title of the Sappho of Brabant by her coarse satires against Luther. Just van den Vondel was the best Dutch poet.——The learned humanists imitated the poetry of the ancients. These Latin university and court-poets deemed themselves far superior to all others and pretended to the borrowed Italian custom of being crowned with laurel. This ceremony was performed either by the emperor in person, or by his proxy, the Pfalzgrave. But few among these poets laureate deserved the honour. Even the celebrated Celtes was distinguished more by his inclination for the study of the ancients than for his poetry. The rest of the laureates have been with justice consigned to oblivion. Their stilted Latin verses are unreadable and merely show the gulf that, even at that period, separated the princes and the learned world from the people, and the foolish assumption of princes in dispensing fame that public opinion can alone bestow. The poets laureate were sensible of the fallacy of their position; they perceived the necessity of assimilating themselves with the people, and, under the celebrated Opitz, again began to sing in German, but still retained their antique forms, ideas, and imagery. This was the commencement of modern poetry. One Latin poet alone, the Dutchman, Johannes Secundus, A. D. 1536, distinguished himself by his verses in imitation of Ovid. Among the literary follies of the day were the poems of Pierius, one of which, in honour of Christ, was composed of words commencing with C; the other, in honour of the emperor Maximilian, of words commencing with M.

The satirical poems against papacy, foreign policy, the loose morality and hypocrisy of the age, are the best that appeared during the Reformation. Sarcasm and ridicule were the only weapons with which more elevated minds could attack the general depravity. The master-singer, Hans Rosenplüt, who delineated a "king in his bath" and an "amorous priest," was one of the earliest of the satirical writers of the fourteenth century. An extremely popular work, "Liber Vagatorum,"

turned the begging orders into ridicule. A collection of "Merry Tales of the Parson of the Calenberg" showed the priest as a man and a boon companion. The Reformation came and added force to the sarcasms hurled against the clergy. Alberus wrote the Alcoran of the begging monks; Fischart, the Roman Beehive. The latter translated Rabelais from the French, with numerous additions in an original style, highly genial in the midst of its bombast. Ulric von Hütten was also the author of several excellent satires. Theological coarseness and commonplace, however, crept in at a later period, as may be seen in the "Monk's Ass" of Albanus, etc.——The time for political satires had not yet arrived, the princes being exclusively occupied with politics, the people with religion and morality. The age of the Reformation, consequently, produced merely one political satire, but one that has not been yet surpassed, the famous Reinecke de Vos, (Reinecke Fuchs,) a fable, in which King Lion holds his court, and the cunning fox (Italian policy) contrives to manage affairs with such clever malice, that right and innocence are ever oppressed, and violence and cunning ever triumph. The materials of this fable are old and are derived from the heathen fable. They were first transformed into a satirical poem, in the Netherlands, during the twelfth century, and were several times afterwards translated and revised; but it was not until the sixteenth century, when the taste for satirical poetry increased, that it was made generally known, by Nicolas Baumann's translation from the Dutch of William de Madoc into low German, when it became a national work. ——Sebastian Brand amusingly described all the follies of public and private life in his time, in his celebrated "Ship of Fools," and Erasmus published, in Latin, his "Praise of Folly." In Lower Saxony, the *Koker* (the quiver full of shafts of wit) appeared, and Burkhard Waldis distinguished himself by his fables; Pauli collected merry tales, A. D. 1578. Agricola of Berlin acquired great note by a collection of German proverbs. The humanists also brought imitations of the ancient satires into vogue. Homer's War between the Frogs and Mice was, for instance, copied in Rollenhagen's "*Froschmæusler*," and in Schnurr's "War between the Ants and Flies;" Rollenhagen, in his "Italian Travels," also attempted an imitation of the fabulous narrations of Lucian; "The Merry

Journey of the Sparrow-hawk Knight," may also be cited. The increasing coarseness of the sixteenth century, consequent on the religious contest, gradually infected satire with low obscenity, and there appeared a Latin "Fleaad," a German "Fleabait," an "Ass-king," an "Asinine Nobility and the Triumph of the Sow," etc. Dedekind's "Grobianus," a satire levelled against the coarseness and vulgarity of the age, best describes this period. The celebrated Lalenbook of 1597 is a capital satire upon the little imperial free towns. The peasantry was even an object of satire. Rosenplüt, the civic master-singer, ridiculed the "wealthy peasant," who strove to raise himself above his station, and Reithart published his merry "Frolics with the Peasants." The peasants, however, took up the lash in their turn, and the reaction of peasant wit against the higher classes gave rise, in the fifteenth century, to the famous popular work "The Eulenspiegel," a collection of witty, coarse, often obscene anecdotes, attributed to a waggish boor, whose original may perhaps have in reality existed. The force of this unpretending but cutting satire lay in the natural sagacity with which the over-wisdom of the merchants, professors, doctors, judges, clergy, nobility, and princes was unmasked and derided, and the low malice contained in it is merely the national expression of a hatred naturally felt by the peasant in his state of degradation.

Theatrical representations had come into vogue since the council of Constance. At first they merely consisted of mysteries, biblical scenes, and allegories; afterwards, of profane plays, during the carnival. The master-singer corporation of Nuremberg particularly distinguished itself in the latter. It was here that Rosenplüt, or the fly-catcher, and Hans Volz flourished. Hans Sachs, the cobbler of Nuremberg, A.D. 1576, who left behind him five folio volumes, chiefly filled with dialogues, comedies, and tragedies, however, surpassed all the rest. He was a friend of Luther, was replete with talent, and unshackled by prejudice. Biblical and universal history, ancient mythology and German legend, every-day life and allegory, were the rich materials on which he worked; but in his pieces the scenes follow with startling rapidity, the dialogue is comparatively meagre, and the whole more resembles a rapid succession of tableaux vivants than a play. With the exception of the little and generally highly-finished farces

and dialogues, which contain but few characters, all his great historical pieces are simply sketches; their happy choice and management, and the charm that ever lay in the subject, whether the composition were more or less elaborate, rendered them, nevertheless, highly popular. Sachs had numerous imitators, the most celebrated of whom, towards the close of the sixteenth century, was Jacob Ayrer of Nuremberg, who, however, shared the increasing grossness of the taste of the times and delighted in scenes of blood and obscenity (Opus Theatricum, 1618). Henry Julius, the poetical duke of Brunswick, his contemporary, greatly advanced the German stage.——Political comedies also took the place of the carnival farces in the republican-spirited imperial free towns. The depravity of the courts was, for instance, derided in the "Court Devil," the scholastics, in the "Academical Devil," the sale of dispensations, in the "Tetzelocramia," the intemperance and immorality of German manners at that period, in the "German Glutton." National history was also brought upon the stage. The "Siege of Weinsberg" or "Woman's Faith;" "Luther's Life;" the "Christian Knight of Eisleben;" the "Müntzer Peasant War;" the "Clausensturm" or "The Victory of the Elector Maurice over the Emperor;" and a tragedy, "Wallenstein and Gustavus," were represented. The Lutherans ridiculed the Calvinists in a "Calvinistic Post-boy." During the thirty years' war, the promotion of unity among the Protestants was attempted by a "Swedish Treaty," and, in 1647, "Peace-wishing Germany," an intimation to the ambassadors at Osnabrück and Münster to accelerate the proclamation of peace, was publicly represented. Pastoral poetry, in imitation of Guarini, the Italian poet, who had followed in the footsteps of Theocritus, was, at that period, also generally cultivated, the imagination, in those warlike and disturbed times, dwelling with delight on ideal scenes of innocence and peace. The German stage was, however, unfortunately neglected on that account by the most distinguished literati of the day. The celebrated Frischlin, Naogeorg, and other savants of the sixteenth century composed elegant Latin plays.

External life lost much of its former beauty. The mode of dress became more and more bizarre and foreign. The Spaniard introduced the stiff collar and pointed hat; the Swiss,

puffs, plaits, and slashes; and the Frenchman, the allonge peruke, an ell in length.

The fine creations of Gothic architecture remained in an unfinished state. The religious enthusiasm that had founded those wondrous edifices had died away before their completion. The mighty Cologne cathedral stood incomplete; of the Strassburg minster one tower had been finished in 1439 by John Hülz, the other was forsaken. Ulm cathedral shared the same fate. Merely the richest towns, particularly those in the Netherlands, completed their unfinished churches; and, under the pious Habsburgs, the great tower of St. Stephen at Vienna was first begun, in 1407, by Anton Pilgram. The second tower is still unbuilt. The taste for building passed away with the Reformation; more zeal was displayed in robbing and destroying, than in raising, churches. The church had become the slave of the court, and the faithful Jesuits were, by court-favour, alone in a position to build great temples and palaces in a bad Italian style, devoid of sublimity or harmony, which was also adopted in the castles of the princes.

Painting rose as architecture declined. Human nature and earthly objects were studied instead of the supernatural and divine. In the Netherlands, in the commencement of the fifteenth century, John van Eyk, the inventor of oil painting, and his brother Hubert, surpassed all the artists of their time. Besides depth and strength of colouring, they first gave increased life to their figures and richness to their groups. These brothers were succeeded by Hans Hemling, an artist of great merit; in the sixteenth century, by Schoreel, Lucas von Leyden, and Quintin Messis, a smith, who, for love for an artist's daughter, studied her father's art, in which he attained great excellence. A high German school, closely allied with the Dutch, and in which Albert Dürer in Nuremberg, [A. D. 1508,] Hans Holbein in Basle, [A. D. 1554,] and gentle Lucas Cranach, the staunch friend of the true-hearted elector of Saxony, [A. D. 1553,] surpassed all other contemporary artists, was formed at this period. The religious feeling of the age is impressed on the productions of all these artists, and the epic character of the pictures of earlier date, which, crowded with innumerable dwarf-like forms, contained, like

the earlier theatrical representations, a whole history from beginning to end, was gradually lost.

Painting on glass was also carried to perfection in the fifteenth century. This art was cultivated exclusively in Germany, more particularly in the Netherlands, whence the artists were summoned to adorn the dark domes of other countries with their magic creations. Franz was, in 1436, sent for from Lübeck for the purpose of ornamenting the churches of Florence with painted glass.

When art flourished at Nuremberg, when Hans Sachs sang and Dürer painted, sculpture was raised to a higher degree of perfection by Kraft and Peter Vischer.

The religious struggle had been unfavourable to art. What the iconoclast had respected had, during the thirty years' war, almost without exception, been destroyed by the soldiery. The wealthy Dutch alone cultivated art, but their style had become entirely profane, and, generally speaking, vulgar. Nature suddenly threw off the shackles imposed by the church. The great artist, Peter Paul Rubens, [A. D. 1640,] took his models from life, gave warmth and vigour to his colouring, and preferred battle-pieces and voluptuous scenes. Although the founder of the profane Flemish school, he surpasses all his successors in vigour and warmth.

The art of engraving was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century, it is uncertain whether in Italy or Germany. Israel of Mechlin was one of the first engravers; to him succeeded Martin Schœn; the celebrated painter, Albert Dürer, was also distinguished as an engraver, besides Golzius, Müller, Vischer, etc., and Merian.

A school of music as well as of painting, the precursor to the great Italian school of the sixteenth century, was founded in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. The greatest master was John Ockeghem, (Ockenheim,) who died at a great age, in 1513. He greatly improved counter-point composition. Besides him, Jacob Hobrecht and Bernhardt the German, who, in 1470, invented the pedal to the organ, flourished at Venice. Since their time, numbers of German musicians crossed the Alps and taught the Italians, as, for instance, Henry the German, (Arrigo Tedesco,) chapel-director to Maximilian I. In Germany, Adam of Fulda, Hermann Fink, and the blind Paulmann, flourished at Nuremberg. In the

commencement of the sixteenth century, the Dutchman, Adrian Willaert, greatly advanced the art by his compositions on a more extensive scale for voices, the first step towards the opera. Italy was, however, again the scene of this triumph, and, shortly afterwards, Palestrina raised sacred music, and Montaverde that of the opera, to their present state, and the merit of their German teachers was obscured by the brilliancy of their fame. Good masters were, notwithstanding, not wanting in Germany. Luther promoted church-music, and the princes patronized the opera. In 1628, Sagittarius (Schütz) composed the first German opera, Daphne, a translation from the Italian, for the elector of Saxony. The German courts were at this period overrun with Italian singers and chapel-directors.

CCXX. *Histories and Travels.*

THE discovery of the art of printing had, as early as the fifteenth century, given a great impulse to historical writing. The monk no longer wrote in his lonely cell; the princes took historiographers into their service for the purpose of handing down their deeds to posterity or of eternalizing the renown of their house and of defending its claims; the cities luxuriated in their great records, and history was begun to be taught as a science at the universities.

Universal Chronicles were written in the fourteenth century by John von Winterthur and Albert of Strassburg; in the fifteenth, by Engelhusen, Edward Dynter, an Englishman, author of the celebrated Chron. Belgicum Magnum, Gobelimus Persona, Werner Rolewink, John ab Indagine, (Hagen,) Schedel, Steinhœvel, Nauclerus, Cuspinianus; in the sixteenth, by Amandus von Ziriksee and Sebastian Frank, the Anabaptist. The last Universal Chronicle, ornamented with engravings, a popular work, was written by Gottfried. The first systematic Manual of Universal History, the celebrated Carionis Chronicon, also appeared. Megerlein of Basle treated universal history in a religious point of view; Boxhorn, the Dutchman, in a political one. Reineccius of Helmstædt, the first historical critic, introduced the mode of historical writing, of encumbering the text with notes and citations, that was afterwards generally adopted.——The collections of old

historical works also began in the sixteenth century, the Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, the first by Hervagius, the Basle printer, [A. D. 1532,] which was followed by those of Schardius, Reuberus, Pistorius, Urstisius (Wurstisen), and Lindenbrog; in the seventeenth century, by those of Goldast, who wrote the history of Swabia and on the affairs of the empire, and Freher, who also reviewed all the German historians. Separate portions of the earlier histories were also revised. Trithemius, the abbot of Hirsau, besides writing the Chronicle of his monastery, important in reference to the history of Swabia, threw great light upon the earlier history of the Franks. In the fifteenth century, Rüxner wrote the great Tournament Book, whence may be collected a history of the different noble houses of Germany; in the seventeenth, Zinkgreff published an amusing collection of historical anecdotes, Apophthegmata, or witty German sayings.

Notwithstanding the numerous historians of the times, the accounts of the most important events remained buried in the archives. Theodore von Niem produced a biography of the pope, John XXIII. Ulric von Reichenthal, Gebhard Dacher, and Vrie wrote upon the council of Constance; Uttenheim, upon that of Basle; Windeck wrote the Life of Sigmund; Boregk and Hageck, Petrus Abbas, de Weitmühl, the History of Bohemia; Theobald, Cochlæus, Brzezina, in particular, on the Hussite war. The writings of Æneas Sylvius supply rich matter for history, particularly the long reign of Frederick III.; Grumbech also gave an account of this emperor, and Eitelwolf von Stein one of the Venetian war. On being complimented for his fine description of this war, he replied, "If only it had been better conducted!" Pirckheimer wrote on the Swiss war. The histories of Charles V. and of the commencement of the Reformation have been most ably penned by Sleidanus von Sleida. Seckendorf and Chytræus treated of the diet of Augsburg and the Augsburg Confession; Spalatinus, on the share taken by Saxony in the Reformation. The autobiographies of Gœtz von Berlichingen and Sebastian Schertlin are highly worthy of remark, as well as von Reisner's Life of George von Frundsberg. The most important histories of the sixteenth century are those of Paulus Jovius, Perizonius, Surius, and the celebrated Frenchman Thuanus (du Thou). The thirty years' war found

numerous commentators, all of whom, however, are silent as to the most important facts. The principal works on this period are, the Annales Ferdinandei, by Count Khevenhiller; the Swedish War, by Chemnitz; the Theatrum Europæum, commenced by Gottfried; the history Persecutionis Bohemicæ, the "History of the League," the "Laurel Wreath of War," Le Soldat Suedois of Spanheim, Burgi Mars Sueo-Germanicus, Arlanisaei arma Suecica, Gualdo, Lotichius, Lundorpius, Piasecius, Langwitzer, and Waffenberg, who surnamed himself the German Florus. On Frederick of Bohemia, see Eblanius and the French Memoirs of Fontenoy; on Ferdinand II., the Status Regni Ferd. and Father Lamormain; on Wallenstein, Priorato and the Perduellonis Chaos; on Tilly, Liborius Vulturnus; on Gustavus Adolphus, Burgus, Hallenberg, and the contemporary Swedish historians. Volmar wrote the Diary of the Peace of Westphalia. As early as the sixteenth century, Hasenmüller had written a History of the Jesuits. There were, moreover, innumerable pamphleteers.

The greater portion of historical works and by far the most important among them were the provincial histories. On Austria, in the sixteenth century, wrote Wolfgang Lazius, De Roo, Cuspinianus (Spiesshammer), Fugger, the author of the Austrian Mirror of Chivalry, Pesel, that of the Siege of Vienna.——On Bavaria, in the fourteenth century, Volcmar; in the fifteenth, Aventinus (Thurnmayer), Andreas Presbyter, an unknown chronicler in Pollingen, an annalist of Tegernsee and Hoffman; in the sixteenth, Welser, Hund, Raderus (Bavaria sacra); in the seventeenth, Brunner and Adlzreiter (Vervaux). On the Tyrol, in the fourteenth century, Goswin; in the sixteenth, Kirchmayr; during the thirty years' war, Burglechner, (the Tyrolean Eagle,) Maximilian, Count von Mohr, and two brothers, Barons von Wolkenstein. ——On Swabia appeared, besides Goldast's Collection of German Historians, in the fifteenth century, Lyrer's fabulous Swabian Chronicle, a History of Augsburg by Gossenprot, and one of the city of Ellwangen; in the sixteenth century, Crusius's great Swabian Chronicle, a History of Augsburg by Gosser, another of the city of Constance by Manlius, and Bebel's Praise of Swabia.——On Switzerland wrote, in the fifteenth century, Hæmmerlin and Etterlyn, Frickhard published "The Struggle with the Despots," Schilling, his ad-

mirable account of the Burgundian War, and Justinger, the Bernese Chronicle, continued by Tschachtlan; in the sixteenth century, appeared the great Chronicles of Tschudi and Stumpf, a History of Berne by Eysat, of St. Gall by Vadianus, of the Grisons by Anhorn, Pachaly, and Guler von Weineck, of Basle by Wurstisen, and a Chronicle by Stettler.——On the History of Franconia, we find, in the fourteenth century, Riedefel's Chronicle of Hesse, Kœnigshoven's Alsace, Gensbein's admirably written Limburg Chronicle, the celebrated account of the Holy City of Cologne, printed in 1499; and, in the seventeenth century, the good Chronicle of Spires by Lehmann, and an excellent work upon Treves by Browerus.

In respect to the history of the Netherlands, appeared the writings of Olivier de la Marche, Castellarius, Heuterus and Plancher on Burgundy, those of de Smet and Meyerus on Flanders, of Haræus on Brabant, of Snoi and Scriverius on Holland. The war of liberation in the Netherlands has been related by Bor, Reydt, Leo ab Aitzema, Meteren, van Hooft, Strada, Guicciardini, and Bentivoglio.——Beninga, Ubbo Emmius, and Siccama, who published the Laws of Ancient Friesland, wrote upon that country, and, in the sixteenth century, Neocorus published a History of the Ditmarses. The principal works upon Lower Saxony were, in the fourteenth century, the Chronicle of Hermann Cornerus of Lübeck; in the fifteenth, Botho's Chronicles of the Sassen, and Albert Crantz's Saxonia et Vandalia; in the sixteenth, the History of Detmar and Reimar by Koch of Lübeck, that of Cleve by Teschenmacher, that of Brunswick in the fifteenth century; that of Stadtwig by Propendyk and the Lüneburg Chronicle. Pomarius, Reineccius, and Meibomius were the historiographers of Upper Saxony; Albinus and Broutuff wrote upon Meissen in the sixteenth century, Spangenberg upon Mansfeld, Torquatus and Pomarius (Baumgarten) upon Magdeburg.——In the fifteenth century, appeared Von Rothe's admirable Chronicle of Thuringia. In the sixteenth century, Eisenloher of Breslau published a History of Silesia, and in the seventeenth, Schickfuss and Henelius. On Mecklenburg, see Mylius's History in the sixteenth century, Hederich's History of Schwerin, and Lindenbrog's of Rostock. On Pomerania, see Kanzaw's fine Chronicle, a work by Bugenhagen, an excellent Chronicle of Stralsund by Berkmann; in

the seventeenth century, the History of Pomerania by Micrælius. On Prussia, in the fifteenth century, see John von Lindenblatt; in the sixteenth, Runovius, Caspar Schütz, and Lucas David.——On Livonia, in the thirteenth century, Ditleb von Altneke; in the sixteenth, Rüssowen and Hiærne; in the seventeenth, Strauch and Menius. Kelch wrote a Chronicle of Dorpat. Petrejus's History of Moskow may also be included.

The German travellers who enriched Germany with their descriptions of distant parts of the globe next come under consideration. The Holy Land was at first diligently explored. Rauwolf, Baumgarten, Breuning von Buchenbach, and Porsius, who wrote an account of a Persian war in verse, penetrated, in the sixteenth century, farther eastward, some of them as far as Persia; in the seventeenth century, Gentius examined all the libraries in Constantinople and for the first time translated Saadi's Gulistan from the Persian; there were also Olearius, the Holstein ambassador, who crossed Russia to Persia, Troilo, and Strauss. Peter Heyling of Lübeck penetrated into Abyssinia, where he married a near relative of the king, and, in 1647, translated the Gospel of St. John into the Amhar tongue.——At the close of the sixteenth century, the Dutch first circumnavigated the world, Van Noort in 1598, Schouten in 1615, etc. They were accompanied by other Germans, who often gave an account of their voyages to the world, as, for instance, George von Spielberg in 1614, and Deker of Strassburg in 1626. These voyages round the world became, in the seventeenth century, regular commercial trips to the East Indies; see, for instance, those of Van der Brock, Matelief, Bonteku, Saar, etc. Numerous other German travellers, Wurfbain of Nuremberg, a Baron von Mandelslohe from Mecklenburg, von Boy of Frankfurt, Merklin, Kirwitzer, Vogel, and Ziegenbalk also visited the East. The German Jesuits also penetrated as far as China, where they gained many converts, and, by their adroitness, the favour of the lord of the Celestial Empire. The first of that order who visited China was Adam Schall, the most celebrated, Verbiest, A. D. 1668. John Gruber published an account of China in 1661.

One of the most distinguished of the great western discoverers was Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, who enjoyed

great repute as a mathematician at the court of John, king of Portugal, improved the astrolabe for the use of mariners, and was a friend of Columbus, whose faith in the existence of a continent in the West he greatly tended to strengthen. Behaim made voyages of discovery to the African coast, was knighted by the king and became a wealthy landed proprietor in the island of Fayal, one of the Azores, by a marriage with the daughter of a Dutchman, Jobst von Hurter, who held that island in fee, and founded there the city named after him, Villa da Horto. One of Behaim's globes is still shown at Nuremberg.——The new continent discovered by Columbus received the name of America in Germany, from a certain Waldseemüller of Freiburg in the Breisgau, who studied geography at St. Dié in Lorraine, under the protection of the Duke Réné, and, ignorant of the existence of Columbus, published four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, whose name acquired celebrity as that of the discoverer of the new continent, before the Spaniards became aware of the circumstance.*—— Shortly after the discovery of the sea passage to the East Indies, and after that of America, some wealthy Augsburg merchants made great commercial trips thither. The Fuggers, as early as 1505, sent a fleet to Calicut in the East Indies. In 1528, the Welsers sent another to explore the western coasts of America, hitherto uninvestigated, and their servant, Dalfinger of Ulm, became the founder and the first governor of Valparaiso. Bartholemy Welser, grandfather to the celebrated Philippina, was invested by the emperor Charles V. with the eastern coast of America, in return for a loan of twelve tons of gold. Dalfinger, hearing that an immense palace of pure gold had been built in the interior of the country, went in search of it, during his visit exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the natives, and was, on his return, slain by a poisoned arrow. Almost the whole of his followers fell victims to the Indians and to the climate. The Welser, nevertheless, retained possession of Chili until the German colony was driven out by the Spanish.——Philip von Hutten

* Vespucci was totally ignorant of the honour that had been paid to him. He was a man of unpretending character, extremely devoted to Columbus, from whose merit he was far from wishful to detract. Waldseemüller cannot either be blamed, for he had never heard of Columbus.—*Humboldt.*

of Swabia and George of Spires, whose accounts are still extant, assisted at the same time to conquer Mexico; Schmidel of Straubing, who published his extraordinary adventures, aided in raising Buenos Ayres, 1535. The account given by the Jesuit, Strobel, of his sojourn among the Patagonians, at the southernmost point of America, is equally interesting. Marggravius wrote an account of the natural wonders of the Brazils, A. D. 1644, and Appollonius another of Florida and Peru. Fritz, the German Jesuit, drew out, in 1690, an excellent map of the river Amazon, where he established the first mission of his order.

The study of geography was, in the fifteenth century, greatly promoted by Schweinheim of Mayence, whose charts were published [A. D. 1478] by Bucking, in a Ptolemæan edition at Rome. They are the first printed maps on record. Martin Behaim's globe and maps of the world were anterior to the discovery of America. The sixteenth century boasted of Apianus (Bienewitz) Gemma, Loritus, Sebastian Münster, but above all, of the Dutchman, Mercator, who introduced the division of maps into degrees; the seventeenth, of Cluver of Dantzig, who greatly facilitated the study of ancient geography. Merian, the indefatigable engraver of Basle, A. D. 1651, who published copious accounts of the principal countries of Europe, adorned with copper-plates, was the best topographer of the age.

FOURTH PERIOD.

MODERN TIMES.

PART XX. THE AGE OF LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

CCXXI. *Louis the Fourteenth.*

THE century subsequent to the peace of Westphalia is distinguished as the age of Louis the Fourteenth, that monarch being the sun by which it was illumined, and whose splendour was reflected by all the courts of Europe. The first revolution against the middle ages was accomplished in him, by his subjection of the interests of the aristocratic and inferior classes beneath his despotic rule. He said with truth "l'état c'est moi," for entire France, the country and the people, their arms, and even their thoughts, were his. The sole object of the whole nation was to do the will of their sovereign; "car tel est notre plaisir" was the usual termination to his commands. The magnificent chateau of Versailles, the abode of this terrestrial deity, was peopled with mistresses and a countless troop of parasites, on whom the gold, drawn from the impoverished and oppressed people, was lavished. The nobility and clergy, long subject to their lord and king, shared the licence of the court and formed a numerous band of courtiers, whilst men of the lower classes, whose superior parts had brought them into note, were attached as philosophers, poets, and artists, to the court, the monarch extending his patronage to every art and science prostituted by flattery.

The French court, although externally Catholic, was solely guided by the tenets of the new philosophy, which were spread over the rest of the world by the sonnets of anacreontic poets and the bon-mots of court savants. This

philosophy set forth that egotism was the only quality natural to man, that virtues were but feigned, or, when real, ridiculous. Freedom from the ancient prejudices of honour or religion, and carelessness in the choice of means for the attainment of an object, were regarded as proofs of genius. Immorality was the necessary accompaniment of talent. Virtue implied stupidity; the grossest licence, the greatest wit. Vice became the mode, was publicly displayed and admired. The first duty imposed upon knighthood, the protection of innocence, was exchanged for seduction, adultery, or nightly orgies, and the highest ambition of the prince, the courtier, or the officer was to enrich the *chronique scandaleuse* with his name. A courtier's honour consisted in breaking his word, in deceiving maidens, and cheating creditors, in contracting enormous debts and in boasting of their remaining unpaid, etc.; nor was this demoralization confined to private life. The cabinet of Versailles, in its treatment of all the European powers, followed the rules of this modern philosophy, as shown in the conduct of the Parisian cavalier towards the citizens, their wives and daughters, by the practice of rudeness, seduction, robbery, and every dishonourable art. It treated laws, treaties, and truth with contempt, and ever insisted upon its own infallibility.

The doctrine that a prince can do no wrong had a magical effect upon the other sovereigns of Europe; Louis XIV. became their model, and the object to which most of them aspired, the attainment, like him, of deification upon earth. Even Germany, impoverished and weakened by her recent struggle, was infected with this universal mania, and [A. D. 1656] John George II. began to act the part of a miniature Louis XIV., in starving and desolate Saxony. A splendid guard, a household on a more extensive scale, sumptuous fêtes, grandes battues, lion-hunts, theatricals, Italian operas, (a new mode, for which singers were, at great expense, imported from Italy,) regattas and fireworks on the Elbe, the formation of expensive cabinets of art and of museums, were to raise the elector of Saxony on a par with the great sovereign of France, and, in 1660, the state becoming in consequence bankrupt, the wretched Estates were compelled to wrest the sums required to supply the pleasures of the prince from his suffering people. To him succeeded [A. D.

1680] John George III., who spent all he possessed on his troops; then [A. D. 1691] John George IV., who reigned until 1694, and whose mistress, Sibylla von Neidschütz, reigned conjointly with her mother over the country and plundered the people, whilst his minister, Count von Hoymb, openly carried on a system of robbery and extortion.——In Bavaria, [A. D. 1679,] Ferdinand Maria followed the example of Saxony. The miseries endured by the people during the thirty years' war were forgotten by the elector, who erected Schleisheim (Little Versailles) and Nymphenburg (Little Marly), and gave theatrical entertainments and fetes, according to the French mode.——He lived in most extraordinary splendour. Two hundred-weight and nineteen pounds of gold were expended on the embroidery alone of his bed of state. His consort, Adelheid, a daughter of Victor Amadeus of Savoy, an extremely bigoted princess, surpassed his extravagance in her gifts to the churches. She long remained childless, and, on the birth of that traitor to Germany, Maximilian Emanuel, caused the celebrated Theatin church at Munich to be built by an Italian architect. She died before its completion, and it was consequently finished on a less magnificent scale than the original plan.

Ancient Spanish dignity was still maintained in the old imperial house. Ferdinand III. closed the wounds inflicted by the thirty years' war and zealously endeavoured at the diet, held at Nuremberg, [A. D. 1653,] to regulate the affairs of the empire, the imperial chamber, etc.; but life could no longer be breathed into the dead body of the state, and no emperor, since Ferdinand, has since presided in person over the diet. ——This monarch fell sick and died shortly after of fright, occasioned by the fall of one of his guards, who had snatched up the youngest prince in order to save him from a fire that had burst out in the emperor's sick chamber. He was succeeded by his son, Leopold "with the thick lip," who was then in his eighteenth year. This prince, whose principal amusement during his childhood had been the erection of miniature altars, the adornment of figures and pictures of saints, etc., had, under the tuition of the Jesuit Neidhart, grown up a melancholy bigot, stiff, unbending, punctilious, and grave, devoid of life or energy.

The advantages gained by Louis XIV., by the treaty of

Westphalia, merely inspired him with a desire for the acquisition of still greater. He even speculated upon gaining possession of the imperial throne, and, with that intent, bribed several of the princes, the elector, Charles Louis, of the Pfalz, (who was at that time enraged at the loss of the Upper Pfalz, and, consequently, lent a willing ear to the perfidious counsels of France,) with a gift of 110,000 dollars, and Bavaria, Cologne, and Mayence with sums similar in amount. Saxony and Brandenburg, however, withstood the temptation, and the German crown was rescued from the disgrace of adorning the brow of a foreign despot, of Germany's most inveterate foe, to be placed on Leopold's peruke, a miserable substitute for the golden locks of the Hohenstaufen.

Louis, in revenge, formed [A. D. 1658] an anti-imperial confederacy, the Lower Rhenish alliance. John Philip von Schœnborn, elector of Mayence and archchancellor of the empire, and his influential minister, Boineburg, who, bribed by every court, played a double game, were particularly active in forwarding his views, and conscientiously compensated France for the part they had taken in the election of the emperor, by the Rhenish confederation. The elector of Cologne, the bishop of Münster, the princes of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Hesse-Cassel were equally regardless of their honour, and with Eberhard of Würtemberg (notwithstanding the opposition of his patriotic provincial Estates) countenanced the predatory schemes of the French monarch. The conduct of the Guelphs at that period was still more notoriously base. The sons of George von Lüneburg, who had succeeded him in Calenberg and Gœttingen, and their uncle, Frederick, [A. D. 1648,] in Lüneburg-Celle, divided these provinces between them, the eldest, Christian Louis, taking Lüneburg-Celle, the second, George William, Calenberg-Gœttingen. The latter was generally out of the country, in Italy or in France, where he imbibed all the vices of the court of Versailles. Both the brothers were drawn over to the Gallo-papal party by their third brother, John Frederick, who made a public profession of Catholicism at Assisi and held a conference with his elder brothers [A. D. 1652] in Perugia. In 1665, he came to Germany and received Hanover, in exchange, from George William. The Catholic form of service was instantly re-established. The Hanoverian Estates were dismissed with the words, "I am

emperor in my territories." He received a monthly pension from France of 10,000 dollars. The fourth brother,* Ernest Augustus, who afterwards succeeded to the whole of the family possessions, was the only one faithful to the imperial cause. The object of the Rhenish alliance was to hinder the emperor from interfering with the projects of France upon the Spanish Netherlands, and with those of Sweden upon Brandenburg. The attention of the youthful emperor was, moreover, also at the instigation of France, occupied with a fresh attack on the part of Turkey. Louis had thus spread his net on all sides.

His first acquisition was a portion of the Netherlands, which he annexed [A. D. 1653] to France. The war between France and Spain had been renewed with great vigour in 1653. The great Condé, at that time at strife with the still omnipotent minister, Mazarin, and supported by the Duke of Lorraine, had rebelled, had been defeated by Turenne, and had fled to the Netherlands, where he fought at the head of the Spaniards (as once Charles de Bourbon) against his countrymen. His invasion of Picardy was checked by Turenne. Spain robbed herself of a faithful confederate in Charles of Lorraine, who lived riotously at Brussels, where he gained such popularity as to excite the jealousy of the Spanish authorities; this greatly diverted him, and he purposely gave them offence, upon which Count Fuendelsagna, forgetful of the fidelity with which he had long served against France, caused him to be arrested and to be sent to Spain, A. D. 1654. Louis instantly rose in his defence, attacked the Netherlands and entered into alliance with Cromwell, who was then at the head of the English republic, against Spain. Condé was victorious at Valenciennes, A. D. 1656, but the empire offered no aid to the Netherlands. The French besieged Dunkirk (which had fallen into their hands in 1646 and had been again ceded by the treaty of Westphalia) for England, as the price of Cromwell's alliance; Condé attempted to relieve the city, but was surprised and defeated by Turenne in the dams, A. D. 1658.

* When a poor prince, he married [A. D. 1658] Sophia, the daughter of the winter-king, Frederick, and of the beautiful Elisabeth Stuart, whose brother, Charles I., was beheaded. And yet Ernest Augustus inherited the whole of the possessions of his childless brothers, and his son, George, shortly afterwards mounted the throne of England.

The treaty of the Pyrenees followed, by which Arras, Hesdin, and other towns were ceded to France, the Infanta, Maria Theresa, of Spain was given in marriage to Louis, with a dowry of three hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the Duke of Lorraine, who naturally ever afterwards sided with France, was restored to liberty. Dunkirk fell to England, but, on Cromwell's death, was purchased by Louis from Charles II. and strongly garrisoned with French; and Dunkirk,* as the name proves, a genuinely German town, the western frontier town on the Northern Ocean, with its splendid harbour, was thus lost to Germany and sold by one foreign sovereign to another.

In Sweden, the Queen Christina, a voluptuous and fantastical woman, had, from vanity and a love of eccentricity, turned Catholic, voluntarily abdicated [A. D. 1654] in favour of Charles Gustavus, prince of Pfalz-Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, who had, during the thirty years' war, acquired great popularity among the Swedes, and fixed her residence at Rome. On reaching Innspruck, on her way thither, she unblushingly made a public profession of Catholicism. She entered Rome in a triumphal procession, borne in a sumptuous litter, accompanied by the archdukes, Ferdinand Charles and Sigmund Francis, on horseback; the papal legate, who had come to her rencontre in order to welcome her to the bosom of the holy church, was an adventurer from Hamburg, named Lucas Holstein. She afterwards laid her crown and sceptre on the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto, observing of her crown, as she did so, "Ne mi bisogna, ne mi basta." On the death of Charles Gustavus she attempted to reascend the Swedish throne.

Charles Gustavus, ambitious of earning a fame equal to that of his great predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, immediately on his accession declared war against Poland, but had scarcely landed ere the Russians, under their Grand-duke Michael, invaded Livonia. Dantzig resisted the Swedes, whilst Riga,

* The *Dünen*, or dams, are high, broad walls of sand that protect the damp bank against the violence of the waves. Stakes are run into the ground, and osiers, branches, and wisps of straw are woven between them. The sea-sand gradually settles in the interstices, and a second layer is then raised. Sea-grass, which quickly springs up and binds the sand with its roots, is then sown on the wall top.

the natural maritime city of Poland, with which she was closely allied by her material interests, made a valiant defence against the Russians, who, being finally compelled to raise the siege, revenged their disgrace by treating the country people with the most atrocious cruelty. Women and children were roasted alive, mutilated, and spitted on pikes, etc. Courland was garrisoned by Charles Gustavus, who advanced into Poland. Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, actuated by a hope of gaining possession of Swedish Pomerania, at first aided Casimir of Poland, but fortune no sooner declared in favour of Sweden, than the wily elector ranged himself on that side and assisted Charles Gustavus in defeating the Poles near Warsaw, immediately after which he again offered peace and his alliance to Casimir on condition of that monarch's relinquishing his feudal right over the duchy of Prussia. A treaty was concluded [A. D. 1657] to this effect at Welau, and the elector, in order to secure himself from the vengeance of the Swedes, incited the Danes and Dutch to attack them and entered into alliance with the emperor, Leopold, who despatched General Montecuculi to his aid, and the new allies took possession of Swedish Pomerania, whilst Charles Gustavus crossed the Belt on the ice, (two companies alone were drowned,) besieged Copenhagen and compelled Denmark to sign a treaty of peace, [A. D. 1658,] which, on his return, was instantly infringed, Denmark finding a new and potent ally in Holland, which beheld the naval power of Sweden with jealousy, and whose victorious fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, forced its way through the Sound and almost annihilated that of Sweden under the eye of the king, who viewed the engagement from the fortress of Kronenburg. This disaster proved fatal to him. The treaty of Oliva was concluded shortly after his death, A. D. 1660. The terms of this treaty were, notwithstanding, favourable to Sweden and prove the respect universally felt for her power, Livonia, Esthonia, and Œsel remaining in her possession, and the great elector being compelled to relinquish Swedish Pomerania. Charles Gustavus had also succeeded in separating the Gottorp branch of the Danish (Oldenburg) house from the royal line of Denmark. Christian Albert, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, formerly vassal to his cousin, the Danish monarch, raised himself, with Sweden's aid, to sovereign power.

The Rhenish alliance, against which Frederick William had energetically and publicly protested, was invalidated by the conclusion of peace. Frederick William, in his manifesto, called upon the Germans to protect Poland "as one of the bulwarks of the empire." His actions, however, little accorded with his words—he aided to ruin that country for the sake of a trifling advantage.

France, increasing in her endeavours to disturb the peace of Germany, again incited Turkey to the attack, and [A. D. 1663] the grand visir, Kiuprili, penetrated as far as Olmutz in Moravia, laying the country waste as he advanced. Fortune had, however, given the emperor an admirable general in Montecuculi, by whom the Turkish army was completely routed in a pitched battle near St. Gotthard, A. D. 1664. Montecuculi's favourite saying was, "Three things alone insure victory, gold, gold, gold!" and by this means he certainly succeeded in enchaining her to his banner.

CCXXII. *The Swiss Peasant War.*

THE thirty years' war had excited the passions of the Swiss without producing any immediate or open demonstration. The wealth brought for security into the Alps by the innumerable German refugees had introduced luxuries among the mountaineers, which were favoured by the more speculative inhabitants of the cities, who lent the peasant money on his land, and, by making him their debtor, and, consequently, personally dependent, destroyed his political liberty. On the termination of the thirty years' war and the consequent return of the German refugees to their native country, money became gradually more scarce, and the situation of the peasantry more deplorable. Jacob Wagenmann of Sursee wrote at this period, "consequently, driven to despair, war appeared to them to offer the only means by which they could at once and completely wipe off their debts. A pretext was not long wanting. They declared that the provincial governors were too severe, which was sometimes the case, and that the laws favoured the interests of their rulers more than justice and the public weal." The people of Entlibuch, who were dependent on Lucerne, and those of the Emmenthal, who were subservient to Berne, were, moreover, jealous of the privileges enjoyed by their

nearest neighbours in Unterwalden and Schwyz, to which they claimed, owing to their similarity in descent and occupation and their close vicinity, an equal right. The prevalence of this feeling among the people was apparent on the first appearance of the Entlibuch insurgents, who were headed by three athletic men, dressed in the ancient costume, as Walther Furst, Stauffacher, and Melchthal.

The revolt broke out [A. D. 1653] in Entlibuch, on Emmenegger's protest against the depreciation of the small coin, and on the threat of Krebsinger, the president of the council of Berne, "that he would place five hundred invulnerable Italians on the necks of the rebellious peasantry." The outrages committed by the soldiery during the thirty years' war were still fresh in the minds of the people, and the impression produced by this threat is therefore easily conceivable. The first outburst of their rage was vented on the Lucerne bailiffs, whom they expelled the valley. They then flew to arms and struck such terror into the citizens that messengers of peace were instantly sent to recall them to obedience and to represent to them that "their authority was from God," to which Krummenacher, a powerful-looking peasant, growled out in reply, "Yes, it is from God, when you act justly, but from the devil when you act with injustice." The city made some concessions, and a reconciliation took place. The aristocracy of Berne, ever on the alert, had, meanwhile, prepared for war, and, by their over-caution, drew upon themselves the calamity they sought to avoid; the Bernese arrière-ban refusing to take the field against the people of Entlibuch, and their disobedience affording the Bernese peasantry an opportunity for revolt. Two parties, the Moderates, (*Linden*,) and the Radicals, (*Harten*,) sprang up; the latter formed themselves into a provincial assembly, and placed Niklaus Leuenberg, a man of great eloquence, at their head. The aristocracy of Basle now committed a blunder similar to that of Berne by sending five hundred soldiers across the Jura to Aarau. Their numbers, increased by rumour, spread terror through the country; the Aargau rose in self-defence and gained an easy victory. Berne was, notwithstanding, restored to tranquillity by the intervention of the confederation. Some disturbances also took place in Solothurn, where the government willingly made concessions. Basle granted the demands of the insurgent peasantry of

Liestal, and peace and confidence were apparently restored on all sides.

The contest, however, broke out afresh. Wagenmann, the peasants' foe, relates, that "the village magnates of Entlibuch, whose authority had lasted two months, resolved not to part with the power they had gained. The people of Willisau declared that they had been unable, owing to the trumpets having been sounded purposely at the moment when the treaty was read, clearly to comprehend the purport of its fifth article, by which all offices were placed in the gift of the government," and a proclamation published at the same time by the deliberative council, in which the peasants were designated as rebels, and charged with the whole blame, rendered them extremely distrustful of the sincerity of their governments in subscribing to the articles of peace, and the aristocracy in all the cantons being apparently ranged in opposition to them, the whole of the peasantry confederated and invited their brethren in all the cantons, without reference to religion, to assemble on the 23rd of April, 1653, in the forest of Sumis in the canton of Berne. Leuenberg was, against his will, compelled to preside over the meeting. Their first object, an alliance with the ancient confederated peasantry in the original cantons, failed; the haughty peasants of Uri refusing to have aught in common with the herdsmen of Entlibuch. Leuenberg's despatches were scornfully returned.

The dread of the arrival of foreign troops now revived with redoubled force, and the apprehensions of the peasantry being strengthened by the discovery of some grenades on board a vessel, laden with iron-ware, seized by them on the Aar, they took up arms, in order to defend themselves against their imaginary foes.

The governments, hereupon, prepared in earnest for opposition, and, taking advantage of a letter addressed by the French ambassador to Leuenberg, in which he declared him responsible in case the Austrians seized the opportunity, presented by the disturbed state of the country, to cross the frontier, converted the question, until now simply internal and aristocratic, into an external and patriotic one, and designated the peasants, not as foes to the aristocracy, but as traitors to their country. The peasants, half-conscious of being outwitted, were, consequently, more highly infuriated, and war was

rendered inevitable by the formidable preparations made by Berne, Lucerne, Basle, and Zurich, to which the peasantry on the lake caused great alarm.

A stratagem, favoured by chance, opened the passes occupied by the peasantry to the government troops and frustrated their plan of warfare. The steward of a Bernese noble, whom curiosity had led too close to the scene of operations, was taken prisoner by the peasants, and, by accident, overheard a conference between Leuenberg and his commander-in-chief, Schybi, and, on regaining his liberty, laid Schybi's well-schemed plan of battle before the Zurichers. About six thousand Bernese troops, coming from Vaud, being stopped by Leuenberg at the pass near Gümmenen, Dürheim, the Bernese provincial governor, craftily spread a report, that Leuenberg and the whole of his troops had embraced Catholicism and that the sole object of the insurgents was to betray the Bernese to the pope. The Protestant peasants guarding the pass, terrified at this rumour, fled, and the pass was instantly occupied by the Bernese. The government of Lucerne, with equal subtlety, retained their hold over their bigoted Catholic subjects by publishing a manifesto from the clergy, in which the war against the insurgent peasantry was declared agreeable to the Divine will.

General Werdmüller of Zurich at length took the field at the head of some well-disciplined troops, with a fine body of cavalry and a park of artillery, against the numerous but ill-armed peasantry. At Ottmarsingen, in the vicinity of Lenzburg, he came up with a body of about fifteen hundred armed insurgents, posted in a wood, and strongly barricadoed. Werdmüller halted his troops, and, some of the peasant leaders coming forward, he demanded, "Why they had taken up arms?" They replied, that, "peace was their greatest desire; that they would instantly lay down their arms on the restoration of the privileges and rights they had enjoyed for a century past, and of which they had been deprived, and that they would oppose violence by violence. Death could happen but once!" A pitched battle was fought a few days afterwards at Wohlenschwyl. The peasantry defended the burning village under a heavy cannonade, until late at night, when both parties retreated to their camps. The peasantry, however, perceiving their inability to cope with regular troops and ar-

tillery acceded [A. D. 1653] to the terms of peace proposed by the general, which deceitfully provided that "any thing relating further to the government or to their subjects, should, in default of an amicable arrangement, be regulated by the law." This article inspired the peasantry with the vain hope of an amicable adjustment of differences, whilst it reserved to the cities the power of refusing, and also that of referring to the law, that is, to the penal code. The peasants were at first treated with great apparent friendship, and Leuenberg dined in public with the general. Vengeance, nevertheless, did not tarry.

The peasantry of Entlibuch, mistrusting the peace, advised their Bernese brethren not to accede to the terms, and, finding themselves unheeded, withdrew. Although surrounded on every side, they defended themselves in Entlibuch with most unflinching bravery, but were finally compelled to yield. Their leaders were thrown into prison.

Some of the Bernese peasantry having marched to the assistance of their brethren in Entlibuch, but without taking part in the contest, the government seized the opportunity to infringe the treaty of Wohlenschwyl and to take their revenge on the Bernese, who had been greatly weakened by the defeat of the people of Entlibuch, and, in order to strike them with terror, von Erlach marched with a considerable force from Berne to Wangen, burning, murdering, plundering, etc., like a horde of barbarians. Leuenberg instantly wrote a letter to Werdmüller, in which he called upon him to maintain the treaty and charged him and Erlach with the crime of renewing the war. He then took the field with five thousand Emmenthal peasants against Erlach, but, ill-armed and overpowered by numbers, they suffered a total defeat, and he was shortly afterwards betrayed by a peasant, who was consequently pardoned, into the hands of his enemies.

Werdmüller vainly endeavoured to interpret the treaty, concluded by him at Wohlenschwyl, in the peasants' favour; the city-councils wer intent upon revenge, and a fearful tribunal was held in every place where the peasants had been captured. Torture, hanging, beheading, quartering, splitting of tongues and ears, slavery on the Venetian galleys, long imprisonment and hard labour, were the modes of punishment resorted to. Basle, although exposed to little danger

during the war, acted with the greatest severity, and Solothurn with the greatest lenity intermixed with baseness, the lives of the peasantry of that canton being spared on payment of an enormous fine. The council of Solothurn, ever greedy of gain, also entered at that time into a separate alliance with France. The popular leaders were treated with peculiar barbarity. The gallant Schybi, a handsome athletic man, endured the severest torture without a murmur. Leuenberg's head was stuck, with the letter of confederation, on the gallows, and his quartered body was hung up in four parts of the country.

The treaty of Wohlenschwyl was partially recognised by a court of arbitration formed by the confederation, and a few concessions were assured to the peasantry; the different governments, nevertheless, delayed their confirmation under various pretexts. The patience of the Entlibuch peasantry was at length exhausted, and the three Tells, the men who, on the first rising of the people of Entlibuch, had personated the three ancient Swiss patriots of the Grütli, waylaid, in imitation of William Tell, some Lucerne councillors, when passing along a deep road, shot one and wounded the rest. Their arrest being attempted, they desperately defended themselves within their cottage and were at length shot by their assailants. This incident, however, induced Lucerne at length to announce the stipulated concessions to Entlibuch.

Success increased the arrogance of the cities, which haughtily extended their claims even over the free peasantry of the original cantons. It was no longer with a purely religious motive that Zurich and Berne took the part of some families expelled on account of their faith from Schwyz, prescribed laws to that canton, and, at length, declared war against it; fanatical zeal had cooled, the proud citizen solely took up arms for the reduction of his peasant brother. The Catholics, nevertheless, confederated, [A. D. 1656,] and the Reformers were totally routed at Villmergen.

CCXXIII. *Holland in distress.*

HOLLAND, actuated by commercial jealousy, wasted her strength in a ruinous contest with England instead of setting a limit to the encroachments of France. The stadtholder,

William of Orange, [A. D. 1647,] depended upon the soldiery for the maintenance of the prosperity of the country; the republican party, upon commerce and the navy. At the head of this party stood Jacob de Witt, who, together with five other members of the states-general, was arrested at William's command, A. D. 1650; but William expiring shortly afterwards, and his son, William, being born eight days after his death, the republican party, headed by John, the son of Jacob de Witt, regained their former power. John, at that time compelled to carry on a severe contest with England, neglected to take the necessary precautions against France, to keep up the fortresses and to maintain the army. The passing of Cromwell's Navigation Act, [A. D. 1651,] by which foreign vessels, laden with native produce, were alone allowed to enter English ports, caused great detriment to Holland, which at that time monopolized almost the whole of the continental trade, and a struggle consequently ensued between her and England for the rule of the sea. Holland was still at the height of her power. She numbered ten thousand merchantmen, one hundred and sixty-eight thousand sailors. Her admirals were the veteran Tromp, the brave de Ruyter, who had commenced life as a poor sailor, the proud Corneliusson de Witt, who had renounced the mild doctrines of the Mennonites, in which he had been educated, for the sake of thrashing a person who had insulted him; the brothers Evertsen and van Galen. The English admirals were Blake, Monk, Askew, and Appleton. The great naval war began A. D. 1651. Tromp was victorious off Dover, de Ruyter off Plymouth, but both were, in a third engagement, defeated, owing to a disagreement between them and de Witt. In 1652, Tromp gained a brilliant victory over the English under Blake and fixed a broom at his mast-head, in sign of his having swept the sea clear from every foe. The English now exerted their utmost strength, and, in a fresh engagement, that took place in the ensuing year, victory was claimed by both sides. Van Galen, however, succeeded in beating Appleton off Livorno. He was struck with a cannon-ball and expired, exclaiming, "It is easy to die for one's country, when crowned with victory!" The veteran Tromp, the father of the navy, was defeated and killed off Dunkirk. Eight captains and several lieutenants, whose negligence had mainly caused this misfortune, were

punished with republican severity, some of them being thrice keelhauled, the punishment always inflicted by Van Tromp upon cowards.

Peace was concluded [A. D. 1654] between England and Holland, whose common interests led them to oppose the princes, and the reigning faction in Holland resolved, for the better preservation of the democracy, that, for the future, no Prince of Orange should rule as stadtholder over Holland; but, on the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in England, the Orange party rose again in Holland, repealed the decree of 1654, and elected William as their future stadtholder. John de Witt yielded, and dreading, at this period of universal reaction, to disoblige the English monarch, delivered up to him some English members of parliament, who had formerly voted for the execution of Charles I. The war, nevertheless, again broke out. The commercial interests of the English and Dutch were opposed to each other in every quarter of the globe, and the former, numerically superior, regarded the colonies of the latter with a covetous eye. These important colonies lay too scattered to be easily maintained. During the short peace between Holland and England, Charles II., who had wedded a Portuguese princess, brought about a treaty with Portugal, to which Holland ceded the Brazils, after losing almost the whole of her fleet. The Cape of Good Hope, colonized [A. D. 1648] by Riebeck, so important for the trade with the East Indies, was, on the other hand, raised to a higher degree of prosperity, and the Dutch, after extending their trade along the Malabar coast as far as Persia, took possession of Ceylon, etc. Holland, after the cession of the Brazils, being unable to resolve upon that of her colonies in North America, whose possession was coveted by England, war again broke out between the rival powers in 1664. England seized the Dutch colonies on the eastern coast of North America and converted the city of New Amsterdam into that of New York. Wasenaar was defeated on the English coast, and his ship blown into the air. De Ruyter was at that time absent in Africa. The naval power of Holland rose on his return, and a fearful revenge was taken [A. D. 1666] in an engagement off the English coast, which lasted four days, and in which the English, with whom the Pfalzgrave Rupert fought, lost twenty-three ships; six thousand men were killed, and three thousand made prisoners. This was

de Ruyter's most difficult and greatest triumph, in which he was aided by the younger Tromp and Cornelius Evertson, the latter of whom fell and was replaced by his brother John, who had retired into private life, and whose father, son, and four brothers had already fallen for their country, a fate he himself shared in the next engagement. In the ensuing year, de Ruyter and Cornelius, John de Witt's brother, sailed up the Thames, laid waste the coast almost as far as London, the English having been driven from the sea, and burnt several English ships at Chatham, taking possession of the Thames from the North Foreland and Margate as far as the Nore. The English were compelled to accede to the terms of peace proposed by her victorious rival, at Breda, A. D. 1667, and the Navigation Act was suspended in regard to Dutch cargoes.

France beheld these disputes between her neighbours, which she stimulated to the utmost in her power, with delight, and, meanwhile, projected the seizure of the Spanish Netherlands. Spain was rapidly on the decline. The system pursued by Philip II. had been productive of evil to his successors. The monarch slumbered in the arms of the church, the navy fell to pieces, the army into rags. The provincial Estates in the Netherlands had remained unconvoked since 1600. The spirit of the people had sunk. These provinces were also externally unprotected. The Rhenish princes had been gained by Louis XIV., who also won over Holland by fraudulently proposing the partition of the Spanish Netherlands, to which John de Witt as fraudulently assented for the sake of gaining time, conquests by land not laying in his plan, and a weak neighbour (Spain) being preferred by him to a powerful one (France). He has been groundlessly charged with having been actually in alliance with France, whom he in reality merely deceived, and against whom he raised a powerful league, the triple-alliance between Holland, England, and Sweden, which instantly opposed the attempted extension of the French territory on the seizure of the Netherlands by Turenne under pretext of the non-payment of the dowry of the Infanta Maria Theresa, and Louis was compelled to accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, [A. D. 1668,] and to content himself with the possession of twelve towns, Doornik, Ryssel, Cortryk, Oudenarde, etc. Germany looked on with indifference.

Louis XIV., enraged at the duplicity practised by John de Witt, now intrigued against Holland, and, in order to guard against a second surprise, entered into negotiation with the neighbouring powers, with the view of completely isolating the Dutch republic. A fresh alliance was concluded with Switzerland, A. D. 1663; the governments were flattered and bribed and a number of mercenaries drawn from them, whilst the betrayed people were treated with insolent contempt and their petitions for the removal of the restrictions upon commerce on the frontier left unnoticed. Lorraine was speedily mastered. Francis, the duke's brother, had, in 1662, defended the country against Louis, and the duke, Charles, who had, in 1667, with great unwillingness allowed his troops to coalesce with those of France, refused to come to a further understanding. The country was instantly occupied with French troops, the duke expelled, [A. D. 1670,] Nancy pillaged and the booty carried to Paris. This scandalous robbery, committed in peace-time on a German province, remained unpunished. The empire offered no interference. The imperial towns in Alsace, Strassburg excepted, had been compelled, [A. D. 1665,] in a similar manner, to swear allegiance to France. Vain was the address of a patriot (Gallus ablegatus) to the diet, "Awake, ye princes of Germany, arise! France has seized Lorraine, the Rhine lies open. Awake! shake off your slumbers, seize your arms! Beware of the Egonists! March forward! Choose whether you would be eagles under the eagle or chickens under the cock!" The Egonists (a play upon the word egotist and the three brothers von Fürstenberg, Francis Egon, bishop of Strassburg, Ferdinand Egon, master of the household at Munich, and William Egon) had universal rule, more particularly William, who blindly led the elector, Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, and was Louis's principal agent in Germany, by which he gained the soubriquet of "*le cher ami de France.*" Cologne and the bishop of Münster, Bernard von Galen, furnished the French monarch with troops, in which they were imitated by John Frederick of Hanover, who took a French general into his service for the purpose of teaching his subjects the French exercise and lived in his impoverished country with the senseless pomp of a little Louis. Christian of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was infected with a similar mania, made a public profession of Ca-

tholicism at Paris, [A. D. 1663,] took the name of Louis and always subscribed himself "knight of the order of the most Christian king." Others among the German princes remained neutral. Ferdinand Maria, elector of Bavaria, whom Louis had surrounded with licentious French courtiers, and who was completely led by a brother of William von Fürstenberg and by the Jesuit Privigniani, the creature of France; Eberhard of Würtemberg, who sided with France through dread of losing Mümpelgard, and who, on that account, gave his son the name of Louis and begged the French king to stand godfather; Mayence, where a whisper from France sufficed to overthrow the minister, Boineburg, who, for a moment, appeared to favour Germany; Treves, exposed to every attack, and the rest of the petty Rhenish princes. A Count Solms, the only one who refused to yield, was beaten to death by order of Turenne. Bitter complaints and satires abounded, but Louis XIV. had German authors, among others, the celebrated Conring, in his pay, who lauded France to the skies, defended his claim upon the conquered territory, and loaded German patriotism with ridicule. Finally, aided by the princes of Lobkowitz, (who, like Lichtenstein, Colleredo, Gallas, and Piccolomini, had risen to note during the thirty years' war, and who held the principality of Sagan in fee,) whom he had bribed, he deluded the emperor into an alliance [A. D. 1761] for the pretended extermination of the heretics. This secret treaty was shown by France to the elector of Brandenburg, partly with a view of striking him with terror, partly with that of dissipating his inclination to ally himself with Austria. Germany was, by these means, secured, and, on the confirmation of the alliance between Louis and Charles II., king of England, the fate of Holland appeared inevitable. Louis, in order to colour his designs, pretended to act in the name of his brother sovereigns and to avenge the monarchical principle on the insolent republic. A medal was struck, representing Louis in a haughty attitude, and, on the reverse, Holland humbled, with the inscription, "Ultor Regum."

Leibnitz, the great philosopher, formed at that time the whimsical plan of diverting the French from the conquest of Holland by that of Egypt, and of preserving the tranquillity of Germany by means of a quarrel between France and Turkey. John Philip, the intriguing elector of Mayence, under-

took the management of this affair, which was treated with ridicule by Louis, who laughingly observed, that 'crusades were no longer in vogue."

The French king entered Holland at the head of two hundred thousand men, whilst the bishop of Munster made a simultaneous attack on the opposite side with a force, twenty thousand strong, which found the states-general unprepared. The fortresses were in a state of dilapidation, and the army scarcely mustered twenty thousand men. The French, consequently, made rapid progress, took Wesel and Rheinsberg, (which, although appertaining to Brandenburg, had been long garrisoned as security against the Spanish, by the Dutch,) cut Holland off from any aid that might offer from Germany, and, ere long, occupied Oberyssel, Gueldres, and Utrecht. The only opposition offered to the Dutch was at the mouth of the Yssel, where the great Condé was wounded. The mercenaries were spiritless, their commanders often traitors, the people ignorant of the use of arms and taken by surprise. In Wesel, the women refused to allow their husbands to expose themselves to the enemy's fire and insisted upon capitulation. The citizens of Nimwegen, Bommel, Deventer, and Elburg, on the other hand, displayed the greatest courage, but were unable, owing to the cowardice of their officers, who deserted, to maintain themselves against the besieging army. Several undecisive engagements also took place between the fleets of England and Holland, A. D. 1672.

The Dutch, who had for so long deemed themselves secure from every hostile attack, were panic-struck, and the cry of "Holland is in distress" passed from mouth to mouth. Their courage, however, speedily returned, and, on the proposal of a negotiation with France being made to the states-general by John de Witt, some of the city deputies, among others, the burgomaster of Amsterdam, John von der Poll, Valckenier, Hop, and Hasselaar, made an ineffectual opposition; the assembled provincial Estates of Zealand, notwithstanding, passed the noble-spirited resolutions,—First, We ought to and will defend our religion and our liberty to the utmost of our ability and with the last drop of our blood. Secondly, We will on no account consent to any contract or negotiation, which may have been or may be entered into by Holland or

by any of the other provinces with France. Thirdly, We will, without delay, send a deputation to our sovereign, the Prince of Orange, entreating him to aid and defend us with his allies. Fourthly, In so far as we may be unable to withstand the overwhelming forces of the enemy, we prefer submitting to the king of England than to the king of France. This example electrified the people, and defence was unanimously resolved upon. John de Witt lost all his influence and was loudly blamed for having neglected the defences of the country and for having, shortly before the breaking out of the war, allowed the exportation of saltpetre to France. His exclusion of the house of Orange from the stadtholdership in 1667, and his subsequent abolition of that dignity by the "Eternal Edict," had excited the enmity of William of Orange, who now imitated the revenge taken by his ancestor, Maurice, on Olden Barneveldt. De Witt was falsely accused of having acted upon a secret understanding with France. An attempt was made to assassinate him, and one de Graaf dealt him a wound which confined him to his sick chamber. The people rose simultaneously throughout the country; de Witt's party fell, and every eye was turned upon William of Orange, then in his 22nd year, who actively superintended the affairs of Holland and was seen in every quarter, encouraging the people and restoring tranquillity. "*Orange boven!*" Up with Orange! was the general cry; orange-coloured ribbons fluttered on every hat, and from every tower waved flags of similar hue, bearing the inscription,

> "Orange boven en Wit onder,
> Die 't anders meent, sla de Donder."

The dams were again pierced, and a great portion of the country was flooded. The besieged cities still held out. Marshal d'Ancre was compelled to raise the siege of Aardenburg, where the women and children vied with the men in defending the walls, and Gröningen covered herself with glory by repelling the twenty thousand episcopal troops from Cologne and Münster. The bishop was equally unsuccessful before Coeverden, where fourteen hundred of his men were carried away by a flood, occasioned by the bursting of a dam which he had intended to open upon the town. The citizens of Block-

sijl shot their cowardly commandant and maintained their town, unaided by the military. Louis returned in disappointment to France, leaving Turenne to watch the country.

The unfortunate John de Witt, when scarcely recovered from his wounds, had been, meanwhile, put to the rack at the Hague, and, at length, cut to pieces, together with his invalid brother, Cornelius, by the infuriated multitude, who afterwards publicly hawked their limbs about the town. Tichelaar, the instigator of this hideous deed, was rewarded by William of Orange with an office and a pension.

CCXXIV. *The great Elector.*

THE influence of Frederick William, the great elector of Brandenburg, who, apprehensive for his territory of Cleve, at length induced the emperor to give up his alliance with France, had also essentially contributed to the evacuation of Holland by the French. The representations made by France and the pope to the emperor against his unconscientious union with heretics, Brandenburg and Holland, (as if France had never sought the alliance of both Sweden and Turkey,) were, nevertheless, far from ineffectual, and Montecuculi, although sent to the aid of Holland, was regulated in his movements by the orders and counter-orders of Lobkowitz, the tool of France. When on the point of forming a junction with the great elector and of driving the French out of Holland, he suddenly received orders to march to Frankfurt and there to remain in a state of inactivity, upon which Turenne instantly threw himself on the left bank of the Rhine, for the purpose of cutting off his communication with the Netherlands and with Cleve. Montecuculi, however, also crossing the Rhine at Mayence and threatening to invade France, Turenne recrossed the Rhine with such precipitation at Andernach, that a thousand of his plundering soldiery were left behind and were killed in the Westerwald by the peasantry.

The seat of war was, by this means, removed from Holland to the Middle Rhine, where the Rhenish league, in the interest of France, threw every difficulty in the path of the patriotic elector. All the princes of the empire, through whose territory the Brandenburg troops passed, protested against the violation and demanded reparation. Saxony, supported by the

elector of Mayence, leagued with Hanover and Sweden against Brandenburg, and the behaviour of the imperial court was, at the same time, so equivocal, that the elector, apprehensive of losing Cleve, was compelled to conclude peace at Vossem, without delay, with France, A. D. 1673.

Louis, once more confident of success, now sent the Marshal de Luxemburg to the frontiers of Holland, where he gave his soldiers licence to plunder, burn, and murder. The most frightful atrocities were committed. In the spring of 1673, the French king took the field in person with a design of completing the conquest of Holland. De Ruyter, however, beating the English fleets in three successive engagements, Charles II. was compelled by the English parliament to renounce his base alliance with France; Austria also at length exerted herself; Lobkowitz was dismissed; Montecuculi advanced to the Rhine, and, at Cologne, seized the traitor, William von Furstenberg, who had impudently assumed the title of French ambassador without previously renouncing his allegiance to the empire. Treves fell into the hands of the French. An indecisive engagement took place between William of Orange and the French at Senef, and, in 1664, Turenne was sent to the Upper Rhine, where the imperialists under Bournonville, a Frenchman, who was either ill-adapted for the command or in the pay of France, were defeated at Ensisheim, before the elector of Brandenburg, who had again ranged himself on the emperor's side, could join them with his troops. Charles Louis, elector of the Pfalz, who, from his castle of Friedricksburg, beheld the smoking cities and villages wantonly set in flames by Turenne, sent that commander a challenge, which was refused, Turenne returning his customary excuse for his conduct, "These things always happen in war time." The veteran duke, Charles of Lorraine, unaided, attacked and defeated the French under Crecqui, near Treves, A. D. 1675. The duke of Vaudemont, governor of Burgundy, also long and gallantly stood his ground in Besançon, but no succour being afforded to him, that province was again lost. Charles of Lorraine vainly implored the imperialists and Brandenburg to coalesce for the defence of the frontier provinces; Bournonville refused to move until he was at length attacked at Mühlhausen and thrown back upon the great elector, by whom the French were defeated at Türkheim. The Swedes,

meanwhile, instigated by Louis, suddenly invaded Brandenburg, and the elector hastily returned to defend his demesnes. Charles of Lorraine died of rage and sorrow.

Montecuculi, notwithstanding the absence of the elector of Brandenburg, was again victorious on the Upper Rhine. Turenne fell in the battle of Sasbach, A. D. 1675. The French were driven back on every side, and, being a second time defeated on the Saar, retreated beyond Treves. They defended themselves in this city, under Crecqui, for some time, but were at length compelled to capitulate. The greater number of them were cut to pieces on the entrance of the imperialists, who mistook the explosion of some grenades for an attack. A brilliant victory was gained at the same time, [A. D. 1676,] at the foot of Etna, by the Dutch fleet over that of France; De Ruyter, who was killed in this engagement, was buried at Syracuse.

The French king now withdrew his forces for a while, leaving the fortresses, remaining in his hands, strongly fortified. These garrisons systematically plundered and destroyed the country in their vicinity, Berg-Zabern, where numbers of the inhabitants were burnt to death, Brucksal, and numerous villages were laid in ashes. The capture of Philippsburg, one of the principal fortresses, by the imperialists, merely incited the French to greater violence, and the year 1677 opened amid all the horrors of war. Conflagrations spread far and wide. St. Wendel, Saarbrück, where the incendiaries were besieged in the castle, taken and slain, Hagenau, Zweibrücken, Elsass-Zabern, Buschweiler, Ottweiler, Lützelstein, Veldenz, Weissenburg, and four hundred villages were reduced to heaps of ruins. The Dachsburg, the strongest fort in the Pfalz, fell by treachery. The valuable library of the Pfalzgrave of Zweibrücken was carried to Paris. La Broche, the captain of the incendiary bands, was taken by the imperialists and shot. He was succeeded by Montclas, who, after some bloody skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Strassburg, crossed the Rhine, set thirty villages around Breisach in flames, and took Freiburg in the Breisgau by surprise, where he maintained his position, the emperor, deluded by his counsellors, the tools of France, no longer making any effort for the preservation of the empire. The Swiss, instead of aiding their German brethren, restricted themselves to the defence

of their frontiers, whence they repulsed the duke of Lorraine, who sought refuge within their territory. Germany offered but trifling resistance, and the war became a succession of petty skirmishes.——The Netherlands were also greatly harassed by the French garrison of Maestricht. Tangern and a number of villages were burnt down by the Marshal de Luxemburg, who pillaged the country so systematically that not a single head of cattle remained in the territory within his reach.

The elector of Brandenburg had, in the mean time, hurried home to defend his territory from the Swedes, who, instigated by Vitry, the French ambassador, were there renewing all the horrors of the thirty years' war. The elector's army, numerically weak and worn with fatigue, was opposed by one superior in number and accustomed to victory, under Waldemar, the brother of the celebrated Gustavus Wrangel. The emperor, deluded into a belief that the invasion of Brandenburg by the Swedes merely masked an intention on both parts to coalesce for the purpose of invading Silesia, refused his aid. The warlike bishop of Münster, formerly Brandenburg's foe, now became his sole ally, and, arming in his defence, held Hanover, which showed an inclination to assist the Swedes, in check. The active mind of the elector and the fidelity of his people, however, proved his best defence. The peasants, cruelly abused by the Swedes, rose throughout the country in his name, and the elector, secretly aided by the citizens of Rathenow, succeeded in surprising and killing almost every Swede within the walls. The few that escaped fell back upon a strong detachment stationed at Fehrbellin, which being, without the elector's permission, attacked by the youthful Landgrave, Frederick of Hesse-Homburg, the former was compelled to hasten to his aid with his cavalry, the infantry being unable to come up in time. He gained a complete victory, partly owing to the experience and fidelity of Marshal Derflinger, who was originally a tailor's apprentice. Derflinger had also conducted the surprise of Rathenow. Several of the old Swedish regiments, habituated to victory, refused either to save themselves by flight or to yield, and were cut down almost to a man. The gallant Landgrave was pardoned for the rashness of his attack. Brandenburg's equerry, Froben, observing, during the engagement, that the Swedes aimed

at the grey horse ridden by the duke, begged of him to change horses with him, and was, a few seconds after, shot by the enemy, A. D. 1675. The elector and Derflinger were, in the ensuing campaign, again successful; the Swedes were defeated at Wolgast; Stettin was taken after a determined resistance; Stralsund, which had so long resisted Wallenstein, and Greifswald, fell into their hands. In the winter of 1678, the Swedes invaded Prussia, but were repulsed by the elector, who pursued them in sledges across the gulf of Courland and again defeated them in the vicinity of Riga, whence famine and the severity of the cold compelled him to return. The Dutch, under the younger Tromp, also beat the Swedes at sea, and Wismar was taken by Brandenburg and by his Danish allies. This war, the result of foreign influence in Germany, again emptied the vial of wrath on the heads of the people. How came Stettin and Wismar to fight for a foreign ruler?

The fall of Ghent and Ypern and the defeat of William of Orange at St. Omer, inclined the Dutch to peace. This ingratitude filled their former allies with disgust. The imbecile emperor, in the mean time, taught to regard Brandenburg, who had covered himself with glory by his successes in the North, as more dangerous to his repose than France, and supported by the futile perfidy of the Dutch, concluded, without regard for the critical state of the empire, a hasty and shameful treaty at Nimwegen, [A. D. 1678,] by which Brandenburg was expressly excluded from all participation in the advantages of the peace.* A useless but splendid victory was gained by William at Mons, before the news of the conclusion of peace reached the Dutch camp. Freiburg in the Breisgau was, by this treaty, ceded by the emperor, Burgundy and the twelve frontier towns in the Netherlands by Spain, to France, who, on her part, restored Lorraine, which she, notwithstanding, provisionally occupied with her troops. The traitor, William von Fürstenberg, instead of being beheaded like the Hungarian rebels who suffered at that time, was loaded with every

* A medal of Louis XIV., struck on this occasion, represents Peace, accompanied by Pain and Pleasure, descending from heaven, and Holland welcoming her with open arms, whilst the imperial eagle vainly attempts to hold her back by her robes.

mark of honour, restored to liberty, and afterwards rewarded with the bishopric of Strassburg and a cardinal's hat.

Brandenburg was condemned to restore his conquests to Sweden. A French army, under Crecqui, advanced [A. D. 1679] against the Danes, Brandenburg's allies, laid Cologne, Juliers, and Oldenburg under heavy contribution, without the empire being able to protect herself from the insult, and withdrew, after compelling the elector, deserted by the emperor and the empire, to accede to the terms of the peace and to restore his Pomeranian conquests to Sweden. Had he and the gallant Montecuculi been at the head of affairs in Germany, how different might have been her fate!

The elector now turned his attention to Prussia, where, as a Calvinist, he found the Lutherans, and, as an absolute sovereign, the ancient noblesse, citizens, and provincial Estates ranged in opposition to him. His first step was the erection of the fortress of Friedrichsburg, whose cannons commanded the city of Kœnigsberg. Rhode, the president of the bench of aldermen in that city, too zealously defending her ancient privileges, was arrested and condemned to death, a sentence that was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. An opportunity was offered to him to ask for pardon, of which he haughtily refused to take advantage. The Freiherr von Kalkstein violently opposing the elector's measures at the head of the provincial Estates, was also arrested, but being allowed a certain degree of liberty on parole, escaped to Warsaw, where he was privately seized by the elector's agents and carried to Memel, where he was executed, A. D. 1672. The elector was also sometimes forced by necessity to have recourse to arbitrary measures in Brandenburg, such as striking a false currency, levying duties and heavy taxes for the payment of his troops, on whom he depended for the preservation of his position in the empire. He was also compelled to suppress several ancient and distinct local privileges for the sake of increasing the unity and strength of his dominions. The excessive intolerance of the Lutheran clergy received a severe check; the elector, enraged at their obstinacy, compelling them to bind themselves by oath to obey every electoral edict without reservation. The church was, by this means, rendered subservient to every caprice on the part of the so-

vereign. The Lutheran pastor at Berlin, Paul Gerhard the poet, was the only one among the Lutheran clergy who preferred banishment to servility.

The intrigues carried on simultaneously by the great elector with Sweden, Poland, France, and Austria, and his despotic rule over his subjects, are partly excused by his position and by the perfidy of his opponents. Frederick William used his utmost endeavours not only to raise the power of his house, but also to free Germany from foreign influence. In his old age, actuated by his dislike of the Habsburg, and guided by his second wife, Dorothea, a princess of Holstein, who sought to substitute her children for the heir-apparent, he declared in favour of France. The emperor, besides betraying him by the treaty of Nimwegen and robbing him of the fruits of his contest with Sweden, had, on the decease of William, the last duke of Leignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, deprived him of his rightful inheritance and compelled him to rest content with the possession of the district of Schwiebus, A. D. 1675. Frederick, the heir-apparent, unable to support the tyranny of his step-mother, abandoned the country, and his doting father was induced to bequeath the whole of his possessions, Courland alone excepted, to the sons of Dorothea. His will was, on his decease, annulled by the court of Vienna, which had taken the prince under its protection on condition of his binding himself to restore Schwiebus on his father's death.

The attempt made by the great elector to found a naval power is worthy of remark. The subsidies, promised to him by Spain on Louis's first invasion, remaining unpaid, he sent out a small fleet under Cornelius van Bevern, A. D. 1679, who waylaid and seized the rich Spanish galleons, and, in 1687, he formed an African society, which sent out a fleet under von der Groeben and founded Gross-Friedrichsburg on the coast of Guinea. The existence of this colony being endangered by the jealousy of the English and Dutch, it was sold to the latter, A. D. 1780.

CCXXV. *Ill-treatment of the imperial cities.—The loss of Strassburg.*

Louis XIV., while carrying on his attacks externally against the empire, exerted every effort for the destruction of the

remaining internal liberties of Germany. His invasion of Holland had been undertaken under the plausible pretext (intended as a blind to the princes) of defending the monarchical principle, and, whilst secretly planning the seizure of Strassburg, he sought to indispose the princes towards the free imperial cities. He, accordingly, flattered Bavaria with the conquest of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Ulm; Bavaria was, however, still apprehensive of the emperor and contented herself with retaining possession of the old imperial city of Donauwœrth, notwithstanding the peace of Westphalia, by which the freedom of that city had been guaranteed. In 1661, French troops aided the bishop, van Galen, in subjugating the provincial town of Münster and in depriving her of all her ancient privileges. In 1664, French troops, in a similar manner, aided the electoral prince of Mayence to place the city of Erfurt under subjection. Erfurt belonged originally to Mayence, but had long been free and Protestant, and stood under the especial protection of Saxony. The demand made by the elector of being included in the prayers of the church, being refused by the Protestant citizens, the emperor, who beheld the affair in a Catholic light, put the city out of the bann of the empire, which was executed by Mayence, backed by a French army, whilst Saxony was pacified with a sum of money. The unfortunate citizens opposed the Mayence faction within the city with extreme fury, assassinated Kniephof, the president of the council, and beheaded Limprecht, one of the chief magistrates, but were, after a gallant defence, compelled to capitulate.

In 1665, Louis reduced the imperial cities of Alsace, Strassburg excepted, to submission. In 1666, the Swedes, under Wrangel, made a predatory attack upon Bremen and bombarded the town, but withdrew on a protest being made by the emperor and the empire. In the same year, Frederick William of Brandenburg annihilated the liberties of the city of Magdeburg, the archbishopric having, on the death of Augustus of Saxony, fallen, in consequence of the peace of Westphalia, under the administration of Brandenburg. In 1671, the ancient city of Brunswick had been seized by Rudolph Augustus, duke of Wolfenbüttel, and robbed of all her privileges. Most of the merchants emigrated. In 1672, Cologne was subjugated by the elector, the city having, at an earlier

period, favoured the Dutch. The citizens, tyrannized over by the council dependent on the elector, revolted, but were reduced to submission, A. D. 1689. The rebellious citizens of Liege were also reduced, by the aid of the elector of Cologne, and deprived of their ancient privileges, A. D. 1684. A similar insurrection caused [A. D. 1685] at Brussels, by the heavy imposts, was suppressed by force.

In East Frizeland, Count Rudolph Christian, who had been murdered during the thirty years' war, had been succeeded by his brother, Ulric, whose son, Enno Louis, had, in 1654, been created prince. George Christian, Enno's brother and successor, was involved in a dispute, on account of the heavy imposts, with the city of Emden, and in a vexatious suit with his niece, the wife of one of the princes Lichtenstein, who claimed Harlingerland in right of her mother. This suit was terminated by the invasion of Frizeland by an imperial army under Bernard van Galen, bishop of Münster, who imposed a heavy fine, by way of compensation, on the count. On the death of George Christian, in 1665, his widow, a princess of Würtemberg, carried on the government in the name of her infant son, Christian Eberhard, whose guardian, Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick, rendered himself highly unpopular, and, on his departure, the bishop of Münster, to whom the princess had promised, by way of compensation, a share in the city of Emden, reappearing, the citizens took up arms in their defence, but, subsequently, made terms with the bishop and were supported by Brandenburg against the princess, whose despotic rule was formally opposed by the Estates. Tranquillity was restored on the accession of the young prince in 1690.

Hamburg had been a scene of disturbance since 1671, on account of the narrow-minded despotism of the aristocratic council, which, in 1673, fraudulently obtained a decision, the Windischgrætz convention, from the emperor, who rebuked the complaining citizens and recommended them to submit. The syndic, Garmer, who had been principally implicated in the affair of the convention, intriguing with Denmark, became suspected by the emperor and was compelled to fly from Hamburg, A. D. 1678. The burgomaster, Meurer, was also expelled. The convention was repealed, and Meurer was replaced by Schlüter, who was assisted by two honest citizens,

Schnitger and Jastram. The Danes, on the failure of Garmer's intrigues, sought to seize Hamburg by surprise and to annex that city, under pretence of its having formerly appertained to Holstein, to Denmark. The citizens were, however, on the watch; Brandenburg hastened to their aid, and the Danes were repulsed. The ancient aristocratic faction now rose and falsely accused Schnitger, Jastram, and Schlüter, of a design to betray the city to Denmark; the two former were quartered, the third was poisoned in prison; Meurer was reinstated in his office, and the Windischgrætz convention reinforced. The ancient pride of the Hansa had for ever fallen. In 1667, the Dutch pursued the English merchantmen up to the walls of Hamburg, captured them, and injured the city, which, in order to escape war with England, compensated the English merchants for their losses.

Strassburg, the ancient bulwark of Germany, was, however, destined to a still more wretched fate, and, deserted by the German princes, was greedily grasped by France. The insolence of the French monarch had greatly increased since the treaty of Nimwegen. In 1680, he unexpectedly declared his intention to hold, besides the territory torn from the empire, all the lands, cities, estates, and privileges that had thereto appertained, such as, for instance, all German monasteries, which, a thousand years before the present period, had been founded by the Merovingians and Carlovingians, all the districts which had, at any time, been held in fee by, or been annexed by right of inheritance to, Alsace, Burgundy, or the Breisgau, and, for this purpose, established four chambers of réunion at Besançon, Breisach, Metz, and Doornik, composed of paid literati and lawyers, commissioned to search for the said dependencies amid the dust of the ancient archives. The first idea of these chambers of reunion had been given by a certain Ravaulx to Colbert, the French minister, and the execution of their decrees was committed to bands of incendiaries, who, in Alsace, the Netherlands, and the Pfalz, tore down the ancient escutcheons and replaced them with that of France, garrisoned the towns, and exacted enormous contributions from the citizens, with which Louis purchased three hundred pieces of artillery for the defence of the territory thus arbitrarily seized.

The whole of the empire was agitated, but, whilst a tedious

discussion was as usual being carried on at Ratisbon, the French carried their schemes into execution and suddenly seized Strassburg by treachery. This city, according to her historian, Friese, had made every effort to maintain her liberty against France. The citizens had, since the thirty years' war, lived in a state of continual apprehension, maintained and strengthened their fortifications, kept a body of regular troops, and, in their turn, every third day had mounted guard. For sixty years, they had been continually on the defensive, and immense sums had been swallowed up in the necessary outlay. Trade and commerce declined. The bishop of Spires levied a high duty on the goods of the Strassburg merchants when on their way through Lauterburg and Philippsburg to the Frankfurt fairs, whilst France beheld the sinking credit of the city with delight, exercised every system of oppression in her power, and promoted disunion among the citizens. There were also traitors among the Lutheran clergy. The loyalty of the citizens was, however, proof against every attempt, and Louis expended three hundred thousand dollars in the creation of a small party. Terror and surprise did the rest. The city was secretly surrounded with French troops at a time when numbers of the citizens were absent at the Frankfurt and other fairs, September, 1680, and the traitors had taken care that the means of defence should be in a bad condition. The citizens, deluded by promises or shaken by threats, yielded, and Strassburg, the principal key to Germany, the seat of German learning and the centre of German industry, capitulated, on the thirteenth of October, to the empire's most implacable foe. Louis made a triumphal entry into the city he had won by perfidy and was welcomed by Francis Egon von Fürstenberg, the traitorous bishop, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" The city was strongly garrisoned by the French, and the fortifications were rapidly improved to such a degree as to render it one of the strongest places in Europe. The great cathedral, belonging to the Protestants, was reclaimed by the bishop, and the free exercise of religion was, contrary to the terms of capitulation, restricted. All the Lutheran officials were removed, the clergy driven into the country. The Protestants emigrated in crowds. The chief magistrate, the venerable Dominicus Dietrich, fell a vic-

tim to private enmity and was cited to appear before Louis at Paris, where he was long detained prisoner. Louvois, on his steady refusal to recánt, sent him into the interior of France, where he was long imprisoned. He was, towards the close of his life, allowed to return to Strassburg, where he expired, A. D. 1794. His memory has been basely calumnied by many German historians. Numbers of French were sent to colonize Strassburg, Alsace, and Lorraine. Many of the towns and districts received fresh names; the German costume was prohibited, and the adoption of French modes enforced.

The elector of Brandenburg, influenced by his wife, entering into alliance with France, and the Turks, at Louis's instigation, invading Austria, that monarch found himself without an opponent, and, after conquering Luxemburg, destroyed Genoa, which still remained faithful to the empire, by bombarding her from the sea, A. D. 1684. The emperor, harassed by the Turks and abandoned by the princes, was again compelled [A. D. 1685] to sign a disgraceful peace, by which France retained her newly-acquired territory, besides Strassburg and Luxemburg. Among all the losses suffered by the empire, that of Strassburg has been the most deeply felt. The possession of that powerful fortress by France has, for almost two centuries, neutralized the whole of Upper Germany or forced her princes into an alliance with their natural and hereditary foe.

CCXXVI. *Vienna besieged by the Turks.*

Louis, whilst thus actively employed in the West, incessantly incited the sultan, by means of his ambassadors at Constantinople, to fall upon the rear of the empire.* In Hungary, the popular disaffection, excited by the despotic rule of the emperor, had risen to such a height that the Hungarian Christians demanded aid from the Turk against their German oppressors. A conspiracy among the nobility was

* Sæviebat Reunionum pestis ad Occasum, dum alia ad Ortum ingrueret. Ut enim socius socio fidem præstaret, Gallus et Turca, Christianissimus et Antichristianissimus, novus Pylades atque Orestes, par nobile amicorum in vetita juratorum, junctis consiliis ancipiti malo Germaniam premebant, alter Gallica fide, Græca alter.—*Fecialis Gallus*, 1689.

discovered in 1671, and the chiefs, Frangipani, (the last of this house raised by treason,) Nadasdi, Xriny, and Tattenbach, suffered death as traitors at Neustadt. Xriny was the grandson of the hero of Sigeth. His wife died mad. No mercy was extended to the heretics by the triumphant Jesuits and by the soldiers of fortune educated in their school. The magnates were induced by fear or by bribery to recant. The people and their preachers, however, resisted every effort made for their conversion, and a coup d'état was the result. In 1674, the whole of the Lutheran clergy was convoked to Presburg, was falsely accused of conspiracy, and two hundred and fifty of their number were thrown into prison. These clergymen were afterwards sold, at the rate of fifty crowns per head, to Naples, were sent on board the galleys and chained to the oar. Part of them were set at liberty at Naples, the rest at Palermo, by the gallant Admiral de Ruyter shortly before his death. The defenceless communes in Hungary were now consigned to the Jesuits. The German soldiery were quartered on them, and the excesses committed by them were countenanced, as a means of breaking the spirit of the people. The banner of revolt was at length raised by the Lutheran Count Tököly, but the unfortunate Hungarians looked around in vain for an ally to aid them in struggling for their rights. The only one at hand was the Turk, who offered chains in exchange for chains. The emperor, alarmed at the impending danger, yielded, and [A. D. 1681] granted freedom of conscience to Hungary, but it was already too late.

Louis XIV. redoubled his efforts at the Turkish court and at length succeeded in persuading the sultan to send two hundred and eighty thousand men under the grand visir, Kara Mustapha, into Hungary, whilst he invaded the western frontier of the empire in person. Terror marched in the Turkish van. The retreat of the weak imperial army under the duke, Charles of Lorraine, under whom the Margrave, Louis of Baden, who afterwards acquired such fame, served, became a disorderly flight. The Turks reached the gates of Vienna unopposed. The emperor fled, leaving the city under the command of Rüdiger, Count von Stahrenberg, who, for two months, steadily resisted the furious attacks of the besiegers, by whom the country in the vicinity was converted into a desert and eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants were dragged into

slavery. Stahrenberg, although severely wounded, was daily carried round the works, gave orders, and cheered his men. The Turkish miners blew up the strongest part of the walls, and the whole city was surrounded with ruins and heaps of rubbish, still the Viennese, unshaken by the wild cries, the furious attacks, and immense numbers of the enemy, gallantly resisted every attempt. The wounded were tended by the Bishop Kolonitsch, who so zealously fulfilled his duty as to draw a threat from the grand visir that he would deprive him of his head.* The numbers of the garrison, meanwhile, rapidly diminished, and the strength of the citizens was worn out by incessant duty. Stahrenberg was compelled to punish the sleepy sentinels with death. Famine now began to add to the other miseries endured by the wretched Viennese, who, reduced to the last extremity, fired, during a dark night, a radius of rockets from the tower of St. Stephen's, as a signal of distress to the auxiliary forces supposed to be advancing behind the Leopold and Kahlenberg. The aid so long awaited was, fortunately, close at hand. The vicinity and greatness of the danger had caused an imperial army to be assembled in an unusually short space of time; the emperor had twenty thousand men under Charles, duke of Lorraine; the electors of Bavaria and Saxony came in person at the head of twelve thousand men each. Swabia and Franconia sent nine thousand into the field. John Sobieski, the chevaleresque king of Poland, brought an auxiliary troop of eighteen thousand picked men from the North. The German princes ceded to him the command of their united forces, and, on Saturday, the 11th of September, [A. D. 1683,] he climbed the Kahlenberg, whence he fired three cannon as a signal to the Viennese of their approaching deliverance, and on the following morning fell upon the camp of the Turks, who had thoughtlessly omitted taking the precautionary measure of occupying the heights, and who, confident in their numerical strength, continued to carry on the siege whilst they sent too weak a force against the advancing enemy. The Germans, consequently, succeeded in pushing on; the imperial troops on the left wing, the Saxons

* Kara Mustapha was subsequently strangled on account of his defeat, and his head, found on the taking of Belgrade, was sent to the bishop, who sullied his fame by his cruelty towards the Hungarian Protestants.

and Bavarians in the centre, leaving the right wing, composed of Poles, behind. The Germans halted and were joined at Dornbach by the Poles. A troop of twenty thousand Turkish cavalry, the indecision of whose movements betrayed their want of a leader, was routed by Sobieski's sudden attack, and the Germans, inspirited by this success, fell upon the Turkish camp. Thirty thousand Christian prisoners were instantly murdered by command of the enraged visir, who, instead of turning his whole force against the new assailants, poured a shower of bombs and balls upon Vienna. The Turks, already discontented at the contradictory orders, refused to obey and were easily routed. The grand visir's tent and an immense treasure fell into the hands of the Poles; the whole of the Turkish artillery into those of the Germans. The secret correspondence between Louis XIV. and the Porte was discovered among the grand visir's papers. Forty-eight thousand Turks fell during the siege; twenty thousand in the battle.

On the following day, the Polish king entered Vienna on horseback and was greeted by crowds of people, who thronged around him to kiss his stirrup. The emperor, who had taken into deep consideration the mode in which a meeting with Sobieski could be arranged without wounding his own dignity, had at length resolved to come to his rencontre mounted on horseback, and, after bestowing an amicable greeting upon his deliverer, remained stiffly seated in his saddle, nor even raised his hat, on his hand being kissed by Sobieski's son or on the presentation of some of the Polish nobles. The Polish army was also ill-provided for, and the Poles evinced an inclination to return; Sobieski, however, declared his intention to remain, even if abandoned to a man, until the enemy had been entirely driven out of the country, and unweariedly pursued the Turks, twenty thousand of whom again fell at Parkan, until they had completely evacuated the country, when he returned to Poland.

Charles of Lorraine, aided by Louis of Baden, carried on the war during the ensuing year and attempted to regain Hungary. Still, notwithstanding the fate of Kara Mustapha, who had, at the sultan's command, been strangled at Belgrade, and the inability of his successors, who were either too deeply absorbed in the intrigues of the seraglio or too unskilled in war to take the command of a second expedition, the Turkish

commandants and garrisons retained possession of the Hungarian fortresses and offered a brave and obstinate resistance. Every attempt against Ofen failed, notwithstanding the defeat of the relieving army at Handzabek by Duke Charles. Ibrahim, surnamed Satan, maintained the city during a protracted siege, which cost the Germans twenty-three thousand men, A. D. 1684.——In the ensuing campaign, Caprara, field-marshal of the imperial forces, besieged the fortress of Neuhäusel, which, after being desperately defended by Zarub, a Bohemian nobleman, who had embraced Islamism and been created a pacha, was finally taken by storm. The whole of the garrison, the pacha included, fell. The whole of Upper Hungary fell into Caprara's hands. The unfortunate Count Tököly was carried off in chains by the Turks, and his valiant wife, a daughter of the decapitated Xriny and the widow of a Ragoczy, long defended her treasures in the rocky fastness of Muncacz. Most of her husband's partisans, however, went over to the triumphant imperialists, and the greater part of the fortified towns capitulated, A. D. 1685.——Ofen, defended by Abdurrhaman pacha and by a garrison, ten thousand strong, who were favoured by the inhabitants, all of whom were Turks, was again besieged by the elector of Bavaria, whilst Charles of Lorraine marched against the Turkish army advancing to its relief. The contest was carried on with equal fury on both sides. The Germans were repulsed with a loss of three to four thousand men. The grand visir was, meanwhile, kept in check by Duke Charles, and Ofen, after a terrific struggle, was finally taken by storm, September the 2nd, 1686, without an effort being made on the part of the terror-stricken visir. The Turks defended themselves even in the courts and apartments of the ancient castle, where they were slain together with their women and children. The brave Abdurrhaman fell. Two thousand men, who had taken refuge in one of the castle squares, alone received quarter. The grand visir fled. A fearful revenge was taken by the emperor upon Hungary. A tribunal, known as the slaughter-house of Eperies, was held by General Caraffa. Every Hungarian, suspected of having sided with Tököly, was thrown into prison and cruelly tortured, and a great number were executed. Vengeance fell upon all who refused implicit obedience to Austria; the national right of election was annulled, and the hereditary

right of the house of Habsburg proclaimed throughout Hungary. Charles of Lorraine was again victorious over the Turks at Mohacz, A. D. 1687. He was succeeded in the command by Louis, Margrave of Baden, who, in 1691, again beat the Turks at Szalankemen, but was compelled to yield his post to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony. The inability of this prince induced the emperor to bestow the command on Eugene, prince of Savoy, whom Louis XIV. had, by personal ridicule, rendered his most implacable foe. Eugene, whose diminutive person, half concealed beneath an immense peruke and mounted on a tall horse, bore a most ludicrous appearance, was one of the greatest generals of his time and was idolized by his soldiery, whom he ever led to victory. In the battle of Zenta, he entirely broke the power of the Turks; he took Belgrade, and, by the peace of Carlowitz, confirmed Austria in the possession of the whole of Hungary. Ragoczy [A. D. 1699] again set up the standard of rebellion in Hungary, but was reduced to submission, and the next emperor, Joseph I., sought to conciliate the people by a greater show of lenity.

CCXXVII. *French depredations.*

THE edict of Nantes, published by Louis XIV., had driven eight hundred thousand Reformers out of France. Servile Switzerland repulsed them from her inhospitable frontiers, and they emigrated to Holland, England, and, more particularly, to Brandenburg, where they were permitted by the great elector to settle at Berlin, A. D. 1685. Their gradual intermixture with the natives produced the peculiarly boastful and shrewd character for which the people of Berlin are proverbial. Louis, at the same time, continued his encroachments, seized Treves, harassed Lorraine and Alsace, and erected the fortress of Hüningen,* opposite to Basle. The Swiss murmured, but, ever mercenary, furnished him with all the contingents he required, and, during the subsequent war, their number amounted to twenty-eight thousand seven hundred

* Over the gateway stood the following inscription, "Ludovicus Magnus, rex Christianissimus, *Belgicus, Sequanicus, Germanicus*, pace Europæ concessâ, Huningam arcem, sociis tutelam, hostibus terrorem, exstruxit." Louis carried his contempt of the Baselese so far as to have a cannon founded for this fortress, with the inscription, "Si tu te remues, Bâle, Je te tue."

men. Valckenier, the Dutch envoy to Switzerland, at the same time, succeeded in raising eight thousand five hundred men from the Reformed cantons.

The possession of the Pfalz had long been the principal object of Louis's ambition. The Pfalzgrave, Charles Louis, who had been deprived of his inheritance by French intrigue, laboured throughout the whole of his life to reconcile the various religious sects. At Friedrichsburg he built a church, named by him the Temple of Concord, in which he had the service successively performed according to the three Christian forms of worship, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic. He also abolished the severe laws against the Anabaptists. His toleration drew colonists from every part of Germany, who again cultivated his wasted lands and rapidly restored Mannheim, in particular, to a state of prosperity. The capricious conduct of his consort, Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, provoked a divorce, and he married Mademoiselle Louise von Degenfeld, by whom he had thirteen children, who, on account of the inequality of their mother's birth, were excluded from the succession. Of his two children by his former wife, the prince died early, and his daughter, Elisabeth Charlotte, he was, in 1671, persuaded by Louis XIV. to bestow upon Philip of Orleans, as security against all further attacks on the part of France. Louis's insolence was, however, thereby increased, and, under pretext of Charles Louis's having aided in again depriving him of Philippsburg, he demanded 150,000 florins by way of reparation and sent troops to Neustadt in order to enforce payment. Germersheim was declared dependent upon France, and the unfortunate elector, unsupported by the empire, died of chagrin, A. D. 1685.

Louis instantly claimed the inheritance for Philip, Charlotte's husband, without regard to the right of the house of Wittelsbach. The German princes, who had unscrupulously deserted the imperial free towns and the nobility of the empire in Alsace, and the Dutch republic were, at length, roused by this insolent attack on their hereditary rights, and, entering into a close confederacy, formed [A. D. 1686] the great alliance of Augsburg against France. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, who, under the guidance of Marshal Villars and of his mistresses, imitated all the vices of the French court, saw his family interests endangered by the destruction of the Pfalz, ranged himself on the emperor's side, and dismissed Villars,

who, on quitting him, loaded him with abuse. The pope also, terrified at the audacity of the French monarch, once more pronounced in favour of Germany. Each side vied with the other in diplomatic wiles and intrigue. On the demise of Maximilian Henry of Cologne, William von Furstenberg, who had, by Louis's influence, been presented with a cardinal's hat, had been elected archbishop of Cologne by the bribed chapter and resided at Bonn under the protection of French troops. The citizens of Cologne, however, closed the gates against him and were aided by Brandenburg troops from Cleve and by the Bavarians. The election was abrogated by the emperor, the empire, and the pope, by whom Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria was installed as archbishop of Cologne instead of the cardinal. The great league was [A. D. 1688] considerably strengthened by the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England in the place of his Catholic father-in-law, James I., who took refuge in France.

Louis XIV., foreseeing the commencement of a fresh and great struggle, hastened to anticipate the league, and, in the autumn of 1688, sent fifty thousand men, under General Montclas, into the Pfalz, which was left totally unprotected by the empire. The cities were easily taken; Treves, Spires, Worms, Offenburg, Mayence, and the fortress of Philippsburg, which offered but a short resistance, also fell. The electorates of Treves and Mayence were overrun and plundered. Coblentz and the castle of Heidelberg alone withstood the siege. Louis, meanwhile, unsatisfied with occupying and plundering these countries, followed the advice of his minister, Louvois, and, as far as was in his power, laid waste the Pfalz and the rest of the Rhenish and Swabian frontier provinces, partly to avenge his non-acquisition of these fertile territories, partly with a view of hindering their occupation by a German army. Montclas and Melac, the latter of whom boasted that he would fight for his king against all the powers of heaven and of hell, zealously executed their master's commands. Worms, Spires, Frankenthal, Alzei, Oberwesel, Andernach, Kochheim, and Kreuznach were reduced to ashes, the inhabitants murdered or dragged into France and compelled to recant. In Spires, the imperial vaults were broken open, and the remains of the emperors desecrated. Similar scenes were enacted on the right bank of the Rhine.

Mannheim, Oppenheim, Ladenburg, Weinheim, Heppenheim, Durlach, Bruchsal, Rastadt, Germsheim, Baden, Bretten, Pforzheim, were burnt to the ground. Heidelberg greatly suffered; the castle held out. The French advanced thence up the Neckar, plundered Heilbronn, Esslingen, Swabian Hall, took the Asberg and plundered the arsenal, but were repulsed from Gœppingen and Schorndorf, where the women inspirited the men by their example. Wurzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, etc. were threatened with destruction and heavily mulcted. Frankfurt a M., Rotenburg on the Tauber, the latter of which was surrounded by seventeen villages in flames, made a valiant defence. Feuquières was routed before Ulm, and numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the enraged peasantry. Ehingen was, in retaliation, burnt to the ground. Tübingen was taken and sacked by Montclas, who was, in his turn, deprived of his booty before Freudenstadt by the peasants of the Black Forest. The authorities of Stuttgard, struck with terror, opened the gates to the French against the wishes of the people, who loudly demanded arms. Melac attempted to fire the city, but was expelled by the infuriated peasantry and by the Swabian Landwehr, under Charles, duke of Baden, and succeeded with difficulty in carrying off his booty and the hostages he had taken as security for the payment of the fine imposed by him upon the city. The French also penetrated into Upper Swabia and burnt Villingen.——They overran the Lower Rhine, laid the territories of Liege, Juliers, etc. waste, and burnt Siegburg, where they practised every atrocity.——A list of twelve hundred cities and villages, that still remained to be burnt, was exhibited by these brigand bands. In the spring, the Bohemian cities, Trautenau, Braunau, Klattau, were completely destroyed, and, on the 21st of June, four hundred houses were burnt in Prague. Five of the incendiaries were taken, and, before their execution, confessed that the authors of the conflagration, one hundred and fifty in number, were accompanied by a Bohemian captain and by a merchant, the secret emissaries of France. With such tools did Louis work. He attempted the life of William of Orange, the newly-elected monarch of England, A. D. 1689.

The phlegmatic emperor was at length roused and hurried the long-delayed levy of imperial troops. The great elector was dead, and his son, Frederick, unable to cause his will, by

which his possessions were divided among his other children, to be invalidated without the concurrence of the emperor, openly declared against France and ceded the district of Schwiebus to the emperor. The petty princes, alarmed for their ancient privileges, now threatened to be trodden under foot by the despotic French monarch, also followed the general impulse for defence, and hence originated the decree of the Ratisbon diet, which, with unusual energy, expelled [A. D. 1689] every French agent from Germany and prohibited the reception of French servants and intercourse of any description with France, the emperor adding these words, "because France is to be regarded not only as the empire's most inveterate foe, but as that of the whole of Christendom, nay, as even worse than the Turk." Leopold, for the sake of promoting the unity of Germany, even laid aside his ancient religious prejudices and bestowed the eighth electoral dignity upon Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Hanover, which placed the Protestant electors on an equal footing with their Catholic brethren;—Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover—Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Pfalz, the new elector of the Pfalz, Philip, belonging to the Catholic branch of Neuburg. Wolfenbüttel, actuated by fraternal jealousy, protested against the elevation of Hanover to the electoral dignity.——The emperor also turned to Switzerland and revived the memory of her former connexion with the empire; how easily might she not have prevented the devastation of the Rhenish province by falling upon the enemy's flank! But she no longer sympathized with her German kindred and even threatened the emperor in case he refused to draw his troops off her frontiers to the Upper Rhine, whilst she continued to furnish the French king with his most valuable soldiery. Dr. Fatio, who [A. D. 1691] raised a rebellion against the bribed and tyrannical government of Basle, was arrested, cruelly tortured, and executed with two of his companions.

The war commenced; but the dulness and disunion of the great league threw every advantage on the side of Louis. William of Orange, occupied in confirming his possession of the English crown, neglected Holland with a view of flattering his new subjects. The states-general remained devoted to him both under their president Fagel, who died A. D. 1688, and his successor, Heinsius; these men were, how-

ever, no military leaders, nor was the princely Count von Waldeck, the Dutch commander-in-chief; and the emperor, intent upon following up his success in Hungary, had sent thither his best generals and troops. Caprara, whom he despatched into Holland, fell into a dispute with Schœning, the Brandenburg marshal, and they were, consequently, merely in each other's way. The elector of Bavaria, insincere in his professions, held back, and even when elected stadtholder of the Spanish Netherlands discovered equal indifference. The elector of Saxony regained Mayence, but died in camp, and Mayence fell under the command of General Thungen, the greatest patriot of the day, who, in order to strike terror into the French emissaries, condemned the first French incendiaries, who fell into his hands, to be burnt alive. Schœning, in conjunction with Saxony, drove the French out of Heilbronn; and Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, aided by the Dutch, took Bonn, [A. D. 1689,] that had been ceded by the archbishop of Cologne to France. Waldeck was, nevertheless, defeated [A. D. 1690] at Fleurus, by a French force, his superior in number, under the Marshal de Luxemburg; and Cornelius Evertsen, the son of the Evertsen who fell in 1666, was also beaten off Bevesier by a superior French fleet under Tourville, who was, in his turn, defeated [A. D. 1691] by the English under Allmonde; notwithstanding which, the French took Namur and bombarded Liege. In 1692, the Dutch gained a brilliant victory at La Hogue, but William, who had returned from England, was defeated by the Marshal de Luxemburg at Steenkerken, and the French under Catinat were, at the same time, victorious in Savoy and again penetrated into and devastated Swabia, turning their chief rage upon Heidelberg and the splendid castle, commanding that city, the residence of the Pfalzgrave, whose mighty towers were blown up and converted into the ruin now the delight of the traveller. The incendiary bands then mounted the Neckar. The duke, Charles Frederick, the administrator of Wurtemberg, was taken captive; his ransom was fixed at half a million livres. The mother of the infant duke, Eberhard, was threatened in Stuttgard, which mainly owed its preservation to the courage of the peasantry; the whole of the country was plundered; the magnificent monastery of Hirschau, the cities of Calw, Marbach, Nuenbürg, Vaihingen etc., were laid in ashes,

and numbers of hostages, taken as security for the payment of the enormous sums levied upon the inhabitants, were starved to death on account of the delay in the payment of the money. These predatory incursions were renewed in the ensuing year, and Winnenden, Baknang, etc. were burnt. Rheinfels, nobly defended by the Hessians, was long and fruitlessly besieged. Numbers of the French fell. Louis, Margrave of Baden, was now sent by the emperor from Hungary to the Rhine, and that general instantly invaded Alsace, but, on attempting to penetrate into the heart of France, [A. D. 1693,] the imperial troops, more particularly the Saxons, refused to follow, and he was compelled to return. William of Orange also suffered a second defeat in the Netherlands, near Neerwinden. Villeroi followed in the steps of Luxemburg, who had bombarded and almost entirely destroyed Brussels. The allies regained Namur, A. D. 1694, but, nevertheless, gradually displayed less energy.

The French, on the other hand, made considerable progress in Spain, where, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by George, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, they took Barcelona. Savoy was also compelled to sue for peace. Mayence was again attacked, and a popular insurrection, caused by the heavy war-taxes, took place simultaneously at Amsterdam, A. D. 1696. A disgraceful peace was, consequently, concluded at Ryswick, A. D. 1697, by which Louis XIV., besides Lorraine, the Pfalz, Breisach, Freiburg, and Philippsburg, retained all his conquests, among others Strassburg. It is worthy of remark that the French language was, at this period, made use of in transacting all diplomatic affairs, the French ambassadors no longer tolerating the use of Latin.

Philip of the Pfalz instantly enforced the maxim, "Cujus regio, ejus religio," throughout his new possessions and emulated Louis XIV. in tyranny towards the Protestants, who emigrated in great numbers; and Louis, notwithstanding the peace, marched troops into the Würtemberg county of Mümpelgard, where he established the Catholic form of service, A. D. 1699. The Jesuits, at the same time, recommenced the persecution of the heretics in the imperial provinces, and numbers of Silesians abandoned their native soil.

The complete neglect of the imperial fortresses on the Upper Rhine was, after such cruel experience, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the age.

CCXXVIII. *German princes on foreign thrones.*

Whilst Germany was thus a prey to external foes, a number of the reigning families in Europe became extinct, and, by a strange whim of fate, bequeathed their thrones to German princes. This circumstance, however, far from proving beneficial to the German empire, greatly contributed to estrange her native princes and to render their hereditary provinces dependent upon their new possessions.

The house of Oldenburg had long reigned in Denmark and directed its policy against the empire. Schleswig and Holstein were, as provinces subordinate to Denmark, governed by a prince of this house in the Danish interest similarly with Oldenburg, when, in 1666, the elder branch became extinct.

In Sweden, the Pfalzic dynasty, raised [A. D. 1654] to the throne, also pursued an anti-German system, that of Oxenstierna, for the aggrandizement of the North.

The house of Orange was no sooner seated [A. D. 1688] on the throne of England, than the interests of Germany were sacrificed to those of Great Britain.

Frederick Augustus, brother to John George IV., elector of Saxony, travelled over the half of Europe during his youth. A giant in size and strength, he took delight in the dangers and pleasures pursued by the French gallants of that period. On his arrival at Madrid, he mingled with the combatants in a bull-fight, seized the most savage of the bulls by the horns and dashed him to the ground. No woman withstood his seductions, and, after escaping all the dangers with which he was threatened by the jealous Southerns, he returned to Saxony, where [A. D. 1694] he succeeded his brother on the electoral throne. Louis XIV. was his model, and, aided by his favourite, Flemming, on whom he had bestowed the title of Count, he began to subvert Saxony. The extravagance of his predecessor was economy when compared with his. One mistress supplanted another; all cost incredible sums. His household was placed upon an immense footing; palaces, churches, retreats (as, for instance, Morizburg, the Saxon Versailles, notorious for its wanton fêtes) were erected; the most costly chef-d'œuvres were purchased with tons of gold; the "green vaults," a collection of useless treasures, was swell-

ed with fresh valuables and curiosities of every description. And for all this his little territory paid. Not a murmur escaped the people until the elector, instead of raising his numerous army as usual from volunteers, levied recruits by force, and a revolt ensued, A. D. 1626. The rebellion was quelled, and the recruits were forced by the infliction of torture to swear fealty to the colours.

The ensuing year found the elector at the summit of his ambition. He was elected, by means of bribing the Waiwodes and gaining Russia and the emperor of Germany over to his interests, king of Poland. Russia was at that period under the rule of Peter the Great, who raised her power to a height, destined at a future period to endanger Europe. Sweden was at that time Russia's most formidable opponent, and Peter, with the view of paralysing the influence of that monarchy over Poland, favoured the elevation of the elector of Saxony. The emperor was won over by the recantation of the new sovereign. The reception of the successor of John Frederick, the sturdy opponent to Catholicism, into the bosom of the ancient church was indeed a triumph. Shortly previous to this event, Augustus had been involved in some intrigues at Vienna, where he is said to have watched unseen the raising of an apparition intended to work upon the imagination of the archduke, afterwards the emperor, Joseph I., and to have thrown the priest, who personated the ghost, out of the window into the palace court. He also gained over the Jesuits by favouring their establishment in Poland. The elevation of the house of Saxony, on the other hand, deprived it of its station as the head of the Protestant princes and of all the advantages it had thereby gained since the Reformation, and Brandenburg became henceforward the champion of Protestantism and the first Protestant power in Germany.

The frustration of the schemes of Louis XIV. upon Poland and the ignominious retreat of the Prince de Conti, the French competitor for that throne, after the expulsion of his fleet under John Barth from the harbour of Dantzig, were the sole advantages gained on this occasion by Germany. Augustus was [A. D. 1697] elected king of Poland. Still, notwithstanding his knee being kissed in token of homage by the whole of the Polish nobility and the magnificence of his state, (his royal robes alone cost a million dollars,) he was compelled to swear

to some extremely humiliating *pacta conventa* and to refrain from bringing his consort, who steadily refused to embrace the Catholic faith, into the country. The privileges of the Poles were secured; Saxony was taxed to meet the expenses incurred by her sovereign and was compelled to furnish Poland with money and troops, whilst the Catholic prince, Egon von Fürstenberg, the stadtholder during the absence of her sovereign, drained the coffers of the Protestants, and, these sources proving insufficient, some of the hereditary demesnes were sold, among others, the ancestral castle of Wettin. Augustus was finally reduced to the necessity of issuing a debased coinage. Alchymists were also had recourse to. One, named Klettenberg, was beheaded for failing in the discovery of gold; another, Bœttger, whilst imprisoned at Kœnigstein, invented porcelain, by the fabrication of which the elector realized immense sums.——The loss of the inheritance of Saxon-Lauenburg, whose last duke, Julius Francis, expired A. D. 1689, was severely felt by Saxony. The house of Anhalt, a branch of that of Lauenburg, had the first claim, but was too weak to compete for its right. That of Saxony had been confirmed by the emperor, Maximilian I., but John George, neglecting to take possession of it, was superseded by George William of Brunswick-Celle, who occupied the duchy with his troops, and Augustus, too much occupied with Poland to assert his claim, consented to receive an indemnity of 1,100,000 florins.

On the death of the great elector of Brandenburg [A. D. 1688] his will was declared invalid by his son, Frederick, who maintained the indivisibility of the territory of Brandenburg against the claims of the children of his step-mother, Dorothea, on whom he bitterly avenged himself. Frederick's mean and misshapen person, the consequence of an accident in his infancy, gained for him the sobriquet of the royal Æsop. His government was at first highly popular. Dankelmann, his prime minister, who had formerly saved his life, was severe but just. The elector had, however, a taste for pomp and luxury, in which he was encouraged by his favourite, von Kolbe, who placed his wife in his master's arms. This notorious person was the daughter of a publican at Emmerick, and, notwithstanding the title of Countess von Wartenberg, bestowed upon her by the elector, often caused him extreme embarrassment by the coarseness of her manners. It was by

her means that her husband succeeded in his base machinations. Dankelmann was suddenly arrested and thrown into a dungeon at Spandau, and Kolbe succeeded him as minister, with unlimited authority, under the name of Count von Wartenberg. Ignorant and mean, he solely retained his office by flattering the weak vanity and ambition of the elector. The elevation of William of Orange to the throne of England, and of Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland, roused Frederick's jealousy, of which Kolbe took advantage to inspire him with a desire for the possession of a crown, and the transformation of the duchy of Prussia, then no longer a Polish feof, into a kingdom was resolved upon, and its recognition was effected by means of six million dollars. The Jesuits in Vienna received two hundred thousand. They treated the petty kingdom with ridicule, but Prince Eugene, who foresaw that the successors of this new monarch would increase in power and arrogance, said, "Those ministers by whom the king of Prussia has been recognised deserve to be hanged." The pope also strongly protested against the weak concession made by the emperor.

A solemn coronation and the creation of the order of the black eagle took place [A. D. 1701] at Kœnigsberg. Frederick placed the crown on his own brow, and then on that of his consort. This princess favoured the Pietists and had placed the celebrated Franke, the founder of the Orphan Asylum at Halle, near her person. He was, however, dismissed by the king, who declared salvation to be the natural prerogative of the kings of the earth. Frederick aped the stiff etiquette of the Spanish court and surrounded his person and his palace with Swiss guards, whilst the ceremonious attitude of his court, like the altar service in the Catholic churches, proclaimed the majesty of this terrestrial deity, who merely laid aside his dignity in his smoking-room. The royal dignity cost enormous sums. Kolbe, who at the same time filled his own purse, invented the most extraordinary taxes in order to extract money from the people, as, for instance, on wigs, dresses, hogs' bristles, etc. Alchymy was also had recourse to. An alchymist, who had assumed the title of Don Dominico Caëtano, Conte de Ruggiero, and had grossly deceived the king, was hanged on a gilt gallows in a Roman toga made of gold paper. The fading beauty and increasing impudence of the Countess von War-

tenberg also led to Kolbe's downfal, and a dispute arising between him and one of his creatures, Count Wittgenstein, on account of the large sums taken by the latter from the fire-insurance office, the whole of his criminal proceedings were discovered, and he and his accomplices were punished. Kolbe and his infamous wife, however, escaped with honourable banishment and a pension of twenty-four thousand dollars. A new palace was built at Berlin, where the citizens, whose taste was in some degree influenced by the French settlers, vied with the courtiers in luxury and splendour.

CCXXIX. *The Northern war.—Charles the Twelfth.*

On the accession of Charles XII., in his seventeenth year, to the throne of Sweden, the neighbouring powers, deeming the moment favourable, attempted to humble the power of that kingdom. The league entered into [A. D. 1699] by Russia, Denmark, and Saxon-Poland, was brought about by Patkul, a patriotic Livonian, who had been greatly ill-treated by the Swedes. The rights and privileges of the Livonians had been infringed by Charles XI., and a deputation from the Estates, in which Patkul was included, had, notwithstanding the safe-conduct granted by the king, been abused. Patkul fled and was sentenced to death *in contumaciam*. Peter, the czar of Russia, sent him as his ambassador to Saxon-Poland, and took advantage of the quarrel between Livonia and Sweden to extend his sovereignty along the Gulf of Finland to the detriment of Sweden.——The hostility of the Danes had been also roused by the voluntary annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Sweden. In 1684, an attempt made by Christian V. of Denmark to reannex Schleswig with Denmark was frustrated by the intervention of the neighbouring powers. Christian Albert of Schleswig-Holstein expired A. D. 1694. His son, Frederick, married Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles XII., with whom he formed so strict a friendship as to allow his territory to be occupied by Swedish troops.

On the formation of the league against Sweden, the Danes invaded Holstein, and Augustus, king of Poland, overran Swedish Livonia and unsuccessfully besieged Riga. Narwa also withstood the Russian hordes, which, partly armed with arrows and clubs and in wild disorder, were driven to the as-

sault by the terror of the knout. The allies had, however, falsely judged the youthful scion of the house of Wittelsbach. Charles XII. unsheathed his sword never again to restore it to the scabbard. Suddenly invading Denmark, he bombarded Copenhagen, compelled the king to accede to his terms of peace, and, in the winter of 1700, crossed over to Livonia. Without awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, he advanced hastily against the czar, and, with merely nine thousand men, defeated forty thousand Russians, or, as some have it, one hundred thousand with eight thousand, at Narwa. After driving the Russians out of the country, he attacked the Saxons and Poles on the Düna, where, marshalling his troops in the midst of the stream as they were beaten from the bank, he again led them to victory. Augustus sent the beautiful Aurora von Kœnigsmark to him in the hope of entangling him in an intrigue, but Charles refused to see her, and, on meeting her accidentally in a hollow way, whence there was no retreat, merely bowed, and, without uttering a syllable, turned his horse's head and rode away. He was, during the whole of his life, remarkable for his abhorrence of women and wine. An army was vainly brought into the field by Riese, the licentious Saxon general, whose effeminacy rendered him an object of contempt to the Poles. Charles was every where victorious; in 1702, at Clissow, where he captured five hundred ladies belonging to the Polish court, whom he sent home unharmed. His brother-in-law, Frederick of Holstein, fell on this occasion. A broken leg, which retained Charles at Cracow, retarded the campaign, notwithstanding the sharp pursuit of Augustus for four days by the Swedes under Reinschild, from whom he eventually escaped. Charles was, meanwhile, again compelled to oppose the Russians, who invaded Finland, and Poland remained in tranquillity until 1705, when he again entered that country and took Warsaw, where he condemned the Saxon general, Paykul, who is said to have defended that city, as a Livonian by birth and a Swedish subject in the service of the enemy, to death. Had Charles, instead of directing his attention almost solely upon Poland and Saxony, turned the whole of his forces at first against Russia and followed up the victory of Narwa by the destruction of the budding creations of Peter the Great on the Gulf of Finland, his fate, and probably that of Europe, might have been more for-

tunate. His thoughts were, however, solely directed to the elevation of another sovereign on the throne of Poland, and young Sobieski having been surprised by Augustus at Ohlau in Silesia and carried into Saxony, Stanislaus Lesczinsky was elected in his stead by the partisans of Sweden and Poland. The Swedes were, meanwhile, kept in check at Punitz by the Saxon general, Count von der Schulenburg, who procrastinated the war by his skilful manœuvring. His retreat across the Oder is celebrated in the annals of warfare. The czar being again driven out of Lithuania by Charles, and Schulenburg, on advancing to his aid, being completely routed by Reinschild at Fraustadt, [A. D. 1706,] Augustus fell back upon Russia, whilst Charles seized the opportunity to march rapidly through Silesia into Saxony, where he was hailed as the defender of the Protestant faith, with an enthusiasm scarcely inferior to that with which Gustavus Adolphus had formerly been welcomed.*

This bold step struck Augustus with terror, and he instantly sent his counsellors, Imhof and Pfingsten, from Poland with full powers to conclude peace with the successful Swede, and a treaty was hastily concluded between them and Charles, which alone required the ratification of the Polish monarch. But Augustus, who had kept his allies in ignorance of the pending negotiations, had, meanwhile, been compelled to aid the Russians in an engagement at Calisch against the Swedes, in which the former proving victorious, he entered Warsaw in triumph and declared the report of peace having been concluded by him with Charles, false. Charles was, however, already in possession of Saxony, and Augustus was speedily compelled by necessity to abandon his Russian ally and to sue for the peace he had just denied. A conference was held between the two monarchs, whose personal appearance contrasted as strikingly as their characters; Augustus, gigantic

* Augustus had rendered himself highly unpopular in Saxony by his tyranny and still more so by his secession from the Protestant church. He was represented in a caricature of the times driving Saxony into Poland on a wheelbarrow. The popular song,

"O du lieber Augustin
Alles ist hin
Polen ist weg,"

also belongs to this period.

in person, magnificently but effeminately attired in false and curling locks and cloth of gold; Charles, less in stature, but a thorough soldier, with a small hat on his closely shaven head, (a style that was afterwards imitated by Frederick the Great and Napoleon,) dressed in a coat of coarse blue cloth with copper buttons, with enormous boots and a long sword. Peace was concluded at Altranstädt. Augustus renounced the throne of Poland and delivered up young Sobieski and the unfortunate Patkul, who, although at that time Russian ambassador at Dresden, was claimed by Charles as a Livonian, a Swedish subject by birth, and barbarously put to the rack. According to Patkul's own account, Augustus delivered him up in revenge for his having once ventured to reproach him for having spent a large sum of money, intended for the levy of troops, on his mistresses and in the purchase of jewelry. Flemming, who was also demanded by Charles, knew his master too well to trust him and withdrew awhile into Prussia. Augustus, in order to appease the indignation displayed by Russia on the conclusion of this peace, threw his unfortunate counsellors, Imhof and Pfingsten, under a false charge of having overstepped their authority, into prison.

The residence of Charles XII. in Saxony [A. D. 1706] was very remarkable. On his march through Silesia, the persecuted Protestants in that country supplicated his aid. He earnestly addressed the emperor on their behalf, sent four regiments up the country with orders, in case of necessity, to retake possession of the churches, of which the Protestants had been deprived by the Jesuits, by force, and compelled the emperor, who, at that time occupied with France, avoided raising a fresh antagonist, to restore one hundred and twenty-five churches to the Lutherans and to permit six new ones to be built; but Charles no sooner quitted the country in order to penetrate into the steppes of Russia than Joseph published a severe edict against the increasing apostacy, on account of the numbers of Protestants who now avowed their faith and crowded to the new churches. Banishment for life and confiscation were the punishments awarded to every apostate Catholic.—— Charles fixed his head-quarters at Altranstädt in Saxony, where, as sovereign of the country, he levied contributions and recruited his army. Whilst here, he received a visit from Marlborough, the celebrated English general, who persuaded

him to grant peace to Germany, then harassed by France, and to turn his arms against Russia. An alliance between France, Sweden, and Turkey, at that period, would have ruined the empire.

A. D. 1709, Charles invaded Russia at the head of forty thousand men, most of whom had been raised in Germany, crossed the Beresina (Napoleon followed in his steps) at Borissow, took the Russian fortifications at Holowczyn (swimming the river Wabis, in which he sank up to his neck,) by storm, at one time fell among the Calmucks, numbers of whom he slew with his own hand, and pursued the flying enemy until he was himself lost among the wide forests and morasses. The artillery sank in the swamps, the men perished for want of food. General Löwenhaupt, when attempting to join him with a fresh body of troops from Sweden, was waylaid and defeated, after a desperate conflict that lasted three days, by the czar at Liesna, notwithstanding which, he succeeded in joining him with six thousand men. Charles, after long and vainly endeavouring to overtake the retreating enemy, who (as during Napoleon's invasion) laid the country waste through which he advanced, now led his wearied army southward in order to form a junction with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who hoped by his aid to shake off the Russian yoke. The country through which the Swedish monarch passed had been converted into a desert by the flying Russians, and, in order to gain better winter-quarters, he advanced, in the depth of the winter of 1708-9, as far as Gaditsch. Thousands perished of cold on the way thither, and, in the spring and summer, his army was so much reduced in strength that the Russians regained courage and ventured with their overwhelming numbers to attack him as he lay before Pultowa. The Russian army had been, moreover, disciplined, and was at the time commanded by Germans (Rönne, Goltz, Pflug, Bauer, and Kruse). Charles, who had been wounded in the foot whilst incautiously exposing himself to the fire from the walls, was borne about in a litter, which, during the engagement, was shattered by the Russian artillery. The Swedes, whose ranks had been thinned by cold and starvation, were, notwithstanding their bravery, completely put to the rout, and Charles escaped with extreme difficulty. The last salvo was given by Prince Maximilian Emanuel of Wurtemberg, who commanded

a Swedish regiment. He was taken prisoner and was received with great honour by the czar. Charles fled with a few of his followers into Turkey. The division of the Swedish army under Löwenhaupt was overtaken and captured by the Russians on the Dnieper.

The fugitive monarch was royally welcomed by the Porte and allowed to fix his residence at Bender, whence he conducted a Turkish war against Russia. The grand visir had already taken the field at the head of two hundred thousand men and had closely shut up the czar in the Crimea. Charles, to whom, to his great mortification, the command of the army had not been intrusted, galloped impatiently into the camp, but arrived too late to hinder the czar's escape. From this day dates the prosperity of Russia. The plans of the Swedish monarch were frustrated by a German woman, Martha, a native of Rinteln in Esthonia, a Lutheran, the maid-servant of a clergyman of Marienburg. She married a Swedish dragoon, was carried off by the Russians, became successively slave and mistress to Scheremetoff, Menzikoff, and the czar, and, under the name of Catherine, czarina and empress of all the Russias. With her jewels she bribed the grand visir to allow the Russians to escape. Her ring was afterwards discovered among the treasures of the murdered visir.

Livonia and Esthonia, until now belonging to Sweden, although by right German, fell, on the defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa, under the rule of Russia. Riga capitulated [A. D. 1710] after an heroic defence, and Courland was acquired by Peter, who married the last duke of that country to his niece, Anna, and killed him with excessive drinking. On Dantzig, of which he also coveted the possession, he imposed a tribute of 400,000 dollars.

Peter next attacked Pomerania with a view of completely annihilating the power of Sweden. Russia, Denmark, and Poland, where Augustus had reascended the throne, again coalesced. An anti-league, known as the alliance of the Hague, was formed for the maintenance of peace and for the protection of Sweden against her neighbours, by England, Holland, and the emperor. Little energy was, however, displayed on her behalf. The Danes who had invaded Sweden were, it is true, compelled to retire, but were allowed to take possession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, in which they were

aided by an insurrection of the inhabitants, occasioned by the tyranny of the Swedish governors. Stade was burnt down. The Saxons seized the whole of Poland on the departure of Stanislaus, who, abandoned by his partisans, took refuge with Charles in Turkey. In 1712, the allied powers of Saxony and Russia took possession of Swedish Pomerania, Stralsund and Wismar alone excepted. Stenbock, who had brought a fresh body of sixteen thousand men from Sweden, defeated the allies at Gadebusch, but incurred the detestation of the Germans by the cruelty with which, during the severe winter of 1713, he burnt down the city of Altona, which belonged to Denmark, in revenge for the destruction of Stade. The inhabitants, ten thousand in number, driven out of the burning city, were denied a refuge in Hamburg, and numbers of them perished of cold and hunger. Stenbock was shortly afterwards shut up near Tœnning by the enemy and forced to yield. (Capitulation of Oldenwoth, A. D. 1713.) The czar avenged Altona, on whose unfortunate inhabitants he bestowed a thousand rubles, by burning Garz and Wolgast to the ground and treating their inhabitants with horrid barbarity. These successes decided Prussia, until now vacillating, to join the anti-Swedish league, A. D. 1714, for which she was rewarded by the promise of the future possession of Stettin.

Turkey, although threatened by the rising power of the Russian empire, was a prey to the petty intrigues of the seraglio, and turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of Charles XII., who urged the necessity of carrying on the war. He received a hint to quit the country, but, instead of complying, barricadoed his house, which he defended against several thousand Turks, numbers of whom fell by his hand, but was at length seized and carried out of the country. With equal obstinacy, he remained for ten months in bed at Demotika. He had, notwithstanding, succeeded in successively overthrowing four grand visirs, and his long stay in Turkey was fully justified by the hope of placing himself at the head of a powerful Turkish army. After having exhausted every means of persuasion in his negotiations to that effect with the Porte, he once more mounted on horseback, and, solely accompanied by Colonel Düring, made in sixteen days a circuit through Hungary, Austria, Bavaria, the Pfalz, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg to Stralsund, in order to avoid the Saxons and Prussians,

and passing on his way through Cassel, where, notwithstanding the marriage that had lately taken place between his second sister, Ulrica Eleonore, and Frederick, hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, he preserved a strict incognito. The conduct of the newly-married pair, who had, during his absence, deeply intrigued with the Swedish nobility, who, in the event of Charles's death, projected the establishment of an oligarchical government, had greatly displeased the king, who had frustrated Frederick's hopes of succeeding to the throne by declaring the young duke of Holstein, his elder sister's son, his lawful heir.——Charles reached Stralsund during a dark November night, A. D. 1714. The city was at the time besieged by his numerous opponents, and, after gallantly defending it for some months, he was at length compelled to fly to Sweden. Wismar also fell.

The war was subsequently carried on at sea, generally to the prejudice of Sweden, and Charles made some attempts upon Norway. Gœrtz, the minister of Holstein, who entered into a close compact with Charles, and, by his diplomatic arts, endeavoured to dissolve the anti-Swedish league, nevertheless displayed the greatest energy. The jealousy of Denmark being roused by a slight advantage gained by the Russian fleet over that of Sweden, Gœrtz seized the opportunity to open secret negotiations with the czar, and a treaty was set on foot by which Russia was to retain her conquests on the Gulf of Finland, and Stanislaus was to be replaced on the throne of Poland. An alliance was also proposed between Charles and Peter's daughter, the Grand-Duchess Anna. The whole of the negotiations were, however, detected by the seizure of a Swedish despatch by the Danes. Denmark naturally viewed an alliance between Sweden and Russia with dread; Saxony beheld Poland slipping from her grasp; Hanover saw the downfal of her projects upon Bremen and Verden, and Prussia that of hers upon Stettin; Charles's marriage endangered alike the succession of Frederick of Hesse and that of the young duke of Holstein to the throne, whilst the power he thereby acquired gave a death-blow to the aspirations of the Swedish aristocracy, and his assassination, before Gœrtz's arrival in Sweden with the treaty already signed by the czar, was, consequently, resolved upon. The leader of this conspiracy and the number of his accomplices are still unknown,

but it appears that foreign powers, besides a faction in Sweden, were implicated in this affair. A small Swedish force under Armfeldt had perished from cold whilst crossing the mountains that separate Norway from Sweden; and another, commanded by Charles in person, was besieging the fortress of Friedrichshall in the south of Norway, when the king was shot through the head whilst leaning over the redoubt, Dec. 11, 1718. Frederick of Hesse-Cassel instantly placed himself at the head of the council of war, divided the whole contents of the military chest among the superior officers, and hastily withdrew to Sweden to make terms with the aristocracy, on whose favour his accession to the throne solely depended. The duke of Holstein, who had also helped himself to the contents of the military chest, was excluded from the succession, and Schleswig was, without his concurrence, ceded by Sweden to Denmark, in order to pacify her foreign neighbours. The czar was richly indemnified for the frustration of his projected alliance by the cession of the whole of Livonia and Esthonia, whilst Saxony was confirmed in the possession of Poland, Hanover in that of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, besides receiving an indemnity of a million dollars, and Prussia was gratified with the gift of Stettin, the whole of the tract of country lying between the Oder and the Peene, and three million dollars. Gœrtz fell a sacrifice to this peaceful policy and was sentenced to the block by the Swedish war-council.

Northern Pomerania and its capital, Stralsund, now comprised the whole of the Swedish possessions on this side the Baltic. The power of Sweden had deeply fallen. On the demise of Frederic of Hesse in 1751, Adolf Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp mounted the throne, but was powerless against the aristocracy, which ere long fell under Russian influence.

Russia had now supplanted Sweden as the greatest northern power. In 1700, the city of Petersburg had been built on the Gulf of Finland by the czar, who had drawn thither a number of German artificers, introduced a superior style of discipline into his army and created a navy. The German Livonians also aided his endeavours for the extension of the power of Russia to the prejudice of their fatherland. Russian ambassadors bent the courts of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland

to his interests. The Russian force under Menzikoff remained stationary in Germany and perpetrated the most shameful acts of violence. Hamburg was compelled to pay a contribution of 200,000 dollars, Lübeck 100,000 silver marcs. In Mecklenburg, they seized Posto under pretext of aiding the duke, Charles Leopold of Schwerin, against his rebellious Estates. The nobility fled the country. A part of the Russian troops subsequently returned home, leaving a body of 16,000 men under General Weide to vex the country, nor was it until the conclusion of peace in 1719 that they were finally driven across the frontier by the Hanoverian troops after an obstinate defence at Walsmühlen. Charles Leopold was deposed and his brother, Christian Louis, placed at the head of the government. Charles fled to Dantzig, where he formed a conspiracy against his brother's life, which was discovered, and several of his accomplices were put to the wheel, hanged, or beheaded, A. D. 1724. He afterwards attempted to revolutionize and regain possession of the country by force, and for that purpose collected several thousand of the peasantry, but was defeated at Neustadt and a second time expelled, A. D. 1733.

The issue of the Northern war produced a melancholy reaction in Poland. The restoration of Augustus to the throne, by Russia, had greatly imbittered the Poles, and the Saxons fell frequent victims to secret assassination. Augustus, in revenge, sought to curb the spirit of the people by the most violent measures and placed them totally under the control of the Jesuits. In 1724, the citizens of Thorn being compelled to bend the knee during a passing procession by the Jesuits, by whom some innocent persons were moreover treated with horrible cruelty, the populace revolted, rescued one of their prisoners, and destroyed part of the Jesuit college. The burgomaster, Rœsner, together with eight of the citizens, were, in revenge, sentenced to the block by a criminal court, established for that purpose by the king. The executioner, tearing the heart from the palpitating bosom of one of the victims, exclaimed, "Behold a Lutheran's heart." Eighty of the citizens were thrown into prison, the Lutheran church was given up to the Jesuits, and a heavy contribution laid upon the city.

CCXXX. *The Spanish war of Succession.*

On the Rhine, a fresh war with France, more fearful in character than any of its predecessors, was carried on simultaneously with that in the North, which caused little disturbance to Germany. Charles II., the last of the Habsburg dynasty in Spain, expired, A. D. 1700, leaving two daughters, Maria Theresa, consort of Louis XIV., and Margaretha Theresa, consort of the emperor, Leopold I. The Spanish throne being hereditary also in the female line, the agnati, the male branch of the Habsburgs in Austria, were, consequently, excluded from the succession, which fell to Maria Theresa as the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, but she, prior to her union with Louis, having solemnly renounced her right, it passed to her younger sister, the German empress. The French ambassadors and the pope, who once more favoured France against Germany, had, nevertheless, induced the weak-minded Spanish monarch to declare in his will the renunciation of Maria Theresa null, and Philip, duke d'Anjou, his successor. This will was protested against by the emperor. The Spaniards were, even at this period, too degraded to give force to public opinion and looked on with indifference, whilst Austria and France strove for the rich prize, which, besides Spain, comprehended Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Netherlands, and a large territory in America, and a furious contest, in which all the powers of Western Europe declared, as their interests dictated, in favour either of France or Austria, ensued.

England and Holland, the hereditary foes of France, sided with Austria. William of Orange returned from England in ill health and expired at Loo, A. D. 1702, after zealously forwarding the league against France. He was succeeded on the English throne by Anne, the sister of his deceased consort, Mary, one of the daughters of the deposed king, James II. The widow of George, prince of Denmark, she was already in league with the Protestant party and had no other alternative than to pursue the policy of her predecessor on the throne of England, by which she at once secured the affection of her subjects. Marlborough, the husband of the queen's friend and companion, was at the head of affairs in England, and Heinsius at the head of those of Holland. Both of these statesmen followed in the steps of William of Orange. Prussia

was won over by Austria by being elevated to a kingdom, and Hanover by the gift of the electoral hat. Saxony was too deeply occupied with Poland to take part in the war with France; her king, however, subsidied by Holland and England, sent troops with meagre pay into the field and pocketed the overplus.

Joseph Clement, elector of Cologne, notwithstanding the protestation of his chapter, and, on this occasion, also his brother Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, whom France had promised to confirm in the hereditary possession of the Netherlands, unmoved by the urgent entreaties of his Estates, again embraced the French cause. Antony Ulric of Wolfenbüttel, jealous of the electoral hat bestowed upon the house of Lunebürg-Hanover, raised troops for France, in which he was imitated by the petty duke of Gotha. Both of these princes were speedily disarmed. The Swabian and Franconian circles, awed by Strassburg, declared themselves neutral. In Italy, Louis XIV. was favoured by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, whose daughter he had united to his grandson Philip, the Spanish usurper, by Charles, duke of Mantua, and by the pope, who dreaded the preponderance of the imperial house in case of its accession to Milan, Naples, and Spain. Ragoczy, supported by the Jesuits and by French gold, again rose in Hungary.

The campaign was opened by the French in Italy, A. D. 1701. Marshal Catinat took possession of Lombardy and occupied all the Alpine passes, notwithstanding which, Prince Eugene, the commander of the imperial forces, eluded his vigilance by leading his army across the frightful and hitherto impassable rocks of the Val Fredda. The artillery and baggage were borne on the shoulders of the men or drawn along by ropes. Passing through the pathless Sette Communi, seven remarkable ancient German communes planted in the midst of Italians, he descended near Vicenza into the plains of Lombardy, to the terror and surprise of Catinat, who instantly retired and formed a junction with Villeroi. They were signally defeated at Chiari in the vicinity of Brescia. The two armies kept each other in check throughout the winter. On the 1st of February, A. D. 1702, at three A. M., Eugene forced his way into Cremona, surprised the sleeping French, and took Villeroi, who had not long before boasted

that he would set some of the Austrian princes dancing on Shrove-tide, prisoner. Cremona proved untenable, and the French jestingly thanked the prince for having delivered them from so bad a general as Villeroi, whom Vendôme, a man of great talent, was sent to replace by Louis XIV., at the head of a large body of reinforcements, and Eugene, whom the imperial military council ever left ill provided with money and ammunition, was compelled to retire, but, notwithstanding the manœuvres of the enemy, he contrived to maintain his footing in Lombardy, and, seizing his opportunity, succeeded in surprising and beating the superior forces of his opponents at Luzara. The want of troops disabled him from following up his advantage, and in the ensuing year, A. D. 1703, he was called into Hungary to take the field against Ragoczy, and Italy once more fell into the hands of the French.

In the Netherlands, which had, simultaneously with Italy, been invaded by the French, the fortresses had been thrown open to them by the perfidious stadtholder, the elector of Bavaria, whose example was imitated by his brother of Cologne. They were, however, actively opposed by the English and Dutch. Marlborough's genius as a commander was still in the bud. In 1702, he contented himself with the occupation of the territory of Liege; in 1703, with that of Cologne and with keeping the enemy in check. The elector of Cologne, who, in 1702, had overrun the upper country with French troops and boasted that not a single peasant existed within twenty miles in that province, was compelled, after losing Bonn, to seek refuge in France.

On the Upper Rhine, the imperial army, with which was the emperor's son, the Roman king, Joseph, was commanded by the venerable Turkish conqueror, Louis, Margrave of Baden. The honour of taking Landau, which had been fortified on Vauban's new plan, was deemed impregnable by the French and was defended by Melac, was committed to the young prince, who acted according to the advice of his veteran marshal, and the place capitulated on the 9th of September, 1702, the very day on which Ulm was treacherously seized by the elector of Bavaria, and a dangerous diversion was created to the rear of the imperialists. In October, the French crossed the Rhine at Hüningen, in order to form a junction with the

electoral troops, but were beaten back at Friedlingen by the Margrave, who, in the ensuing campaign, [A. D. 1703,] again confined himself to the defensive and sought by his manœuvres to prevent the invasion of Germany by the French and their junction with the Bavarian troops, a division of whom, under Count Arco, attempting to advance upon Hüningen, were forced by General Styrum to retreat upon Waldshut. Marshal Villars, nevertheless, succeeded, in May, in stealing through the narrow passes of the Black Forest to Tüttlingen, where he joined the Bavarian army on its return up the Danube. Maximilian and Villars met as ancient friends, but the impatience of the German elector was ere long roused by the arrogance of the French, and, although their united forces might have enabled them to cope with the imperialists and to invade Austria, a separation was resolved upon; Villars undertook to watch the movements of the imperialists, and the elector entered the Tyrol, through which Marshal Vendôme was advancing from Italy. The junction of the French armies, at that time divided by the Alps, was of the highest importance for their mutual support and for bringing their forces to bear with redoubled strength on any given point.

In June, the elector entered the Tyrol at the head of sixteen thousand men. The fortress of Kufstein surrendered, but was burnt with the whole of the garrison, the commandant, who held the keys, being absent, and no one being able to get out. Innspruck, the capital of the Tyrol, also fell, and a squadron of Bavarians, under General Nouvion, marched thence up the Inn, whilst the elector mounted the Brenner with the main body. Signal-fires shone during the night on every mountain, and the brave Tyrolese, headed by Christian Koill of Kützbühel and the postmaster, Aufschneider, of Weydra, flew to arms. The struggle commenced in the valley of the Upper Inn. Martin Stertzinger, sheriff of Landeck, awaited Nouvion's squadron behind the broken bridge of Pontlaz, where the road mounts to the Finstermünzthal. The Bavarians vainly attempted to cross the water and to disperse the bold sharpshooters on the opposite bank, who spread death among their ranks. On a sudden, a terrific crash was heard to their rear, the mountains seemed to be falling on their heads, and enormous stones and trunks of trees, set in motion by the concealed peasantry, rolled with frightful rapidity upon

their serried ranks, casting both horses and riders into the rushing stream. The peasants had also fabricated cannons, capable of bearing ten rounds, out of hollowed fir-stems. Nouvion fled with the remnant of his forces, but found the bridge at Zams broken down and was compelled to yield. General Portia fell beneath the peasants' hatchets.——The elector had, meanwhile, marched up the Brenner along the high road towards Italy. But he was awaited above, behind their fortifications, by fresh troops of peasantry, and, before it was possible for him to attack them, the news arrived of the insurrection to his rear. General Verrito, whom he had left at Hall, which he had strongly fortified, had been attacked by the peasants called to assist in the works and killed by the blows of their hammers (he having spread a report of his invulnerability). The whole of the Bavarian garrison had been slain, and all the other Bavarian posts to his rear raised. The treasures in the castle of Ambras, which the elector had caused to be packed ready for removal, were retaken by the peasantry. Innspruck revolted. The loss of the Scharnitz, the most important of the mountain passes between the Tyrol and Bavaria, which was seized by an officer, named Heindl, belonging to the imperial army, with the assistance of the Bavarians, threatened the elector with the greatest danger. This pass and that of Hall in the valley of the Inn, the only paths by which he could retreat, were closed by the Tyrolese, in the hope of shutting him in and taking him and his whole army prisoners; but, after a terrible mêlée at Zirl, in which Count Arco was shot close to his side by a Tyrolean sharp-shooter, who mistook him, owing to the richness of his garb, for the elector, he succeeded in forcing his way to the Scharnitz. Out of sixteen thousand Bavarians, five thousand alone regained their native country. Vendôme had merely succeeded in reaching Trident, whence he was repulsed, and the whole plan of the campaign was thus frustrated by the native valour of the people. Had the circle of Swabia, Franconia, the Rhine, and Burgundy risen en masse, like their Tyrolese brethren, how speedily might not the French invader have been chased across the frontier!

Their example remained unfortunately unimitated, and Villars was allowed unopposed to lay Swabia waste. Landau again fell into the hands of the French, and a bold advance of

the Margrave of Baden upon Augsburg with the design of aiding that city against the Bavarians, miscarried through the jealousy and ill-will of Styrum, who allowed himself to be surprised and defeated at Hochstädt. Augsburg was laid under contribution by the Bavarians. Breisach* was also pusillanimously yielded by the Counts Arco and Marsigli to the French.

The war was carried on with great spirit in the campaign of 1704. Prince Eugene returned from Hungary, leaving General Heister to keep Ragoczy, whom he had beaten at Tirnau, in check, and joined his forces with those of Louis of Baden. Marlborough also, deceiving Marshal Villeroi, who had, on his liberation, been sent to oppose him in the Netherlands, hastened to Heilbronn to form a junction with his allies, who now took up a concentrated position, whilst the French forces lay scattered in various directions. Villeroi, who had hastened in pursuit of Marlborough, joined Tallard at Strassburg, but was prevented by Eugene, who threw himself in his way, from accompanying him through the Kinzigthal across the Black Forest to the Danube for the purpose of forming a junction, in which Tallard succeeded, with Maximilian and Villars at Hochstädt. Marlborough and Louis, however, drove the Bavarians under Arco, who had again taken up an isolated position, from the Schellenberg, and Eugene's unexpected arrival before Villeroi could set off in his pursuit, placed it in their power to shut Villars, Tallard, and Maximilian up in Hochstädt. The obstinacy of the old Margrave, who refused to hazard an engagement, threatened to frustrate the plan, had not Eugene and Marlborough, well acquainted with his weak point, occupied him with the siege of Ingolstadt, whilst they, at the head of merely fifty-two thousand men, attacked the enemy, fifty-eight thousand strong, so unexpectedly at Hochstädt on the 13th August, 1704, as almost to annihilate him. The French lost twenty thousand dead and wounded; fifteen thousand under Marshal Tallard were cut off and taken prisoners; the Bavarians alone escaping across the Danube towards the Rhine. The Swiss mercenaries under General Zurlauben displayed extreme bravery and repulsed three attacks.

* The following words were placed over the bridge-gate of Breisach:
"Limes eram Gallis, nunc pons et janua fio,
Si pergunt, Gallis *nullibi* limes erit."

The General was taken prisoner after receiving seven wounds. ——The news of this glorious victory spread joy throughout Germany. Marlborough received the lordship of Mindelheim in fee and was created Prince of the German empire. Eugene took possession of Bavaria. Augsburg and Ulm were liberated. The old Margrave marched to the Rhine and retook Landau and Treves, Villeroi retreating in dismay. Hagenau was so actively besieged by Thüngen that the French garrison fled, panic-struck, during the night. An attack upon Breisach failed.

Unfortunately, however, instead of, after the retreat of the French depredators, conciliating the Germans and once more reuniting them in their true interests, the Bavarians were cruelly forced to atone for the guilt of their prince. Prince Eugene is, nevertheless, free from reproach. He expressly warned against every ill-treatment of the people. The emperor annexed all the country between Passau and Salzburg to his hereditary provinces, left the rest of Bavaria under the care of a regency, and enrolled all the young men in his army. The nobility and the public officers placed themselves under the Austrian rule, as the safest mode of bearing the crisis, and were consequently spared. The whole weight of the emperor's wrath fell upon the wretched peasantry, who, laden with exorbitant dues and ground to the dust with the heavy charge for the quartering of soldiery, assembled, and, in a public address to the diet at Ratisbon, declared that they were compelled by necessity to take up arms. The imperial government at Munich, on the other hand, declared that every peasant, taken with arms in his hand, should be punished "with the gallows and the sword, the banishment of his children, and the confiscation of the whole of his property;" that the villages of the rebels should be burnt down; that parents, whose children had taken up arms, should share the punishment awarded to them, etc. Of the Bavarian recruits who might join the peasantry only every fifteenth man should, "through especial clemency," be put to death.

Two students, Plinganser and Meindl, and the postmaster, Hirner, meanwhile, led the peasants to the field and were every where victorious. But, on the formation of a superior council under the title of "defence of the country," they were joined by numbers of the nobility, who merely betrayed and

ruined their cause. It was in vain that the latter took Braunau and Schærding, formed themselves into regiments under different colours, and compelled the Austrians to enter into negotiation; the nobles interfered in the conferences, kept the peasants either in the dark or attempted to lead them astray and into disputes among themselves, and played into the emperor's hands. When the peasantry, enraged at the procrastination, attempted to seize Munich by surprise, they were betrayed by a public officer, Œttlinger, who had hypocritically set himself up as their adviser. The imperial general, Kriechbaum, was sent with all speed to Munich. The peasantry were, notwithstanding, beforehand with him. The suburb Au rose in open insurrection; Balthes, the smith, a giant, sixty-one years of age, under the cry of "Save the children," (the Bavarian princes, who, it was believed, were to be carried into Austria,) forced the city gate, dashed out the brains of the Austrian sentinel with his club, and opened a way for the peasantry, who got part of the city into their hands, but Œttlinger, who managed the communication between the principal body of the peasantry, purposely either withheld or spread false news, in consequence of which the party that had forced its way into the city was left without reinforcements and was soon placed between two fires, being attacked in front by General Wendt, who made a sally from the town, whilst General Kriechbaum fell upon their rear. Fighting at disadvantage on foot, continually charged by the enemy's horse, they retreated to Sendling, where the survivors, headed by a Frenchman, named Gautier, intrenched themselves in the churchyard, which they defended to the last. Fifteen hundred were slain, last of all the brave smith, A. D. 1705. The wounded were dragged back to Munich and left to freeze in their blood in the open street during the whole of the winter night, Christmas, "as a terrible example to all faithless subjects." Colonel Truchsess of the imperialists had, meanwhile, taken the town of Kelheim by surprise and put the mandate into terrible execution. The main body of the peasantry was still of imposing strength, but had separated for the purpose of opposing the various divisions of the enemy; several of the leaders, moreover, were traitors. Prielmayr, d'Oksfort, Zelli purposely misled their followers. Hoffman, being suddenly attacked by Kriechbaum,

lost his presence of mind and suffered a terrible defeat at Aitenbach, where four thousand peasants fell. Oksfort deserted to the Austrians and betrayed Braunau into their hands. The remainder of the divided and betrayed peasantry, under Plinganser and Meindl, deemed themselves too weak to keep the field and dispersed.——A fearful revenge was taken. Eight hundred peasants, who capitulated in Cham, were almost all cut to pieces, and numbers of the prisoners were put to a cruel death. All the ringleaders were either hanged or quartered, and a fourfold tax was laid upon the whole country.

The aged emperor, Leopold, meanwhile, expired, A. D. 1705. His son, Joseph I., commenced his reign with the restoration of religious liberty to Hungary, which had more effect in quelling Ragoczy's insurrection than even the victories gained by General Heister. The implicit confidence reposed by the emperor upon Eugene also put a temporary stop to the disorders of the court military council, which had, up to this period, regularly left the imperial army unprovided with money, provisions, and other necessaries, winked at fraud and negligence of every description, and so carefully regulated the movements of the commanders-in-chief that success was often frustrated, or victories were sometimes obliged to be gained, against its express commands. This evil system was now put an end to. Eugene was given unlimited power. Joseph also acted with a justice, too long procrastinated, although solely at the expense of Bavaria, towards the imperial free towns. Donauwörth was again declared free; Augsburg and Ulm received compensation for their losses. The electoral princes of Bavaria and Cologne were, as the dukes of Mantua and Savoy had formerly been, also solemnly put out of the ban of the empire.

Prince Eugene hastened to re-conquer Italy, where Vendôme had, until now, retained the mastery and by his arrogance and violence deeply offended the duke of Savoy, who once more turned to the emperor. Vendôme, however, disarmed the whole of the Savoy troops, and Victor Amadeus, who was merely supported by a small Austrian corps under Stahremberg, was unable to keep the field. The emperor was, nevertheless, grateful for his accession, ceded to him some of the frontier districts of Lombardy and the duchy of

Mantua, and, as France had formerly done, flattered him with the royal diadem. Eugene took the field, but was met by the French with such superior forces that the first battle, near Casano, remained undecided, and the second, near Govardo, ended in his defeat, nor was it until the recall of Vendôme in 1706, and the nomination of the duke of Orleans as commander-in-chief of the French, that Eugene, pushing rapidly forwards, finally joined Victor Amadeus and hastened, Sept. 7, 1706, to prepare a surprise, similar to that of Hochstädt, for the French, who were, at that conjuncture, occupied with the siege of Turin. The heroic valour of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded eight thousand Prussians, of General Rehbinder with the Pfalzers, and of William, duke of Gotha, decided the victory. The French lost one hundred and sixty-four cannons, and their power in Italy was so completely annihilated, [A. D. 1707,] that they agreed to a treaty, by which they consented to evacuate Italy, on condition of their garrisons, left in the fortresses, being allowed free egress. Eugene instantly despatched General Daun to the conquest of Naples. The pope, Clement XI., violently protested against this step and even provisionally excommunicated the whole of the German army; the time when the papal anathema struck terror had, however, long passed by. The Germans entered Naples, where the French and Spaniards were equally unpopular, in triumph, and the women and girls presented each of the men with a wreath of flowers and a goblet of wine. The Bohemian, Martinitz, became viceroy.* An attempt, made by Eugene, to penetrate into the south of France, failed, like its predecessors. He laid siege, it is true, to Toulon, but was unsuccessful; the gallant duke of Gotha fell in the trenches, [A. D. 1708,] and he was, through fear of being cut off, compelled to retreat.† Italy was, however,

* Neapolitan diplomacy had many a ridiculous feature. According to ancient usage, the kings of Naples, on their investiture, presented the pope with a white palfrey. On the present occasion, both pretenders, Charles and Philip, endeavoured to obtain this favour from the pope, who, not daring to make the decision, refused to accept the palfrey from either competitors. The French, hereupon, secretly introduced a palfrey into his palace-yard and pretended that he had accepted it, although it had, by his orders, been beaten out of the yard. Austria made a solemn protest, A. D. 1701. Eugene's success put an end to these follies.

† During the siege of Fenestrelle, he climbed a tree in order to take

maintained by the emperor, and an attack made by the papal troops near Ferrara was gloriously repulsed.

Whilst the war was thus energetically prosecuted by Eugene on the other side of the Alps, it was but lamely conducted in Germany. Louis of Baden, instead of joining Marlborough on the Moselle, procrastinated with the weakness of age, and the imperial army under his command fell a prey, owing to the ill-will and indolence of some of the Estates of the empire, to disunion and want. One prince sent his contingent too late; another, not at all. One recalled his men; another refused to allow his to advance. One left the soldiers without food or clothing; another protested against the charge for billeting. Louis was, consequently, unable to maintain himself on the left bank of the Rhine, and, on crossing the river, was instantly followed by the French under Villars, who again laid the Pfalz waste and Swabia under contribution. Thüngen alone recrossed the Rhine and pillaged the country to their rear. On the death of the old Margrave, in 1707, Prince Eugene exerted his interest in favour of Thüngen's nomination to the chief command, but the oldest of the princes of the empire, Christian Ernest, Margrave of Anspach and Bayreuth, a man of known incapacity, who allowed himself to be again driven from the lines of Schollhofen, and ten thousand sacks of flour, demanded by Villars under the threat of a renewal of the former scenes of atrocity practised by the French, to be carried through his camp into that of the enemy.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough gained another brilliant victory over the ill-fated Villeroi at Ramilies, where the French lost twenty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and eighty-eight cannons, A. D. 1706. The Dutch, notwithstanding, refused to take part in his projected invasion of France, the reigning burgher families deeming themselves already secure on that side and dreading the expenses of the war. Marlborough was, consequently, reduced to a state of inactivity, [A. D. 1707,] and occupied himself with carrying on negotiations of an important character. Charles XII. was, at that conjuncture, at Altranstädt. The prevention of a dangerous alliance between Sweden and France, and the

a sketch of the fortress. 'A cannon-ball carried away the bough against which he leant, but, unmoved by the accident, he calmly finished the sketch ere he descended.

acquisition of the aid of the powers of Northern Germany in the war against the latter country, were intrusted to Marlborough, who fulfilled his mission with his habitual success, and Charles XII. was persuaded once more to evacuate Germany. Frederick I. of Prussia was gained by Marlborough's mingling with his servants as he sat at table and offering him the napkin, and George of Hanover by being nominated generalissimo of the imperial forces in the place of Christian Ernest of Bayreuth, who had laid down the command. The new generalissimo made his appearance with a brilliant suite, gave balls and wasted enormous sums in useless festivities, complaining, meanwhile, that the other Estates of the empire contributed nothing towards the maintenance of the army. Matters went on in the old routine. The imperial commander, Mercy, gained a victory by surprise, during a thick fog, over the French under Villars, A. D. 1708, notwithstanding which, George remained with the main body in a complete state of inactivity.

A junction again taking place between Eugene and Marlborough, and Ouverkerk, the Dutch general, being also drawn into their interests, the war reassumed a more serious aspect. Both sides assembled their forces for a decisive engagement, which took place at Oudenarde, where, owing to the good understanding between Eugene and Marlborough, a complete victory was gained over Vendôme.* Both sides again assembled their forces, and, in the ensuing year, a still bloodier engagement, the most important fought during this war, took place at Malplaquet, where Eugene and Marlborough were again victorious over Villars. The Prussians, who fought "like devils" under Dessau, decided the day, which was, on the side of the French, merely disputed by the Swiss.† In this battle, the killed and wounded amounted to forty-five thousand. George still effectuated nothing on the Upper Rhine, although Mercy allowed himself to be surprised and defeated at Rumersheim. George resigned the command in the ensuing year, A. D. 1709.

* An attempt was at this time made to remove Eugene by means of a poisoned letter, sent to him either by the French or by the Jesuits.

† Several of the Swiss regiments lost all their officers. This battle took place on the 11th of September, the day on which [A. D. 1697] Eugene had beaten the Turks at Zeuta, and [A. D. 1701] the French at Chiari.

France, exhausted* by continual reverses, now sued for peace and even evinced an inclination to abandon Spain, but the German cabinets, rendered insolent by success, impolitically insisting upon the expulsion of Philip of Spain by his uncle, Louis XIV., the negotiations were broken off, and, on the sudden death of the emperor, Joseph, [A. D. 1710,] affairs assumed a totally different aspect.

* Germany also, and particularly the Rhenish provinces. The general misery occasioned immense migrations of Protestants from the Upper Rhine to England and the English colonies. They excited little attention during the commotions of the times.

END OF VOL. II.

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